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THE

ANNALS

OF

ROGER DE HOVEDEN.

COMPRISING

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

AND OF

OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

FROM A.D. 732 TO A.D. 1201.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

A.D. 732 TO A.D. 1180.

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PREFACE.

THE only printed version of this valuable Chronicle is that contained in the "Scriptores post Bedam" of Sir Henry Saville, London, 1596, and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. The typographical errors and omissions in both these editions are almost innumerable; so much so, that of necessity the more onerous duties of an Editor* devolve in a considerable degree upon the Translator of any of the authors contained in the volume.

In the present Translation the text has been carefully examined throughout, and the greater portion, it is believed, of the errors corrected; in many instances on the safest of all grounds—reference to the works of contemporary writers. Attention is called in the Notes to the more important of these

* This was sensibly felt to be the case by Mr. Sharpe, in his translation of William of Malmesbury. Archbishop Nicolson says, in his "English Historical Library," p. 59, "Hoveden's History was published by Sir H. Saville; but (as Sir H. Spelman observes in his Glossary, on the word *Frithborga*) there are many errors in that foreign Edition of this, and all our other Historians, and, therefore, he well cautions the English reader attentively to consider the spelling of such words as are of our own growth, as very frequently mistaken by printers, that are strangers to our country and language." It is but just to remark that, in the present instance, the errors in the English edition are almost as numerous as in the foreign one.

corrections, in cases where they are a matter of question. It has been thought advisable to retain the ancient names of places where they differ materially from those of the present day, and to add the latter in the Notes.

Of the author of this work but little is known. He is sometimes spoken of as a native of York, but it is more probable that he was born at Hoveden, now Howden, a vill in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which belonged to the bishops of Durham, and where they occasionally resided. Frequent mention is made of this place in the Annals, in connection with those powerful prelates.* It has been suggested by some writers that our author is the person mentioned by Robert of Gloucester as "Hew of Howdene."† Among the various offices held by him, he is said to have been a professor of Theology at Oxford, and to have been employed, perhaps at a later period of his life, by Henry II., in the capacity of chaplain. Like many of the more learned clergy of his day, uniting the study of the Law‡ with that of Divinity,

* For the first time, at p. 389 of this Volume. We learn from our author that Hugh de Pusaz, or Pudsey, bishop of Durham, died at Howden.

† Mr. Hardy says, in the Introduction to the "Monumenta Britannica," p. viii., "The Burton Annals (Gale I.) mention a Hugh Hoveden, as does Robert of Gloucester, but Roger is certainly the person intended. The mistake arose probably from the practice of indicating an author's name by the initial letters only, and the scribe hastily inserted H instead of R." The lines of Robert of Gloucester alluded to are the following, (he is speaking of Richard I.):

> "But who so wole of his chevalrie, know or wyte,
> Rede he in the cornycles that ben of him wryte,
> That Mayster Hew hath of Howdene ywrouzte."

If in these lines he refers to our Chronicler, it is pretty clear that he is the same person who wrote the life of Richard I., mentioned by Bishop Tanner as said to be among the Digby MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

‡ This will probably account for the vast amount of information on legal matters which is to be found in the latter part of the work. Tanner seems to think that Hoveden devoted himself to the law when in mid-

he acted as one of the clerks* or secretaries of that king; and, probably in such capacity, was employed in visiting monasteries on the death of the abbats or priors, for the purpose of receiving such portions of the revenues thereof as accrued to the crown. This fact will account for the great number of letters, charters, papal rescripts, bulls, and other matters relative to the Ecclesiastical history of his time, which are to be found in his work; while his connection, through the place of his birth, with the sees of York and Durham, will explain why the affairs of those sees are so abundantly treated of.

Hoveden has been charged by Leland with surreptitiously borrowing from Simeon of Durham, the great Chronicler of Northumbria; but it is not improbable that he enjoyed opportunities of free access to the materials from which Simeon compiled his Chronicles, and, as Archbishop Nicolson remarks,† if he did copy anything from him, he has greatly improved his narrative by carefully identifying the chronology of many matters confusedly related by that author. That in some instances he has closely followed Simeon of Durham and other preceding Chroniclers, cannot, however, be questioned; but the evident universality of the practice among the Annalists of his times, shews that the censure of Leland is misplaced, and that Hoveden was actuated by no sordid motive, or wish to assume the credit of the labours of his predecessors.

The exact periods of his birth and death are unknown; but Tanner, following Leland, thinks that he did not commence

life, and subsequently entered the Church. He informs us that Walter of Coventry states in his Annals that Hoveden was in the number of the domestics of Henry II.; that he was sent to Norwich by that king, on a visit to the abbey there, for the purpose of auditing the expenditure of the monks, and of superintending the election of a new abbat; and that his duties of a similar nature extended to other places.

* Benedictus Abbas mentions him as "Unus de clericis regis."

† Engl. Hist. Library, pp. 59, 60.

writing his Annals till after the death of Henry II., in 1189; when probably he devoted himself entirely to literary pursuits.* It is not improbable that he survived till the time of Henry III.

That he was a man of considerable learning, and, for his time, of extensive knowledge, is evident from his work. We find him frequently, and in some cases† appositely, quoting Virgil, Ovid (who seems to have been his favourite author), Lucan, and other Latin poets; but it is a curious fact, that he on no occasion mentions the name of the author from whom he quotes, or, indeed, of any Classical writer whatever. Like most of the learned Ecclesiastics of his day, he appears to have found peculiar charms in the jingle of the Leonine or Latin rhyme; a taste which had been recently introduced into this country by its Norman conquerors. His work also bears abundant proof that he was versed in the legal and theological lore of those times.

On the other hand, it is clear, from his easy credulity, that his mind was not at all in advance of his age. Miracles (some of them of a very trifling and silly nature), portents, omens, prophecies, and astrological predictions, are readily, and as a matter of course, copied into his pages; while visits of the Devil in person would almost appear to be considered by him as every-day occurrences. Jews, Saracens, heretics, and Pagans are summarily dealt with in his pages; and amid the pious ejaculations which on some few occasions he utters when depicting the miseries or frailties of mankind, we find not a word of sympathy wasted on their sufferings.

The Annals of Hoveden are not merely a Chronicle of En-

* We may here remark, that the passage in p. 247 of this Volume, in which he appears to assert that he was eye-witness to an event that happened in 1144, is copied almost literally from Henry of Huntingdon, who was probably the alleged witness of the miracle.

† See vol. ii. p. 42, where he mentions Tully.

glish affairs, but (in the latter part especially) form a history of the events of the then known world. Scotland, France, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Constantinople, Asia Minor, and the Holy Land, all come under his notice, and he sometimes treats of their affairs at considerable length. On two occasions* he gives an episodical account of the then existing state of Geographical knowledge respecting the West and the South of Europe, which, in spite of the lamentably defective state of the text, cannot fail to be read with interest.

The work is divided into two Parts; the First of which, professing to be a continuation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, commences in 732 and concludes in 1154. The Second Part commences in 1155, and breaks off in 1201, the third year of the reign of king John. Why this division was made, it is impossible with certainty to say; but it will readily be perceptible to the reader that events are treated in the First Part with much greater conciseness than in the second. This circumstance would perhaps warrant the conclusion that he marked the beginning of the reign of Henry II., in 1155, as the commencement of a period the events of which had passed under his own personal notice. In the concluding portion of the work, from the year 1192, his circumstantiality is such that we might almost imagine ourselves reading a newspaper account of events which happened nearly seven hundred years ago.†

By some writers, among whom Bishop Tanner may be mentioned, his style has been considered defective, but it is nevertheless remarkable for its simplicity and freedom from affectation. From his peculiar position there is no doubt that

* Under the reign of Richard I.

† As a proof of this, we may remark, that while the events of the period from 1155 to 1201 are compressed by Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris into less than 250, the narrative of Hoveden, relative to the same period, extends to more than 800, pages.

he was able, and from the internal evidence offered by his work, he clearly was desirous, to resort to the most authentic sources of information within his reach; consequently, though his method of compilation is occasionally crude and defective in arrangement, much is to be found, especially in the latter portion of his work, which may be safely depended upon, and which is to be met with in no other of the Chronicles of those times. This high estimate of his authority appears to have been formed at an early period; for we learn from Archbishop Nicolson,* on the authority of Pitts, that in the year 1291, Edward I. caused diligent search to be made in all the libraries of England for copies of his Annals, for the purpose, on their evidence, of adjusting the disputes as to the homage due to him from the crown of Scotland. In later times, Sir Henry Saville, Selden, Archbishop Nicolson, and others of the learned, have concurred in bearing testimony to his diligence and fidelity as a historian, and, according to Leland, notwithstanding the censure in another place so undeservedly pronounced upon him, he is superior to all the chroniclers who preceded him.

His Annals are his only work the genuineness of which is undisputed. Vossius, however, asserts that he was the author of a History of the Kings of Northumbria, and a Life of Thomas à Becket. In his Annals, he enters fully into the disputes between king Henry and à Becket, and appears, though in a very guarded manner, to sympathize with the sufferings of that prelate, while at the same time he seems desirous to exculpate his royal master from the crime of having been accessary to his base assassination.

The remarks which he makes upon the characters of the illustrious personages of his times are few and cautious; still, the prominence which he gives to certain circumstances

* Brit. Hist. Library, pp. 59, 60.

and characteristics disclose the bias of his thoughts. It is evident that he considered Henry II. a great king, and he manifests a probably sincere sympathy for him in the numerous afflictions, caused to him by the unprincipled conduct of his sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey. After the accession of Richard, Hoveden seems to hint that boundless sensuality was his great failing, and, though in words he does not say so, he affords sufficient grounds for the conclusion that treachery, meanness, and avarice, were in his opinion the striking features of the character of king John. His history does not come down to the time of the death, or "disappearance," as Roger of Wendover thinks proper to call it, of Arthur, duke of Brittany. He evidently dislikes the crafty and unprincipled Philip Augustus, king of France; and the zest with which he relates, on numerous occasions, how that monarch turned his back in flight before the prowess of Richard is highly amusing.

We may remark, in conclusion, that among the most interesting portions of the work, may be reckoned the following; the account of the contests between king Henry and Thomas à Becket; the first persecution of the Albigenses; the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton; the Laws* of William the Conqueror, as re-enacted by Henry II.; the Coronation of Richard I.; the Journal of that king's voyage to the Holy Land, and of his adventures during his stay in Sicily; the contest between Hugh, bishop of Coventry, supported by the other prelates, and the chancellor, William, bishop of Ely; and the lengthened disputes between Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and his dean and chapter; which latter are not yet brought to a conclusion, when the work somewhat abruptly ends.

* Here the text is in such a corrupt and mutilated state that it entirely defies successful management. The Translation has therefore been made from the more correct text of the same Laws, which is found in the "Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ" of Dr. Wilkins. London, 1721.

The following remarks, relative to this Chronicler, are extracted from the Introduction to the "Monumenta Britannica," commenced by the late Mr. Petrie, and recently published under the care of Mr. Hardy:

"Hoveden's Annals extend from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. *Pars Prima:* from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1154. From the commencement to the death of Egbert, in 837, his history is taken from Simeon of Durham, sometimes literally transcribed, at others condensed. Occasionally, however, Hoveden changes the collocation, and makes slight verbal alterations. He then returns to 751,* and takes up Henry of Huntingdon, who is followed, with a few verbal changes, to the death of Ethelred I., in 872. Then follows a recapitulation† of the history of the West Saxon Kings from Cerdic, continued to Henry I.; not always, however, agreeing with Huntingdon's History. He then returns to the year 849,‡ and again transcribes or abridges Simeon of Durham to the year 1122,§ making a few insertions from other sources. From 1122 to 1148, Huntingdon's History is again resorted to, abridged or transcribed, with a few additions. From 1148‖ to 1154 ¶ Hoveden's History is very brief and confused, and that part of it relating to Scotland is apparently derived from the same source as the Chronicle of Melrose.

"*Pars Secunda:* from A.D. 1154 to A.D. 1201. From 1154¶ to 1164** it is of the same character: thence to 1170†† it

* See p. 20 of this Volume, where he seems to revert to the year 749 in taking up Henry of Huntingdon. This change of the text will account for the apparent oversight noticed in p. 20, n. 68. According to Simeon of Durham's text, Hoveden makes Egbert to reign thirty-six years and six months, while, following Henry of Huntingdon, he gives him a reign of forty years, representing him as dying in 840 or 842.

† See p. 39 of this Volume. ‡ See p. 40. § See p. 216.
‖ See p. 250. ¶ See p. 253. ** See p. 259. †† See p. 325.

chiefly relates to à Becket, inserting twenty-eight of his epistles, three of which are not found in Lupus's edition. From Christmas 1169 to 1192, Hoveden either abridges or transcribes Benedictus Abbas, or had access to the same materials. When he abridges, it is by compression, or by changing the order of the transaction, relating the events belonging to the same transaction connectedly; whereas Benedictus Abbas, by observing a stricter chronological arrangement, frequently separates them. Hoveden, however, has inserted entire many letters and charters which are either omitted or abridged by Benedictus Abbas; and when he gives the journal of the expedition of Richard the First's fleet to Messina, he appears to have had the original document before him, as his account is fuller than that of Benedictus Abbas. He also speaks in the first person, as if he were transcribing the narrative of one that was present, which is not the case with Benedictus Abbas. Hoveden has also exclusively several particulars relating to Spain, Portugal, and Scotland. Under the year 1192 he gives an account of Richard the First's captivity and deliverance, with a journal of his transactions from his return to England in March, to his landing in France in the following May. From that period to the conclusion, his History is very diffuse, containing many papal bulls and letters, chiefly Ecclesiastical, relating, as might have been expected, to the province of York, or to the Northern parts of England, regulations for courts of law, &c.

"*Some persons have thought that Hoveden continued his History to the year 1226; but this mistake seems grounded on the continuation which has been ascribed to Walter of Coventry, who borrowed both from Hoveden and Benedictus Abbas, and yet refers to Hoveden alone.

* This appears in the "Monumenta" as a Note to the above extracts.

"It is remarkable that Benedictus Abbas should twice (pp. 93, 108) mention Hoveden, and that Hoveden, although he appears to transcribe or abridge Benedictus, should omit all mention of himself."

H. T. R.

THE ANNALS

OF

ROGER DE HOVEDEN.

INTRODUCTION.

At the beginning of this work, I propose to trace the genealogical line of the kings of Northumbria,* down to the times of those, who, coming after the death of the most venerable Bede, have not hitherto been treated of.

Ida held the sovereignty twelve years;[1] after whose death Glappa reigned one year. He was succeeded by Adda, whose reign lasted eight years; on whose decease Ethelric became king, and reigned seven years. Theoderic succeeded him, and, after a reign of four years, lost his life and left the kingdom to Fridubuld. He, having reigned one year, was succeeded by Huscus,[2] who, after a reign of seven years, lost his kingdom and his life. Ethelfred, the most distinguished for valour among these kings, was the eighth in succession, and reigned for a period of twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by King Edwin, who having embraced Christianity, as king and martyr ascended to heaven, after a reign of seventeen years. After him, Oswald, a most Christian king, reigned over Northumbria for a period of seven years. He having ascended to the mysterious realms of heaven, Oswy succeeded him as king, and held the government twenty-eight years. He being

* It is worthy of remark, that the account here given of the Northumbrian kings, differs very materially from that of Bede, William of Malmesbury, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[1] V. r. Eleven years.

[2] V. r. Hussus.

removed to the realms of bliss, Egfrid received the sovereignty, and after a reign of fifteen years was slain by the Picts, because he had unrighteously ravaged Ireland.[3]

In his room, his brother Alfred became king, and was succeeded by his son, Osred, who being slain, Choenred ascended the throne, and was succeeded by Osric, whose successor was Ceolwulph, the brother of Choenred. It was to him that Bede, the historian, dedicated his history of the English.

Having enumerated these, it is my intention to adopt the history of the most holy and learned Bede as the foundation of this work, commencing at the last sentence thereof; and, recording the years of our Lord, carefully reviewing in their order the reigns of the kings, and briefly, to the best of my ability, remarking upon the life and miracles of the rest of the faithful, it is my earnest desire, together with them, to receive from Christ the reward of everlasting salvation.

Come, thou benign Spirit, who without thine own aid art never imparted; bestow thy bounty on my tongue, thou who in thy bounty dost bestow tongues.[3*]

THE FIRST PART.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 732, as Bede informs us, Bretwald, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and was buried in the church of St. Peter. In this year, Tatwin was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, it being the fifteenth year of the reign of Ethelbald, king of Mercia. In the same year, also, king Ceolwulph was taken prisoner, shorn, and sent back into his kingdom. He was imbued with a wonderful love for the Scriptures, as the truthful chronicler, Bede, states in the beginning of his Preface. In the same year, bishop Acca was expelled from his see,[4] and Cynebert, bishop of Lindesey,[5] died.

In the year 733, having received his pall from the Apostolic See, Tatwin ordained Alwin and Sigfrid bishops. An eclipse

[3] In A.D. 684, he had sent his general, Beort, with an army to lay waste Ireland; and in the following year, having himself led his troops against the Picts or Britons at Strath Clyde, he was slain at Drumnechtan, in the county of Forfar,

[3*] This is said in reference to Acts ii. 3, 4.

[4] Of Hexham.

[5] In Lincolnshire.

of the sun took place on the nineteenth day before the calends of September, about the third hour of the day, insomuch that the face of the sun seemed to be almost entirely covered with a very black and horrible shield.

In the year 734, on the second day before the calends of February, the moon was covered with a redness like blood for nearly a whole hour, at about the time of cock-crow; a darkness then coming on, she returned to her usual brightness. In the same year, Tatwin, the new archbishop of Canterbury, died. The first bishop of this city was Augustine, that famous instructor of the whole kingdom, and excellent founder of the Christian faith and religion, to whom, in their order, succeeded Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, the most learned Theodore, and Bretwald, whom Tatwin followed, as I have already mentioned. In the same year, Fridebert was ordained bishop of Hagustald.[6]

In the year 735, Nothelm was ordained archbishop of Canterbury, and Egbert, bishop of York, was ordained to the archbishopric of the Northumbrians, being the first who, since Paulinus, had received the pall[7] from the Apostolic See. In this year the learned Bede departed this life at Jarrow.[8]

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 736, Nothelm, having received the pall from the pope of Rome, ordained three bishops, namely, Cuthbert, Eordwald, and Ethelfrid.

In the year 737, bishop Aldwin, who was also called Wor, departed this life, and in his room Witta[9] and Tota were consecrated bishops of the Mercians[10] and the Mid-Angles.[11] In the same year, in place of Ceolwulph,[12] Eadbert, his uncle's son, received the kingdom of Northumbria.

In the year 738, Swetbrit,[13] king of the East Saxons, died. In the following year, Ethelherd, king of the West Saxons, departed this life, on which his brother Cuthred was appointed king in his room. In the same year, archbishop Nothelm died, four years after having received the archbishopric, and Adulph, bishop of Rochester, departed this life.

[6] Hexham, in Northumberland.
[7] Without it he was not entitled to the title of archbishop.
[8] In Durham.
[9] Or Winta.
[10] Witta was consecrated bishop of Lichfield.
[11] Tota was the first bishop of Leicester.
[12] He resigned his crown, and embraced the monastic life.
[13] Called Selred by Roger of Wendover, and others.

In the year 740, Ethelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, departed to the Lord, and Kinewulph was appointed to that see. In the same year of sacred memory, bishop Acca was removed to the realms of the living, after having held the bishopric of Hagustald twenty-four years, at the east side of which church his body was honorably interred: afterwards, when more than three hundred years had elapsed from his burial, in consequence of a divine revelation, he was removed by a certain priest, and placed in a coffin within the church, with due honor, where to the present day he is held in great veneration; as a merited proof of his sanctity before all men, the chasuble, tunic, and sudarium,[14] which had been deposited in the earth with his most hallowed corpse, preserve even unto this day, not only their original appearance, but even their original strength of texture.

In the same year in which the holy bishop Acca departed to the realms of heaven, Arwin, the son of Eadulph, was slain, on the ninth day before the calends of January, being the sixth day of the week. In the same year, Cuthbert received the archbishopric of Canterbury, being the eleventh archbishop; and, in succession to Adulph, Dun became bishop of Rochester.

In the year 741, the monastery in the city of York was burnt, on the ninth day before the calends of May, being the first day of the week.

In the year 744, a battle was fought between the Picts and the Britons; and in the following year, fiery strokes were beheld in the air, such as no men of that generation had ever seen before, and were visible throughout almost all the night of the calends of January. In the same year also, according to some accounts, the second Wilfrid, bishop of York, departed to the Lord on the third day before the calends of May; but it is my opinion, that before Bede had completed his history, this Wilfrid had been already translated to the realms of heaven. In these days died Inguald, bishop of London, and at this time flourished Saint Guthlac.

In the year 749, died Elfwald,[15] king of East Anglia, upon which Hunbonna and Albert divided the kingdom between them. In the following year, that is to say, in 750, king Eadbert

[14] This may either mean a peculiar head-dress worn by the priesthood, or the "fanon" or "mappula," a small handkerchief, a napkin, worn over the left wrist. [15] Called Athelwold by Roger of Wendover.

brought bishop Kinewulph prisoner to the city of Bebba,[16] and caused the church of St. Peter, in Lindisfarne, to be besieged.[17] Offo, the son of Alfred, was unthinkingly running with all haste towards the relics of Saint Cuthbert, the bishop, when he was dragged out of the church, without his weapons, and almost famished with hunger.

In the same year, bishop Allwich died, and Ardulf, a deacon, was ordained to the bishopric.[17*] Cuthred, the king of the West Saxons, rose against Ethelbald, king of Mercia.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 752, on the day before the calends of August, an eclipse of the moon took place.

In the year 753, Boniface the archbishop, who was also called Winfrid, with fifty-three others, was crowned with the martyrdom of the Franks. In the following year, Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, died, the sceptre of whose kingdom was received by Sigebert.

In the year 756, being the fifteenth [18] year of his reign, king Eadbert, with Unnust, king of the Picts, led an army to the cities of Alclutit,[19] and there received the Britons of that neighbourhood under their subjection, on the first day of August; but, on the tenth day of the same month, almost the whole of the army which he led from Deouama,[19*] was destroyed at Niwambirg, that is at the new city. In the same year Baltere, the anchorite, attained the life of the righteous, and departed unto the Lord. On the eighth day before the calends of December, the moon, on her fifteenth day, being about her full, appeared to be covered with the colour of blood, and then, the darkness decreasing, she returned to her usual brightness; but, in a wondrous manner, a bright star followed the moon, and, passing across her, preceded her when shining, at the same distance at which it had followed her before she was darkened.

In the year 757, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was treacherously slain by his own allies.[20] In the same year a civil war

[16] Now Bamborough, in Northumberland.

[17] "Basilicam" here is probably a wrong reading for "basilicâ;" if so, the meaning will be, that Eadbert ordered Kinewulph to be confined in the church of St. Peter, at Lindisfarne, which agrees with the account given by Roger of Wendover. [17*] Of Sidnancaster, or Lindesey.

[18] V. r. Eighteenth. [19] Supposed to be Dumbarton, in Scotland.

[19*] Holinshed calls this place Ouan. Probably the reading in his MS. was "De Ouania," instead of "Deouma," as in the printed copy.

[20] This is probably said in reference to Cuthred, king of the West

arose among the Mercians, and Beornred being put to flight, king Offa was victorious.

In the year 758, king Eadbert voluntarily resigned the kingdom, which he had received from God, to his son Osulph, who held it but one year and then lost it, having been treacherously slain by his own servants near Mechilwongton, on the ninth day before the calends of August.

In the following year, Ethelwald, who was also called Moll, began to reign on the nones of August. At the beginning of the third year of his reign a most severe battle was fought, near Edwin's Cliff, on the seventh day before the ides of August, in which, after a fight of three days, Oswin was slain, and thus king Ethelwald gained the victory. This took place on the first day of the week. In the same year, Unnust, king of the Picts, departed this life.

In the year 762 king Ethelwald took Etheldreda for his queen, on the calends of November, at Cataract.[21] In the third year from this, that is to say in 764, there was a great snow with intense frost, not to be compared with any in former ages. It covered the earth from the beginning of winter almost until the middle of spring, and through its rigour the trees and vegetables mostly withered away, and many marine animals were found dead. In the same year, likewise, Ceolwulph, formerly king, and afterwards a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ and a monk, departed this life.

It was to this king that the truthful Bede wrote the epistle which begins thus: "To the most glorious king, Ceolwulph, Bede, servant of Christ, and priest. I formerly, at your request, most readily transmitted to you the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, which I had newly published, for you to read and give it your approbation; and I now send it again to be transcribed, and more fully considered at your leisure." The king himself, after renouncing the world, became a monk in the church of Lindisfarne, and there struggled for a heavenly kingdom. His body being afterwards brought to the

Saxons, who, having made a treaty of peace with Ethelbald, attacked and slew him at Seekington; or it may allude to the version of the story that he was slain by his own subjects, headed by the rebel Beornred. Lambarde reconciles the two versions by suggesting that Cuthred, king of Wessex, invaded Mercia, and conspired with some of Ethelbald's subjects, of whom Beornred was chief.

[21] Catterick, in Yorkshire.

church at Norham, according to the accounts given by the inhabitants of that place, became famous for working many miracles. Through the influence of this king, after he had become a monk, licence was granted to the monks of the church of Lindisfarne to drink wine or ale; for before, they were in the habit of drinking only milk or water, according to the ancient rule prescribed by Saint Aidan, the first bishop of that church, and that of the monks who, coming with him from Scotland, had received there a settlement by the munificence of king Oswald, and rejoiced to live in great austerity, with a view to a future life.

In the same year, many cities, monasteries, and towns, in various places, and even kingdoms, were laid waste by sudden conflagrations; such, for instance, as the city of Sterburgwenta,[22] Homunic,[23] the city of London, the city of York, and Doncaster; many other places also, the same calamity overtook.

In the same year died Frehelm the priest and abbat, and Tocca,[24] bishop of the Mercians, on which Eadbert was ordained bishop in his room. At this period, also, Frithwold, bishop of Whitherne, departed from this world, and Pechtwin was appointed in his stead.[25]

[22] This is most probably an error, the name of two places being made into one. Lambarde in his Dictionary, quoting from Simeon of Durham, mentions in place of this name, Stretbourgh and Winton, and adds, "by which order of speech it seemeth that he took it for a great town; howbeit, I have not hitherto found it." Holinshed (whether quoting from Roger de Hoveden, or Simeon of Durham, does not appear,) mentions here Stretehu and Geivento, places, not improbably, as imaginary as the Sterburgwenta of our text.

[23] It is not clear what place is meant by this name. Holinshed mentions it as Alnwick.

[24] V. r. Totta.

[25] In the text, "Candida Casa," or "the White House." The bishopric of Whitherne was also called that of the Picts, Abercorn, or Galloway. Its establishment is thus related by Bede, Eccles. Hist. B. iii. c. 4. "In year of our Lord 565, when Justin the younger, the successor of Justinian, had the government of the Roman empire, there came into Britain a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the word of God to the province of the northern Picts, who are separated from the southern parts by steep and rugged mountains; for the southern Picts, who dwell on the side of those mountains, had long before, as is reported, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth, by the preaching of Ninias, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at

In the year 765, fiery strokes were seen in the air, such as formerly appeared on the night of the calends of January, as I have already mentioned.[26] In the same year Ethelwald lost[27] the kingdom of Northumbia at Wincanheale,[28] on the third day before the calends of November, and was succeeded in the kingdom by Alcred, who was a descendant, as some say, of king Ida. Hemeli, bishop of the Mercians, also departed this life. Cuthred was ordained bishop of Lichfield; and at the same period archbishop Bregwin died, and had Lambert for his successor; bishop Aldulph also dying, Ceolwulph succeeded him in the diocese of Lindesey.

In the year 766, Egbert, archbishop of York, rested in the peace of Christ, on the thirteenth day before the calends of December, it being the thirty-fourth year of his episcopate; and in the same year Saint Frithebert, bishop of Hagustald,[29] departed this life.

In the year 767, Albert was consecrated bishop of York, and Alcmund bishop of Hexham, on the eighth day before the calends of May. In the same year Albert was ordained bishop of the East Saxons, and Ceolwulph was consecrated bishop of Lindesey. In this year also, Etha, the anchorite, died happily at Cric,[30] a place distant about ten miles from the city of York.

In the year 768, being the tenth year after the abdication of his kingdom, Eadbert happily breathed forth his spirit, being a member of the priesthood, and devoted to the service of God. In the same year died Pepin, king of the Franks, and Hadwin was ordained bishop at Macuhi.[31]

Rome, in the faith and mysteries of the truth; whose episcopal see, named after St. Martin the bishop, and famous for a stately church (wherein he and many other saints rest in the body), is still in existence among the British nation. The place belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the 'White House,' because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons."

[26] Under the year 745.

[27] This seems to imply that he was deprived of it by treachery or violence. Holinshed says, "After that Moll had reigned six years, he resigned his kingdom. But others write that he reigned eleven years, and was in the end slain by treason of his successor Altred."

[28] Probably Finchale, in Durham; though Lambarde suggests that Wighal, near Thorpehares, in Yorkshire, is the place here spoken of.

[29] Hexham. [30] Probably Crecca, or Crake, near York.

[31] Probably Saint Mesmin de Mici, in the province of Orleans, in France.

In the year 769, Cataract[31] was burnt by the tyrant Carnred, and by the judgment of God, he himself perished by fire in the same year.

In the year 771, Offa, king of Mercia, subdued in war the nation of the East Angles. In the same year, Carloman, the king of the Franks, being attacked by a sudden disease, departed this life, on which his brother Charles,[32] who had before possessed half his father's kingdom, acquired the sovereignty of the whole, and afterwards, by his invincible bravery, obtained the chieftainship of all the peoples of the Franks.

In the year 772, Charles, the king of the Franks, having collected a powerful army and assembled the warlike forces of his kingdom, invaded the nation of the Saxons, and after having lost many of his principal and most noble men, betook himself home.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 773, bishop Hadwin[32*] departed this life, and Leuthfrid was appointed bishop in his room. Wulfeth also, abbat of Beverley, died, and Albert, the archbishop of York, received the pall that had been sent to him by pope Adrian.

In the year 774, duke Eadwulph died, and Alcred being deprived of the counsel and assistance of his own family and his chief men, exchanged the dignity of a crown for exile, and with a few companions of his flight, first betook himself to the city of Bebba,[33] and afterwards to the king of the Picts whose name was Cynoth. The city of Bebba is an extremely well fortified place, of no great size, but extending over the space of about two or three fields, having a single approach, hollowed out [of the rock], and in a wonderful manner raised on high and ascended by steps; it has, on the summit of a hill, a church most beautifully built, in which is a precious shrine, wherein, wrapped in a pall, lies the right hand of the holy king Oswald, uncorrupted, as Bede, the historian of this nation, relates. There is on the western side, and in the highest part of the city, a fountain

[31] Catterick, in Yorkshire. [32] Known in history as Charlemagne.

[32*] The words in the original are "Episcopus Migensis." It is not improbable that the bishopric of Orleans is here alluded to; probably the same that is mentioned under the year 768.

[33] Bamborough.

hollowed out in a marvellous fashion, the water of which is sweet to drink, and most limpid to the sight.

Ethelred,[34] the son of Ethelwald, reigned in his father's stead, and, as will appear in the sequel, held the government hardly five years. At the same period, Charles, the most invincible king of the Franks, after having harassed it with a siege, took Ticinum, the most noble city of the Lombards, together with king Desiderius himself, and gained possession of the whole of Italy.

In the year 775, Cynoth, king of the Picts, departed this life, and duke Eadulph was fraudulently taken prisoner by stratagem, and after a short time slain, buried, and forgotten. Abbat Ebbi also died, and king Charles, as I have already observed, the most warlike of the Franks, being attended and supported by, and glorying in, the entire might of his army, entered the country of the Saxon in battle array, and accompanied by his legions. This district, raging with fire and sword, he laid waste by most severe conflicts; inflamed with furious anger, with a mighty arm he succeeded in adding to his own supreme empire the cities of Sigeburg and Aresburg,[35] and the province of Bohwer,[36] which had been previously overrun by the Franks.

In the year 777, Pecwin, bishop of Whitherne, departed to the Lord, and was succeeded by Ethelbert.

In the year 779, Ethelred being expelled from the throne,[37] and driven into exile, was forced to undergo great trials. On the expulsion of Ethelred, Elfwald, the son of Osulph, received the kingdom of Northumbria, and held it ten years. He was a pious and just king, as a future circumstance will prove.

In the year 780, dukes Osbald and Ethelherd, having collected an army, burned Bearn, the king's patrician,[38] at Seletune,[39] on the ninth day before the calends of January. In the same year, archbishop Albert departed from this world unto Christ, Eanbald, while he was yet alive, having been appointed to the

[34] By some called Ethelbert. [35] Probably Arensberg, in Westphalia.
[36] Probably a mistake for Roer, or Rohwer, a river of Westphalia, the allusion being to the province through which it flows.
[37] Of Northumbria. [38] See the note under year 788.
[39] Lambarde says, "I take this place to be Salton, now in Yorkshire, and yet the conjecture were not unreasonable to think it Salston, in Nottinghamshire."

same see. Bishop Kinewulph[40] also, having laid aside the cares of the world, this year gave up the government of his church, together with the management of all his household,[41] to Higbald. In the same year also, bishop Eanbald, having received the pall which had been sent him from the Apostolic See, was solemnly invested as archbishop.

In the year 781, Alcmund, bishop of Hagustald, a man of remarkable piety and of great virtues, departed to Christ, in the third year of the reign of the glorious king Elfwald, on the seventh day before the ides of September; Saint Gilbert[42] succeeded him.

In the year 783, being the third year of the righteous king Elfwald, Werburg, who had formerly been queen of the Mercians, but was then an abbess, departed this life, to live eternally with Christ. At the same period, bishop Kinewulph departed to the realms of heaven in the fortieth year of his episcopate.

In the year 786, being the eighth year of king Elfwald, Bothwin, the venerable abbat of the church of Ripon, in the sight of his brethren who were present, departed to the kingdom of heaven, and Albert was elected in his room and ordained. In the same year Aldulph was consecrated bishop by archbishop Eanbald, and bishops Gilbert and Higbald, at Corbridge.[43] In these days, Rictrith, who was formerly a queen, and afterwards an abbess, departed unto the Lord. At the same period, Kinewulph, king of the West Saxons, was murdered in a dreadful manner by the perfidious tyrant Kinebard, and the cruel assassin, himself, was without mercy slain by duke Osred, the avenger of his master; upon which, Brithric received the kingdom of the West Saxons. At this time, legates from the Apostolic See were sent to Britain (the venerable bishop George being the chief among them) by pope Adrian, to renew among us the ancient ties of friendship and the catholic faith, which Saint Gregory the pope had taught through Saint Augustine: having been honorably received by the kings and archbishops or primates of this country, they returned home in peace, with great presents, as was befitting.

In the year 787, a synod was held at Wincanheale,[44] on the

[40] Bishop of Lindisfarne.

[41] "Familiæ;" alluding probably to the community of monks at Lindisfarne.

[42] Roger of Wendover says Tilbert.

[43] In Northumberland.

[44] See under the year 765.

fourth day before the nones of September; at this period, Albert, abbot of Ripon, died, and Sigred succeeded him.

In the year 788, a conspiracy having been formed, king Elfwald was slain by a shocking death, by his patrician[44*] Sigga, the ninth day before the calends of October, at a place called Siltecester near the wall.[45] The body of this excellent king was carried by great crowds of monks to the church of Hagustald, attended with the chaunts of the clergy, and was honorably buried there, in the church of Saint Andrew. He was succeeded by his nephew Osred, the son of king Alcred, who reigned one year. In the place where the good king Elfwald was murdered, a light sent down from heaven, is said to have been seen by great numbers of people. A church was built there by the faithful of that place, and consecrated to the honor of God, and of the saints, Cuthbert the bishop, and Oswald the king and martyr.

In the year 790, Ethelred was recalled from exile, and again, by the grace of Christ, seated on the throne of his kingdom. But king Osred, having been betrayed by the treachery of his nobles, was deprived of his kingdom and shorn in the city of York, and afterwards, compelled by necessity, went into exile. In the second year of his reign, duke Eardulph was taken prisoner, and was taken to Ripon, and there slain without the gate of the church by the above-named king. The brethren having carried his body to the church with Gregorian chaunts, and then placed it in a tent outside thereof, after midnight he was found alive within the church.

In the same year Baldwulph was ordained bishop of Whitherne, at the place which is called Hearrahaldh, which may be translated "the place of the lords." For in the preceding year, bishop Ethelbert left his own see,[47] on the death of Saint Gilbert, and received the bishopric of Hagustald, as his see.

In the year 791, the sons of king Elfwald were dragged away by force from the city of York, and, having been enticed from the principal church by false promises, were shockingly slain by king Ethelred, at Wonwaldremere;[48] their names were

[44*] The Patricians of the Anglo-Saxon kings were probably nobles of high rank, attached to the royal household.

[45] The wall of Severus is alluded to. The author of the chronicles of Durham and Lindisfarne calls the place Thirlwall. Perhaps Benwell, in Northumberland, is the place alluded to.

[47] Of Whitherne.

[48] Said by Lambarde to be Winandermere, near Kendal, in Westmoreland.

Elf and Elfwin. In this year also, Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, departed to the Lord; Ethelherd, abbat[49] of the monastery of Lhuda, was elected his successor and consecrated archbishop.

In the year 792, Charles, king of the Franks, sent to Britain a book containing articles agreed upon in a synod, which had been sent to him from Constantinople; in which book, oh shame! there were found many things repugnant and contrary to the true faith, and especially that it had been unanimously agreed to by three hundred, or even more, of the various bishops of the East, that images ought to be worshipped, a thing that the Church of God utterly abhors. Against this Albinus wrote an epistle, wonderfully confirmed by the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and presented it with the same book, in the name of our bishops and princes, to the king of the Franks.

In the same year also, Osred, relying upon the oath and fidelity of certain nobles, came secretly from Eufania,[50] the place of his exile; and then, being deserted by his soldiers, was taken prisoner by the said king Ethelred, and by his order slain at a place called Dingburg, on the eighteenth day before the calends of October. His body was carried to Tynemouth,[51] and buried in the royal tomb, in the noble monastery there. In the same year king Ethelred took as his queen Elfleda, the daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, at Cataract, on the third day before the calends of October.

In the year 793, being the fourth year of the reign of King Ethelred, dreadful prodigies alarmed the wretched nation of the English, for terrific lightnings, and dragons in the air, and strokes of fire were seen hovering on high and shooting to and fro; which were ominous signs of the great famine and the frightful and ineffable slaughter of multitudes of men which afterwards ensued. In the same year also, duke Sigga, who slew king Elfwald, died a merited death, and his body was carried to the island of Lindisfarne, on the ninth day before the calends of May.

Lindisfarne is a large island, eight miles or thereabouts in circumference. In it was a noble monastery, where the illus-

[49] Roger of Wendover says, that he was previously bishop of Winchester.

[50] Probably either the Hebrides, a name of which was Evania, or the Isle of Man, which was called Ebonia.

[51] In Northumberland.

trious bishop Cuthbert was interred,[52] together with other bishops who most worthily succeeded him. With respect to them, the words of the chaunt may be appropriately repeated—"The bodies of the saints are buried in peace."[53] Lindis is the name of a river which, two feet in width, runs into the sea. When it is "Ledon," or low tide, the river can be seen; but when it is "Malina," or the high tide of the sea, then the Lindis cannot be seen. The tide of the ocean follows the moon, and, as though by its inhaling, is raised to high water, and then, by its breathing forth, is driven back again. It seems to flow and to ebb twice a day, later each time by three quarters and[54] half an hour, as Bede testifies. Farne is the name of an island on which the most blessed Cuthbert passed the life of a hermit. It is not so large as Lindisfarne, but is situate out at sea, and is buffeted day and night by huge billows.

In the same year, the pagans,[55] coming from the northern regions to Britain with a naval armament, made descents in all quarters, plundering, ravaging, and slaughtering, like most cruel wolves, not only beasts of burthen, oxen and sheep, but priests and Levites as well, and multitudes of monks and nuns. They came, as I have observed, to the church of Lindisfarne and laid waste all places with dreadful havoc, trod down holy places with their polluted feet, undermined the altars, and carried off all the treasures of the holy church. Some of the brethren they slaughtered; some they carried off with them in chains; a very great number, loaded with abuse, they thrust out naked, and some they drowned in the sea. With respect to them, the words may be appropriately quoted: "Fortune bears hard upon the lot of the guiltless. Evil is the due punishment of wickedness. The wrong-doers are seated after their wont on a lofty throne, and the guilty in an unjust manner are treading upon the necks of the righteous. Bright virtue lies concealed in obscure shades, and the just suffer the penalties of the wicked."

[52] "Positus erat" may either mean that they were located there during their lives, or that they were buried there. Probably the latter is the meaning.

[53] "Corpora defunctorum in pace sepulta sunt."

[54] In the original it is "et." "Aut," "or," would seem to be a more appropriate reading. The whole passage is involved in considerable obscurity.

[55] The Danes.

These having retired, congratulating themselves on their booty and their wicked deeds, I shall recount what misfortunes the succeeding year brought.

In the year 794, the pagans above mentioned having laid waste the harbour of king Egfrid, plundered the monastery of Donum.[56] But Saint Cuthbert did not permit them to depart without punishment; for their chief was there slain by the English, and died a cruel death; and, after the interval of a short time, the violence of a tempest wrecked, destroyed, and foundered their ships, and overwhelmed a vast number in the sea. Upon this, some of them were thrown upon shore, and soon dispatched without mercy; and this justly befell them, for they grievously injured those who had not injured them. At that time Ethelherd died, who was formerly a duke, but then a priest in the city of York. In the same year the venerable pope Adrian[57] departed unto the Lord on the seventh day before the calends of January. He held the See twenty-six years, ten months, and eleven days. He was buried in the church of Saint Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and over his tomb a tablet of marble, fixed against the wall, recounted his good works, in verses written by the command of king Charles[58] in letters of gold.

In the year 795, the same most valiant king Charles, having laid waste their country, with a strong hand, by his arms subdued the nation of the Huns. Their prince having been put to flight, and their army worsted or cut to pieces, he carried away thence fifteen waggons filled with gold, silver, and precious vestments made entirely of silk, each of which was drawn by four oxen. All these the same king, on account of the victory which had been granted him by the Lord, ordered to be divided among the churches of Christ and the poor, returning thanks together with all those who had fought together with him.

In the year 796, being the seventh year of King Ethelred, Alric, who was formerly a duke, but then a priest in the city of York, departed this life; and shortly afterwards, that is

[56] This passage is evidently corrupt. The words are "Portum Egfredi regis vastantes, Monasterium Doni annis prædarerunt." The corresponding passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is, "and plundered Egfert's monastery at the mouth of the Wear."

[57] The First. [58] Charlemagne.

to say, on the fifth day before the calends of April, an eclipse of the moon took place between the time of cock-crow and day-break. In the same year, king Ethelred was slain at Cobre, on the fourteenth day before the calends of May. On this, Osbald, a patrician, was chosen king by some of the nobles of that nation; and after twenty-seven days, being deserted by all the royal household and the nobles, and banished and expelled from the kingdom, he retired with a few followers to the island of Lindisfarne, and went thence with some of the brethren by ship to the king of the Picts.

Then Eardulph, whom I have previously mentioned, the son of Earnulph, having been recalled from exile, received the crown, and on the seventh day before the calends of June, was consecrated at York, in the church of Saint Peter, before the altar of Saint Paul, where that nation had first received the blessings of baptism. Not long after this, that is to say, on the seventh day before the calends of August, Offa, the most mighty king of the Mercians, departed this life, after having reigned thirty-nine years, and was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Egfrith, who died the same year.

Upon this, Kenulph, the father of Kenelm, received the crown of the kingdom of Mercia, and gloriously held it in the invincible power of his might; in the same year also Ceolwulph died at Lindesey, and shortly after, that is to say, on the fourth day before the ides of August, Archbishop Eanbald died at the monastery called Edete, and his body was carried, with a vast concourse accompanying it, to the city of York, and honorably buried there, in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle. Immediately thereupon, another Eanbald, a priest of the same church, was elected archbishop, and consecrated at Sochesburg[59] by bishops Ethelbert, Higbald, and Baldwulph.

In the year 797, this last Eanbald, having received the pall from the Apostolic See, was solemnly confirmed in the archbishopric of Northumbria, on the sixth day before the ides of September, being the nativity of Saint Mary; with regard to which day, the poet says: "With honor shines the day on which Mary the good virgin, proceeding from the line of king David, was born unto the world."

In the same year died Ethelbert, bishop of Hagustald, whom

[59] Socburgh, in the diocese of Durham.

Eadred succeeded, and was ordained by archbishop Eanbald and bishop Higbald at a place which is called Widford.

In the year 798, a conspiracy having been entered into by the murderers of king Ethelred, Wada, the leader in the plot, together with the others, fought a battle against king Erdulph, at a place which is called by the English Billingahon, near Wallalalege, and after many were slain on either side, earl Wada with his men was put to flight, and king Erdulph bravely gained a victory over his foes. In the same year, London was destroyed by a sudden conflagration, together with a vast multitude of people.

At this period, Kenulph, king of the Mercians, with all the strength of his army, entered the province of Kent, and laid it waste with dreadful slaughter. At the same time, Eadbert, king of Kent, was taken prisoner, and the king of the Mercians ordered his eyes to be put out, and his hands to be cut off without mercy, as a punishment for their pride and treachery; then, having obtained the suffrage of the Lord, he added the rule of his kingdom to his own sway, placing the crown upon his head and the sceptre in his hand. In the same year also, being the third year of the above-named king Kenulph, a synod was held at the place which is called Wincanhele,[60] under the presidency of archbishop Eanbald, many ecclesiastics and men of princely dignity attending thereat. They devised many things for the benefit of the Holy Church of God, and of the nation of Northumbria and all the provinces, as to the observance of Easter, feasts, and judgments, both holy and secular. These enactments rendered those days distinguished for just kings, virtuous nobles, and holy bishops, and other wise men, namely, priests and monks; through the foresight and justice of whom, and their holy deeds, the state of the kingdom of Northumbria sent forth a sweet fragrance in those times. The lord archbishop Eanbald commanded the profession of faith in the articles of the five synods to be repeated, concerning which it is thus written in the history of the English: "We do agree to the holy and universal decrees of the five synods of the fathers, holy and acceptable to God, in such form as the text of the present book contains," &c.

In the year 799, in the British seas a very great number of ships were tossed and wrecked, or dashed against each other, and sunk, together with a vast multitude of men. In the same

[60] Finchale, in Durham.

year, Brorda, a prince of the Mercians, who was also called Hyldegils, departed this life. An abbat also, whose name was Altilthegno,[61] was murdered by his deputy, and died a shocking death. At this period, Osbald, who was formerly an exile and a patrician, and king for a time, but afterwards an abbat, departed this life, and was buried in the church at York. Earl Aldred, the murderer of king Ethelred, was slain by earl Thormund, in revenge for his master the said king.

In the year 800, Heardred, bishop of Hagustald,[62] died in the third year of his episcopate, and was succeeded by Eanbrith. At the same period also, on the ninth day before the calends of January, the day before the Nativity of our Lord, a mighty wind blowing either from the south or the west, by its indescribable force destroyed very many cities, houses, and towns in various places, and levelled them with the ground; innumerable trees were also torn up from the roots, and thrown to the ground. In the same year an inundation took place, the sea flowing beyond its ordinary limits. An extensive murrain also prevailed among the cattle in various places.

In the year 801, Edwin, also called Eda, who had formerly been a duke of Northumbria, but was at that time, by the grace of the Saviour of the world, an abbat, being firmly rooted in the service of God, breathed his last, in the presence of his brethren, on the eighteenth day before the calends of February. At this time, Eardulph, king of Northumbria, led an army against Kenwulph, king of Mercia, because he had entertained his enemies; the latter also collected an army, and obtained very considerable aid from other kingdoms. A long war having been waged between them, at length, by the advice of the bishops and chief men among the English on both sides, and through the intervention of the king of the Angles,[63] they agreed to a truce; and a most solemn treaty of peace was concluded between them, which, by oath upon the gospel of Christ, both kings ratified, taking God for their witness, and giving sureties, that all their days, so long as they should live and be invested with the insignia of royalty, there should remain between them lasting peace and true friendship, unshaken and inviolate.

In the same year Hathubert, bishop of London, departed this life, and shortly after a great part of the city itself was de-

[61] This passage is probably corrupt.
[62] Hexham.
[63] Probably this alludes to the king of East Anglia.

stroyed by a sudden conflagration. In this year Charles, the most mighty king of the Franks, was declared supreme emperor at Rome, by all the senate, the imperial crown being placed upon his head by our lord the pope.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 802, Brithric, the king of the West-Saxons, who had most gloriously reigned over that nation for seventeen years, departed this life, and was succeeded by Egbert. The said king Brithric had taken in marriage Eadburga, daughter of Offa, king of the Mercians, who ordered the great dyke to be made between Britain[64] and Mercia, that is to say, from sea to sea. Now this Eadburga, being the daughter of a king and surrounded with much pomp, was inspired with wonderful ambition, and, after the manner of her father, began to live in a tyrannical manner and to despise all men, insomuch that she was hated not only by nobles and magistrates, but even by all the people. She did not cease uttering accusations continually against all the religious before the king, and by her evil speaking so wrought upon her husband by means of her blandishments, that those whom she accused, she caused to be put to death or banished the realm; and if she was unable to effect this, she did not hesitate secretly to take them off by poison.

There was at that time a certain illustrious youth, very dear to the above-named king, and greatly beloved by him, whom, when she wished to accuse him to the king, and could not accomplish it, with wicked intent she cut off by poison, the king in ignorance having tasted which, he expired. But she had not purposed to give the poison to the king, but to the youth, whereas the head of all the nobles partaking of it first, they both drank of the deadly draught, and both perished through the extremely bitter taste thereof. He being slain by reason of this wicked deed, this most wicked poisoner was smitten with fear, and crossing the seas in her flight with innumerable treasures, repaired to Charles, the most famous king of the Franks.

As she stood before him in his chamber, and offered the king precious gifts, he thus addressed her; "Choose, Eadburga, which of the two you would prefer, myself or my son, who is standing with me in the room;" on which she, without any deliberation, foolishly made answer and said; "If the option were

[64] Meaning Wales.

given me, I would sooner choose your son than yourself, because he seems to be the younger;" on which king Charles is said to have replied:—"If you had chosen me, you should have had my son, but inasmuch as you have chosen him, you shall have neither me nor him for your own." However, on account of her wickedness, the king conferred on her a most excellent monastery, in which, laying aside her secular dress, and hypocritically assuming the garb of the nuns, she spent a very few years. For as this execrable woman lived wickedly in her own country, so much more the miserably and wickedly was she discovered to have been living in a foreign land. For, a short space of time having elapsed, while by some she was supposed to be performing her appropriate duties, she was debauched by a certain low fellow of her own nation. "Let cloudy error give way before justice; let it cease, in fact, to seem a wondrous thing, that a woman should be taken in adultery." There is nothing for one to wonder at; "Nothing is there concealed which shall not be known."

After this, by order of the emperor Charles the Great, she was, with great weariness and anguish of mind, expelled from her holy monastery, and, exposed to the reproaches of all, passed the rest of her life in poverty and misery; attended to the last by one poor servant, and begging daily at houses and castles and in cities, she died miserably at Pavia.[65]

Brithric, the glorious king of the West-Saxons, being dead, king Egbert succeeded him in the rule and sway, and, springing from the royal stock, placed the diadem of the whole kingdom on his head, being encircled with a most ample crown. For he was a most active man, and, distinguished for his power, he subjected many realms to his dominion. He reigned thirty-six years and seven months.

To Egbert succeeded his most mighty son Ethelwulph, who by his noble wife had four sons, whose names were Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, all of whom in turn succeeded to the kingdom.

Cuthred, therefore,[66] the above mentioned king of Wessex, after having conquered the most valiant earl Edelhun,[67] as I have already[68] mentioned elsewhere, when, in the thirteenth

[65] Asser says that he had conversed with persons who had seen her begging there.

[66] He now reverts for a period of about fifty years.

[67] Or Adhelm.

[68] This is an error, as he has not mentioned the victory over Edelhun.

year of his reign, he was no longer able to endure the exactions and insolence of Ethelbald, king of Mercia, met him, with his troops ranged under their banners, at Bereford,[69] having postponed all hopes of surviving to liberty. He also brought with him Edelhun, the above-named warlike earl, who was then reconciled to him, and relying on whose valour and counsel he was enabled to incur the hazards of war. On the other hand, Ethelbald, the king of kings, together with the Mercians, had brought the men of Kent, and the West Saxons, and numerous forces of the Angles. The armies, therefore, being drawn up in battle array, marching straight onward, were drawing close to each other, when Edelhun going before, and bearing the standard[70] of the king of Wessex, which was a golden dragon, pierced the enemy's standard-bearer. On this, an outcry arising, the party of Cuthred was greatly encouraged, and immediately thereupon the hostile ranks closed, and rushed on to mutual slaughter, with dreadful blows and a terrific crash.

In this battle, with all their pride, the Mercians were so humbled, that for a long series of succeeding years fortune rendered them subject to Wessex. Any one, who had just before seen the ranks shining with coats of mail, bristling with helmets, rough with lances, variegated with standards, and resplendent with gold, might shortly afterwards have seen them steeped in blood, with lances broken, scattered in ruin, bespattered with human brains, and frightful to look upon. With determined obstinacy, and displaying the greatest bravery, they rallied beneath their standards, and waged the combat with swords and battle-axes, and with direful intent line rushed on against line, each side having an assured hope of victory. There was no thinking of flight; the Mercians were urged on by the swelling pride of their proud dominion, the men of Wessex were inflamed by the dread of slavery. But in every direction Edelhun, the above-named earl, penetrated the ranks, and a road lay open, strewed with ruin, while in the dreadful carnage his battle-axe was hewing through both bodies and armour.

Ethelbald, the most valiant king of the Mercians, rushed on in every direction, and slaughtered the enemy, while to his

[69] Burford. [70] Roger of Wendover makes a mistake in representing Edelhun (whom he calls Athelun) as the standard bearer of Ethelbald, the king of the Mercians.

most unconquerable sword arms were only like garments, bones like flesh. When, therefore, (just like two fires set in different places, which consume every thing that intervenes) it came to pass that the king and the earl met face to face, each terribly and frantically gnashed his teeth at the other and shook his right hand and put himself on his guard, and with mighty blows they both provoked the attack. But the God who opposes the haughty, depressed the wonted confidence of mind of the haughty king. When, therefore, he could neither recover his spirit nor his strength, while his own men were still engaged, in a fit of terror he took to flight, and from that day to the time of his death, God granted him no prosperity whatever. For, four years after this, again engaging[71] at Secandune,[72] after a dreadful slaughter of his army, disdaining flight, he was slain, and was buried at Repandun;[73] and thus this most mighty king, after he had reigned forty-one years, paid the penalty for his immoderate pride.

From this period, the kingdom of Wessex, being greatly strengthened, did not cease to increase till it had reached perfection. In the fourteenth year of his reign, Cuthred fought against the Britons,[74] who, vainly opposing him who had conquered king Ethelbald, speedily took to flight, and deservedly suffered a very great slaughter, without any loss to the enemy. In the following year, Cuthred, the high and mighty king, illustrious for so many successes and victories, departed this life.

Sigebert, a relation of the above-named king, succeeded him, but held the sovereignty for a short time only; for growing haughty and insolent, by reason of the exploits of his predecessor, he became intolerable even to his own domestics, as he ill-treated them in all manner of ways, and either perverted the common laws of the kingdom to his own advantage, or disregarded them for his own profit; on which, Cumbra, his earl, a most noble man, at the entreaty of the whole people, acquainted the cruel king with their complaints; but when he exhorted him to act with more moderation, and to treat the people with kindness, and laying aside his wonted inhumanity, to show himself amiable to God and man, the king immediately ordered him to be killed by an unrighteous death, and becoming more cruel and more intolerable to his people, proved himself a still

[71] With Cuthred. [72] Seckington; Lambarde, however, conjectures Saxwold, in Lincolnshire. [73] Repton, in Derbyshire. [74] The Welsh.

greater tyrant. In the second year of his reign, having persisted in his intolerable pride and wickedness, the nobles and the people of the whole kingdom met together, and upon mature deliberation, by the universal consent of all, king Sigebert was expelled from the kingdom.

On this, Kinewulph, a virtuous young man of royal descent, was elected king. The impious Sigebert on being banished by his people, fearing the death that was the due of his wickedness, took to flight, and concealed himself in a great wood which is called Andredeswald,[75] where a certain swineherd of earl Cumbra, who, as I have mentioned, had been iniquitously slain, found the king in his concealment, and recognized him when thus found, and becoming the avenger of his master, slew him when thus recognized. Behold the manifest judgments of God! behold how, not only in a future world, but even in this, he worthily recompenses our deserts. For choosing bad kings for the merited chastisement of their subjects, one He permits to rage for long, in order that both a wicked people may long be harassed, and he, a still more wicked king, may suffer the greater torments in eternity; as, for instance, Ethelbald, the above-named king of Mercia. But another one He cuts short with a speedy end, lest his people, weighed down with excessive tyranny, may not be able to take breath, and by reason of the immoderate wickedness of the ruler, may deservedly incur the speedy retribution of the eternal vengeance; as, for instance, this Sigebert of whom we are speaking, who in as great a degree as he proved himself wicked, was as disgracefully slain by a swineherd, and passed from one calamity to another. For which reason, to the eternal justice be praise and glory, now and for ever!

In the first year of king Kinewulph, Beornred succeeded Ethelbald, king of Mercia, in the kingdom, but only for a short time. For in the same year Offa expelled him, and reigned over Mercia thirty-nine years. Offa, a most noble youth, was the son of Winfred, the son of Kanwulph, the son of Osmod, the son of Epa, the son of Wippa, the son of Creada, the son of Kinewald, the son of Cinbba, the son of Hycis, the son of Comer,

[75] This wood is considered by Lambarde to have been in Kent, and the part which is now called the Weald of Kent. The place, however, at which Sigebert was slain is mentioned as Privet's-flood, and is supposed to be the same as Privett, in Hampshire.

the son of Agelthen, the son of Offa, the son of Wermund, the son of Widaet, the son of Woden.[76]

Offa was a most warlike king; for he conquered the people of Kent in battle, and vanquished in war the people of Wessex and the Northumbrians. He also shewed himself a pious man, for he transferred the bones of Saint Alban to a monastery which he had built and greatly enriched, and gave to the pope of Rome, the vicar of St. Peter, a fixed tribute for ever, from each town in his kingdom.[77]

In the third year of king Kinewulph, Eadbert, king of the Northumbrians, seeing the unfortunate lives and unhappy ends of the above-named kings, (namely, Ethelbald and Sigebert,) and at the same time the praiseworthy life and glorious end of his predecessor Ceolwulph, chose that better part which could not be taken away from him. For having resigned his kingdom, he assumed the tonsure of his head, destined to produce for him an everlasting crown, and put on the dark-coloured clothes that were to confer on him an ethereal splendour. He was the eighth of those kings who of their own accord gave up their kingdoms for Christ, or rather, to speak more truthfully, exchanged them for an eternal kingdom; which eight are in the everlasting enjoyment of the multiplied delights of unspeakable blessings, and their blessed example is worthy of imitation.

He was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Osulf; who after he had reigned one year, was infamously betrayed by his own household, and slain.

After him, Mollethelwald[78] reigned nine years. About this time archbishop Cuthbert[79] died.

In the sixth year of the reign of king Kinewulph, Ethelbert, king of Kent, departed this life. In the same year, Ceolwulph, who, having resigned his earthly kingdom, had become a monk, departed unto a heavenly one. In the following year,

[76] Roger of Wendover differs considerably in the names, and gives two more ancestors to Offa before Woden. His words are, "the son of Waremund, who was the son of Withleg, who was the son of Wagon, who was the son of Frethegeath, who was the son of Woden."

[77] This is the Rome-scot, or St. Peter's pence, which consisted of a penny from each house, payable on the festival of Saint Peter. According to some accounts, it was Ina who made the first grant of it to the Papal see.

[78] This is the same king whom he has already mentioned under the year 759, by the name of Ethelwald, surnamed Moll.

[79] Of Canterbury.

Lambert was made archbishop of Canterbury. After having reigned six years, Mollethelwald resigned[80] the kingdom of Northumbria; after him Aelred reigned eight years, in the second year of whose reign, Egbert, archbishop of York, departed this life, after having enjoyed the archbishopric for a period of thirty-six years: Frithebert, bishop of Hagustald,[81] also died, after having been bishop thirty-four years.

Archbishop Egbert was succeeded by Adelbert,[82] and Alcmund succeeded bishop Fridebert.

In the fourth year of king Aelred, died Pepin, king of the Franks, Stephen, pope of Rome, and Eadbert,[83] the son of Hecta, a most famous duke of [East] Anglia.

In the year of grace 769, in the fifteenth year of king Kinewulph, a wondrous mutation first began to take place.[84] For the Roman empire, which had for so many years continued to enjoy pre-eminence, became subject to Charles the Great, king of the Franks. This took place after thirty years of his reign, which first commenced in this year,[85] and from that time forward, down to the present day, it has belonged to his successors.

In the twentieth year of king Kinewulph, king Offa and the Mercians fought against the people of Kent at Ottanforde,[86] and after a dreadful slaughter on both sides, the illustrious Offa was crowned with success. In the same year, the Northumbrians expelled their king Aelred from Eworwic,[87] in Easter week, and chose for their king, Ethelred, the son of Mollethelwald, who reigned four years. In this year were seen dreadful signs in the heavens after sunset, of a red color;[88] and, to the great astonishment of people, serpents were seen in Sussex.

In the second year after this, the Ancient Saxons, from whom

[80] He says previously, under the year 765, that this king lost his kingdom at Wincanhele.

[81] Hexham. [82] Before called by him, Albert.

[83] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls him a king, but it does not appear of what place.

[84] This is a paraphrase for the words in the text, "Incepit fieri mutatio dexteræ excelsi;" which literally translated, would make perfect nonsense. The text is evidently corrupt.

[85] This is wrong; he has previously said that his reign began in the year 771.

[86] Otford, in Kent. [87] York.

[88] Ethelwerd, in his Chronicle, says, that it was the sign of the Lord's cross.

the English nation is descended, were converted to the faith, and in the same year, Withwin,[89] bishop of Whitherne, departed this life, in the twenty-fourth year[90] of his episcopate.

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, Kinewulph fought against Offa, near Benetune;[91] being humbled by the fortune of war, he retreated,[92] and Offa reduced that fortified place to subjection. In the same year, Ethelbert was consecrated at Eworwic,[93] bishop of Whitherne.

In the following year, Ethelbald and Herebert, earls of the king of Northumbria, rebelled against their master, and slew Aldulph, the son of Bose, general of the king's army, in a pitched battle at Kingesdiwe;[94] and afterwards in a great battle, the same generals slew Kinewulph and Egga, the king's earls, at Hilatirn. Upon this, the above-named king Ethelred, having lost his generals and his hopes, fled from before them, and they elected Alfimod[95] king, who reigned for a period of ten years. In the following year, the nobles and high-reeves of Northumbria burned a certain earl and justiciary of theirs,[97] who had shown himself more severe than was befitting. In the same year, archbishop Esbert[99] died at Cestre,[1] and was succeeded by Enbalo. In this year, Kinebald was made bishop of Lindisfarne. In the same year also, a battle took place between the Franks and Ancient Saxons, the Franks being the conquerors.

In the next year, Alfinild, king of Northumbria, sent to Rome for the pall, and gave it to archbishop Embald.[2] At the same period, Gilbert succeeded Alcmund, bishop of Ha-

[89] Under the year 777, he previously calls him Pechtwin.

[90] This is probably incorrect; he held the bishopric but fourteen years, according to the Saxon Chronicle.

[91] Benson, or Benington, in Oxfordshire.

[92] The various reading, "loco secessit," seems far preferable to that in the text, "jocose cessit;" "he jokingly," or "good humouredly yielded."

[93] York.

[94] The various reading is Kingsclive. Roger of Wendover calls this place Cunesclive, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Kings-cliff.

[95] Under the year 779, he is previously called Elfwald. A various reading makes the name "Alfimold." Below he is called Alfinild.

[97] The fate of the patrician Bearn is previously related under the year 780.

[99] Of York. He is previously called Albert. The Saxon Chronicle says that he died at York.

[1] Probably Chester-le-street, in Durham.

[2] Also called Eanbald and Enbalo.

gustald,[3] who had lately died. About this time, there was a synod held at Ade.[4] After Kinewulph had reigned twenty-six years, and, being victorious, had gained many battles against the Britons,[5] and subdued them on every side,[6] at length, he determined on banishing a certain young man, named Kineard, the brother of Sigebert. Upon this, he attacked the king at Meretune,[7] whither he had privately gone to visit a certain female. On finding this to be the case, the king stoutly defended himself at the door, until he caught sight of the youth, upon which he rushed out and wounded him, whereon all his confederates turned upon the king, and slew him On the uproar being heard, the king's soldiers, who were in the town, ran towards the youth, and refusing gifts of lands and money that were offered by him, all died bravely fighting, with the exception of one Briton, who was severely wounded, and taken as a hostage. In the morning, the soldiers of the king, who were near at hand in waiting,[8] when the king was slain, hemmed in the young man and his confederates; on which he thus said to them; "Your kinsmen are on my side; I will give you lands and money to your hearts' content, if you will not fight against us; I made the same offer to your companions, and refusing it they perished!" To this they made answer, that no money was dearer to them than their lord, and that they would avenge the death of their king and their comrades; and then rushing on, after a severe combat at the door, they slew the young man and eighty-four others who were with him. The only one left was a little son of the young man, and he received a wound. Kinewulph was buried at Winchester, in the thirty-first year of his reign, the young man at Acsminster.[9]

Brithric, who also sprang from king Cerdic so often mentioned,

[3] Hexham.

[4] Evidently a mistake for Acle, or Aclea, or Ockley, in Surrey; which is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the place where the synod was held in 782.

[5] The Welsh.

[6] The various reading, "Ex omnia parte," has been adopted, as it seems preferable to the words of the text, "Ex Dei parte."

[7] Merton, in Surrey.

[8] "In atrio," literally, "in the court."

[9] Axminster, in Devon. William of Malmesbury, and Roger of Wendover, however, agree in stating, that he was buried at Repandun, or Repton, in Derbyshire. Kinewulph, in reality, reigned only nine and twenty years.

succeeded Kinewulph, and reigned over Wessex sixteen years. In his second year, pope Adrian sent legates into Britain, to renew the faith which Augustine had preached. Being honorably received by the kings and the people, they raised a fair edifice upon a firm foundation, the mercy of Christ co-operating with them. They held a council at Cealtide,[10] where Iambert[11] resigned a portion of his episcopate; there also Higbert was elected[12] by king Offa. In the same year, Egfrid was consecrated king of the province of Kent.[13]

In the following year, being the year of grace 786, there appeared a sign[14] upon people's clothes, which may be justly deemed marvellous to be mentioned and to be heard of. Whether this took place as a forewarning of the movement relative to the recovery of Jerusalem, and the assumption of the cross,[15] which happened three hundred and eleven years after this period, in the time of William[16] the younger, or whether it was rather intended for the correction of the people, lest they should not view the plague of the Danes with which they were shortly afterwards afflicted, in the light of a chastisement, I will not rashly undertake to settle, but, the mysteries of God I leave to God.[17]

In the fourth year of his reign, Brithric took to wife Eadburga, the daughter of Offa, king of Mercia. Strengthened on the throne by this alliance, he gave way to pride. In these days, the Danes came to Britain, with three ships, for the sake of plunder; the king's reeve in that province, seeing this, went to meet them without taking due precautions, in order that, having captured them, he might carry them to the king's town;[19] for he was ignorant who they were, or for what purpose they had come; but, being immediately surrounded by them, he was slain. He was the first person of the English nation slain by

[10] Lambarde makes this place to be Chalkhythe, but does not say in what county. [11] Archbishop of Canterbury.

[12] To be Archbishop of Lichfield, the portion of his province which the Archbishop of Canterbury had resigned.

[13] Which he held jointly with his father Offa. [14] The sign of the cross.

[15] By the Crusaders as their emblem. [16] William Rufus.

[17] The note of interrogation in the text after "relinquimus" seems misplaced.

[18] "Præpositus regis;" the king's bailiff or reve, or steward of the shire; holding the office of the present sheriff.

[19] "Castrum;" literally, "fortified town."

the Danes, and after him many thousands of thousands were slaughtered by them at different periods; these too were the first ships of the Danes that arrived here.

In the following year, a synod was held in Northumbria, at Wincanhele.[20]

In the sixth year of king Brithric, a synod was held at Aclea.[21] By infamous treachery, Sigga slew Alwulph, the good king of Northumbria. In the same spot where this king, the beloved of God, was slain, a heavenly light was often beheld; his body was buried in the church of Hagustald. After him, Osred began to reign, but in the following year was betrayed, and expelled from the kingdom.

Ethelred, the son of Mollethelwald, was then restored to the kingdom; and in the fourth year of his reign, having collected forces for the purpose, Osred was on his return, in order that he might expel Ethelred from the kingdom, by whom he himself had been expelled. On his route he was captured and put to death, and buried at Tynemouth. How just then his remark, who said, "Oh, how blind to the future is the mind of man!" For when the above-mentioned youth Osred, dancing and elated with joy, was made king, how little did he think that in the second year from that time, he should be deprived of his throne, and in the fourth, of his life! For which reason, let us ever be thoughtful in prosperity, being ignorant how near at hand adversity may be.

At this time, Offa, king of the Mercians, ordered the head of Saint Ethelbert[21*] to be cut off, and in these days, Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and abbat Ethelred was elected in his room archbishop of Canterbury. Eanbald, archbishop of York, consecrated Badulph,[22] bishop of Whitherne.

In the tenth year of king Brithric, there were seen fiery dragons flying through the air, which tokens were followed by two plagues; first, a dreadful famine, and then the pagan nations coming from Norway and Denmark. These first ravaged the kingdom of Northumbria in a frightful manner, and then, in the district of Lindisfarne, on the ides of January, dreadfully destroyed the churches of Christ, together with the inhabitants; at which period also, died Sigga, the perfidious duke who had acted the traitor towards the righteous king Elfwald.

[20] Finchale. [21] Ockley, in Surrey. [21*] King of East Anglia.
[22] A mistake for Eadulph. He was the last bishop of Whitherne.

In the eleventh year of king Brithric, that is to say, in the year of grace 795, the Northumbrians slew their king, Ethelred, who, in the same year in which king Osred was slain, becoming elated with pride, had forsaken his own wife and taken a new one, little thinking that he himself was destined to be slain within two years from that time. After him Herdulph obtained the kingdom of Northumbria, and was consecrated king by archbishop Embald,[23] bishop Ethelbert and bishop Hingbald, and bishop Baldulph, and ascended the throne at York.

In these days pope Adrian and the great king Offa, departed this life; this Offa reigned with mighty sway in Mercia, during a period of thirty-nine years. He subdued Kenulph, king of Wessex, and the people of Kent and Northumbria.

King Offa was succeeded by his son Egfrith, who reigned one hundred and forty-one days, and then died; he was succeeded by Kenulph, the father of Kenelm, a most powerful king.[24] In the same year, Eadbert, who also bore the name of Pren, obtained the kingdom of Kent. The pagan nations laid waste Northumbria, and sacked the monastery of Egfrid at Tynemouth; they were there met by the most noble of the English, men extremely well inured to war, and, their chieftains being slain, the barbarians were overcome, and betook themselves to their ships. When they had reached the sea, they continued their flight with their ships, on which some of them were wrecked by a tempest, and many of them drowned; but some of them coming ashore were taken, and were beheaded near the sea-shore.

Not long after this, Kenwulph, king of Mercia, laid waste the province of Kent, and captured Pren, who was not a match for him in might, and had consequently concealed himself in hiding-places and out-of-the-way spots, and carried him back with him in chains.

In the fourteenth year of king Brithric, the Romans cut out the tongue of pope Leo, and put out his eyes, and expelled him from his see; but he, as written documents inform us, through the grace of Christ, was enabled again to see and to

[23] Eanbald.

[24] The word "maris" seems out of place here, as no definite meaning can be attached to it, unless it is meant to say that Kenelm was a man, which seems quite superfluous.

speak, and once more became pope. Three years after this, king Charles was made emperor, and having been consecrated by the same pope Leo, condemned those to death who had ill-treated the pope, but afterwards, by reason of the pope's entreaties, he saved their lives, and sent them into exile.

Three years after this, Brithric, king of Wessex, also departed this life, after he had most gloriously reigned over that nation seventeen years, having in ignorance taken some poison, which his wife Eadburga, the daughter of king Offa, had prepared for a certain young man; in consequence of which, they both died, as I have mentioned more at large above. At this time a great battle was fought in Northumbria, at Wellehare,[25] in which perished Alric, the son of Herbert, and many others with him. The extreme perplexity that would result, necessarily prevents me from entering into a full description of the circumstances, fluctuations, and results of the wars; for the nation of the English was naturally hardy and proud, and in consequence incessantly engaged in intestine warfare.

Egbert[25*] therefore, in the year of grace 800, or, according to some, 802, being the eighth in order of ten most valiant kings, whom I have elsewhere remarked, as pre-eminently distinguished for their singular merits, on the death of Brithric succeeded to the throne, and reigned thirty-seven years and seven months over the kingdom of Wessex. At a youthful age, his predecessor Brithric, and Offa, king of Mercia, had banished him from this country. He was in exile three years at the court of the king of France, but behaved himself nobly and discreetly. On the death of the above-named king, he returned and gained the kingdom. On the same day, earl Ethelmund returned from Wicum,[26] and, coming to Kinemeresforde,[27] met earl Wistan with the men of Wiltshire, and there they fought, and both earls being slain, the Wiltshire men gained the victory.

[25] This is probably an error for Wellham, or Wylam, in Northumberland. Lambarde says, "In the beginning of the reign of King Egbert, one of the great monarchs of this realm, there was a great battle fought at a place in the north country, called then Welham, which I take to be now called Wyllom in Coupland."

[25*] He now resumes the narrative where broken off in p. 20.

[26] The country of the Wicci, who inhabited Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.

[27] Kempsford. Lambarde suggests that this may be Comberford, near Calne.

In the fourth year after this, died Ethelred, archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded by Wilfred, and two years after, Cuthred, king of Kent, departed this life.

In the following year, Hardulph, king of Northumbria, was expelled from his kingdom.

In the fourteenth year of his reign, Egbert overran the territories of the Britons[28] from east to west, and there was no one who could even attempt to make resistance to his prowess.

In the year after this, Charles, king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans, departed this life; and in the following year, Saint Leo, the pope, having died, Stephen succeeded him, who in his turn was succeeded by Paschal.

Shortly after this, Kenwulph, king of Mercia, departed this life, and was succeeded by Ceolwulph; but in the third year after this, he lost his kingdom, and Beornwulph gained possession of it.

In the fourteenth[29] year of his reign, Egbert fought a battle with Beornwulph, king of Mercia, at Ellendune,[30] by reason of which, an old saying mentions that, "The river Ellendune was red with gore, choked up with carnage, and stinking with putrefaction." After a very great slaughter there of both nations, Egbert was the melancholy conqueror. After this, pursuing his successes, he sent his son Ethelwulph, who afterwards became king, and bishop Alestan,[31] and earl Walhard, with a great army, into Kent; on which they drove Balred, the king, beyond the Thames. King Egbert then received the people of Surrey, and Kent, and Sussex under his subjection, of whom his kinsman, Pren, had formerly been unjustly deprived. In this year also, the king of East Anglia, together with his people, acknowledged king Egbert as his protector; and after this, in the same year, the East Angles slew Bernulph, king of the Mercians, who was succeeded by Ludecen.

In the same year there was a very great battle between the Britons[32] and the people of Devonshire, at Gavelford,[33] where many thousands of men were slain on both sides.

In the following year, Ludecen, king of Mercia, and five earls, were slain.

[28] The people of North Wales. [29] This should be "twenty-fourth."
[30] Supposed to have been near Winchester, though Highworth, in Wiltshire, and Hillingdon, in Middlesex, have been suggested.
[31] Of Sherborne. [32] The Welsh. [33] Camelford, in Cornwall.

In the twenty-seventh year of his reign, Egbert expelled Wilaf, king of Mercia, who had succeeded king Ludecen, and possessed himself of the kingdom. As he had now gained possession of all the kingdom on the south side of the Humber, he led an army to Dore[34] against the Northumbrians; on which, submissively offering concord and obedience to the great king, they were peacefully reduced to subjection.

In the following year, king Egbert led an army into North Wales, and subjected it by force of arms.

In the succeeding year, Wilfred, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Ceolnoth.

In the thirty-eighth[35] year of king Egbert, an army of Danes returned to England; and shortly after, they were vanquished at Danemute,[36] and put to flight. Shortly after this, they ravaged Sepey,[37] on which king Egbert with his forces fought against them, they having come thither with thirty-five very large vessels. In the following year he fought against them at Carra,[38] and there the Danes gained the victory, and two bishops, Herefred[39] and Wilfred,[40] with two dukes, Dudda and Osmod, were slain.

In the following year, a naval force of the Danes came into West Wales, on which the Welsh united with the Danes and made an attack upon king Egbert. The king, however, enjoying success, gloriously repulsed them, and, valiant as they were, bravely routed them at Hengistendune.[41]

In the year after this, Egbert, the great king and monarch of Britain, departed this life, after having made his sons heirs to the kingdoms of which he was in possession, appointing Ethelwulph king of Wessex, and Ethelstan king of Kent, Sussex, and Essex. But as we have now come to the mo-

[34] Lambarde suggests, that it may possibly be Darton, or Darfield, in Yorkshire.

[35] This should be "thirty-fifth."

[36] A various reading gives Donemuth. Lambarde thinks that this place stood at the confluence of the rivers Don and Trent, not far from the town of Kingston-upon-Hull.

[37] The isle of Sheppey, at the mouth of the Thames.

[38] Charmouth.

[39] He appears to have been bishop of Winchester.

[40] He was bishop of either Sherburne or Selsey.

[41] Lambarde says, "I take this to be the same place that is at this day called Henkston Doune, in Cornwall; for the fall is easy from Hengistdune to Hengstdune, and so to Hengston; and it is most apparent that it was either in Cornwall, or not far off."

narchies of England, and to the frightful plague which afflicted us in the descents of the Danes, the book may be made appropriately devoted to a new subject.

At the beginning[41] of my history, I have mentioned that Britain was afflicted with five plagues; the fourth of which, namely, that caused by the Danes, I shall treat of in the present book, and the more so, as this was far more dreadful and caused far more bloodshed than the others. For the Romans kept Britain under their subjection during only a short period, and ruled it gloriously by the laws of the conquerors. Again, the Picts and the Scots made frequent irruptions into Britain on the northern side, but, still, they did not attack it in every quarter, and on being sometimes repulsed with loss, they not unfrequently paused in their invasions. Again, the Saxons, using all their endeavours, gradually gained the land by warfare: when gained, they kept possession of it; when in their possession, they built upon it; when built upon, they ruled it with their laws. The Normans also, who speedily and in a very short time subdued this country, granted to the conquered their lives, their liberty, and the ancient laws of the realm, upon which matters I shall enlarge at the proper time.

On the other hand, the Danes continually and perseveringly harassed the land, and in their incursions shewed a desire not to keep possession of it, but rather to lay it waste, and to destroy everything, not to obtain rule. If at any time they were overcome, no benefit resulted therefrom, for on a sudden a fleet and a still greater army would make its appearance in another quarter; and it was a matter for astonishment how, when the kings of the English would march to fight with them on the eastern side, before they approached the troops of the enemy, a messenger would come in haste and say, "O king, whither are you going? An innumerable fleet of the pagans on the southern side has taken possession of the coasts of England, and, depopulating cities and towns, has ravaged every place with fire and sword;" on the same day another would come running and saying, "O king, whither are you flying? A terrible army has landed on the western side of England; if you do not quickly turn and make head against them, they will think that you have taken to flight, and will

[41] He has not previously made any such remark; this and some other passages would lead us to infer that some portion of the work is lost.

pursue you with flames and carnage." On the same day or the succeeding one, another messenger would come running and out of breath, and say, "Whither, ye nobles, are you going? The Danes, leaving their northern regions, have already burnt your houses, already carried off your property, tossed your children on the points of their spears, and committed violence on the wives of some, while those of others they have carried away with them."

Thus then, both king and people, being distracted by so many evil rumours and sinister reports, were relaxed both in hands and heart, and pined away with consternation of mind. Consequently, not even when they were victorious, did they experience any joy, as usually is the case, nor did they entertain any assured hopes of safety. The following is the reason why the justice of God raged so fiercely, and his wrath was so greatly inflamed against them.

In the primitive church of the English, religion shone forth with most brilliant lustre, inasmuch as kings and queens, nobles and princes, as well as bishops of churches, being inflamed with ardent desire for a heavenly kingdom, sought either the walls of the monastery or voluntary exile, as I have already shown. But in process of time all traces of virtue waxed so faint in them, that they would allow no nation to be their equal for treachery and wickedness, a thing which is especially notorious in the history of the kings of Northumberland; for just as their impiety has been described in my account of the actions of the kings, in the same way did men of every rank and station persist in a course of deceit and treachery, and nothing was esteemed disgraceful except piety, while innocence was considered most deserving of a violent death. In consequence, the Lord Almighty sent down upon them, like swarms of bees, most bloodthirsty nations, who spared neither age nor sex, such as the Danes and the Goths, the Norwegians and the Swedes, the Vandals and the Frisians; who, from the beginning of the reign of king Ethelwulph down to the time of the arrival of the Normans and of king William, that is to say, for a period of three hundred and thirty years, dreadfully afflicted this country, and laid it waste with desolation far and wide. Sometimes also, in consequence of the nearness of Britain, as the avengers and scourges of God for the misdeeds of the people, they invaded the country of France; but, having made

these observations, it is time to return to the thread of my narrative.

In the first year of his reign, Ethelwulph made head against these enemies in one part of his kingdom; and, as multitudes of the pagans increased on every side, he sent earl Wulfred, with a part of his army, to attack some Danes, who, with thirty-three ships, had effected a landing at Hampton;[42] on there meeting with them, after an immense slaughter of the enemy, gained a glorious victory. King Ethelwulph also sent earl Ethelhelm, with the levies of Wessex, to attack another army at Port;[43] an engagement taking place, after an obstinate battle the earl was slain, and the Danes were victorious.

In the following year, earl Herbert fought against them at Merseware,[44] and the Danes being the conquerors, his own men were put to flight, and he was slain. In the same year, an army of the pagans marched through the eastern parts of England, namely, Lindesey, East Anglia, and Kent, and slew an innumerable multitude with the sword.

In the next year after this, coming further inland, the army of the Danes slew an immense number of people in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, Rochester, and London.

In the fifth year of his reign, Ethelwulph, with a part of his army, fought against the crews of thirty-five ships at Carre,[45] and the Danes were victorious. For, although the

[42] Southampton.

[43] The isle of Portland.

[44] Instead of naming the place, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says: "This year Herebert, the ealdorman, was slain by the heathen, and many with him, among the Marshmen." In Ethelwerd's Chronicle the place is called Merswarum, and Romney Marsh is supposed to be intended under that name. Lambarde has the following quaint note on this passage: "Henry Huntingdon, in the Fifth Book of his History, speaking of the conflicts had with the Danes under the reign of Ædelwulfe, reports, amongst other things, that Herebert, an earl, fought with them, at a place which he called Marseware, and was slain. Matthew Westminster repeateth the same, and instead of Marseware, setteth down 'apud Marsunarum.' So that both these, and so many others as have followed them, take the name Mersewar for a place, and not for a number of persons. In which, through ignorance of the Saxon tongue, they have foully erred; for the Saxon books say that Herebert was slain, 'and with him many of the Mercians, or men of Mercia.' So that the history describeth of what country they were that were slain, but not in what place the slaughter was committed."

[45] Charmouth.

number of the ships was but small, still the number of men on board of them was considerable.

In the fifth year after this, the venerable bishop Alstan and duke Ernulph with the men of Somerset, and duke Osred with the men of Dorset, fought against an army of Danes at Pendredesmuthe,[46] and by the aid of God, slew many of them, and obtained the glory of a triumph.

In the sixteenth year of his reign, Ethelwulph and his son Ethelbald, having collected all their forces, fought with a large army of the barbarians, who had come with two hundred and fifty[47] ships to Thames-mouth, and had destroyed those cities, famous and renowned for ages, London and Canterbury, and put to flight Bretwulph, king of the Mercians, together with his army; who never afterwards enjoyed success, and dying in the following year, was succeeded by Burrhed. After this, the Danes growing still bolder, all their forces were collected in Surrey, and they met the king's troops at Akelea.[48] In consequence, a battle was fought between these two great armies, so mighty and so severely contested, that no person had ever before heard of such a battle being fought in England. You might behold warriors sweeping onward on either side, just like a field of standing corn, rivers of blood flowing and rolling along in their streams the heads and limbs of the slain; but it would be an act of excessive and over-nice fastidiousness to attempt to describe individual exploits. In short, God granted the fortune of war to the faithful, and those who put their trust in him, but to his enemies and contemners defeat and indescribable confusion. King Ethelwulph therefore, being conqueror in this mighty battle, gained a glorious triumph.

In the same year, Ethelstan, king of Kent, and duke Ealred[49] fought a naval battle against the Danes at Sandwich, and having made a great slaughter of the enemy, captured nine of their ships, on which the rest took to flight. Earl Cheorl, also, with the men of Devonshire, fought against the pagans at Wienor,[50] and having killed a great number of them, was victorious. Consequently, this year was one of good fortune to the

[46] The mouth of the river Parret, in Somersetshire.

[47] Another reading is 315; but the other historians make the number 350.

[48] Ockley.

[49] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Ethelwerd's Chronicle call him Elchere: he is also so called in p. 42.

[50] Wembury, near Plymouth.

English nation. This, however, was the first year in which the army of the pagans remained throughout the whole of the winter, which they did in the isle of Teneit.[51]

In the eighteenth year of his reign, Ethelwulph materially assisted Burrhed, king of the Mercians, in subjugating the people of North Wales, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He had four sons, who were all kings in succession, namely, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred. This Alfred his father sent, when he was a child five years old, in the year above-mentioned, to Rome, to the court of pope Leo; the same pope afterwards pronounced his blessing on him as king, and treated him as his own son. This year, duke Ealhere, with the men of Kent, and Huda, with the men of Surrey, fought against an army of the heathens in Teneit, and a great multitude on either side was slain, or perished by shipwreck, and both the above-named dukes lost their lives.

Ethelwulph, the illustrious king of Essex, in the nineteenth year of his reign, set apart a tenth of all the lands in his realm, and bestowed it upon the church, for the love of God, and for his own salvation. Afterwards, he went to Rome in great state, and took with him his son Alfred, whom he loved more than the others. There he remained one year, and on his return thence, took the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France, to wife, and brought her with him into this country; after having lived with her two years, he died, and was buried at Winchester. He had at first been bishop of that city, but on the death of his father, Egbert, being compelled by necessity, he was made king, and, having married a noble wife, became father of the four sons above-named. About this period, the pagans passed the whole winter at Sepey, that is to say, "the island of sheep."

The above-named king, on his decease, left to his son, Ethelbald, his hereditary kingdom of Wessex, and to Ethelbert, another son, the kingdom of Kent, with Sussex and Wessex. Both the brothers being young men of excellent natural disposition, held their kingdoms without the slightest molestation as long as they lived.

Ethelbald, the king of Wessex, after he had reigned peacefully for five years, was cut off by a premature death.

[51] Thanet. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions the isle of Sheppey here, and makes it some years later.

All England bewailed the youthful age of Ethelbald, and there was great mourning for him; he was buried at Sherburne, and England was afterwards sensible what a loss she had experienced in him.

Ethelbert, the brother of the above-mentioned king, reigned after him in Wessex, having been previously king of Kent. In his days a naval force came, and having attacked Winchester, destroyed it; thus "fell the ancient city that for many a year had borne the sway."

Ethelbert, dying ten years after, was succeeded by Ethelred, who, after reigning six years, was succeeded by king Alfred, whose reign lasted twenty-eight years. His genealogy, together with his actions and the events of his time, are described below.

THE KINGS OF WESSEX.

Cerdic reigned five years.

Kenric, his son, reigned twenty-six years.

Chenling, his son, reigned thirty-one years.

Chelric reigned six years.

Chelwulph reigned fourteen years.

Kiniglis, who was a Christian, reigned one year. He was baptized by Saint Birinus.

Kenwald, his son, reigned thirty-one years.

Sexburga, the queen, reigned one year.

Escwin reigned two years.

Kentwin reigned nine years.

Cedwalla reigned two years; and died at Rome, while wearing the white garments.[52]

Ina reigned thirty-six years, and afterwards died at Rome.

Adelard reigned thirteen years.

Chutred reigned sixteen years.

Sigebert, a cruel man, reigned one year, and was expelled.

Kinewulph reigned twenty-six years, and was afterwards slain.

Brithric reigned sixteen years. In his reign the Danes first came to England.

Egbert reigned thirty-five years. He was monarch of all England.

Ethelwulph reigned eighteen years.

[52] The white or initiatory garments of the novice, or intended monk.

Ethelbald reigned five years.
Ethelbert reigned six years.
Ethelred, his brother, reigned five years.
Alfred the Learned reigned twenty-nine years.
Edward reigned twenty-four years.
Athelstan, his brother, reigned sixteen years.
Edmund reigned six years and one day.
Edred reigned nine years and one day.
Edwin reigned three years and nine months.
Edgar the Just reigned sixteen years.
Edward the Martyr reigned four years.
Ethelred, his brother, reigned thirty-eight years.
Edmund Ironside reigned nine months.
Canute, the Dane, reigned nineteen years.
Harold, his son, reigned five years.
Hardicanute reigned two years.
Edward the Just reigned twenty-four years.
Harold reigned nine months.
William the Bastard reigned twenty-one years.
William Rufus reigned thirteen years.
Henry, the Lion of Justice, reigned thirty-five years and three months.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 849, Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, was born in the district called Berkshire;[53] the following is the order of his genealogical line. King Alfred was the son of king Ethelwulph, who was the son of Egbert, who was the son of Ealmund, who was the son of Eafeo, who was the son of Eoppa, who was the son of Ingild. Ingild, and Ina, the famous king of the West Saxons, were two brothers; this Ina went to Rome, and there ending this life, entered a heavenly country, there to reign with Christ. They were the sons of Coenred, who was the son of Ceolwald, who was the son of Cutha, who was the son of Cuthwin, who was the son of Ceaulin, who was the son of Cynric, who was the son of Creda, who was the son of Cerdic, who was the son of Elesa, who was the son of Elta, who was the son of Gewis, from whom the Britons call all people of that nation by the name of Gewis;[54] he was the son of Wig, who was the

[53] At Wantage.
[54] He probably alludes to the West Saxons, or people of Wessex, who were called Gewissæ.

son of Freawin, who was the son of Freoderegeat, who was the son of Brand, who was the son of Bealdeag, who was the son of Woden, who was the son of Friderwald, who was the son of Frealaf, who was the son of Friderwulph, who was the son of Fingoldulph, who was the son of Geta, (which Geta the pagans long worshipped as a god,) who was the son of Cetua, who was the son of Bean, who was the son of Sceldua, who was the son of Heremod, who was the son of Itermod, who was the son of Hathra, who was the son of Wala, who was the son of Beadwig, who was the son of Shem, who was the son of Noah, who was the son of Lamech, who was the son of Methusaleh, who was the son of Enoch, who was the son of Malaleel, who was the son of Canaan, who was the son of Enos, who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Adam.

The mother of Alfred was named Osburg, an extremely pious woman, noble by nature, noble too by birth; she was the daughter of Oslac, the famous butler of king Ethelwulph; who was a Goth by nation, inasmuch as he was descended from the Goths and Jutes, of the seed of Stuf and Withgar, two brothers and earls; who, having received possession of the isle of Wight from their uncle, king Cerdic, and his son Cinric, their cousin, slew the few British inhabitants they could find in that island, at a place called Withgaraburgh;[55] for the rest of the inhabitants of the island had been either slain or had escaped into exile.

In the year 851, Cheorl, earl of Devonshire, with the men of Devon, fought against the Danes and defeated them. In the same year a great army of the pagans came with three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the river Thames, and sacked Dorobernia, that is, the city of Canterbury, and put to flight Bretwulph, king of the Mercians, who had come to oppose them.

After this, the Danes growing more bold, all their army was collected in Surrey. On hearing this, Ethelwulph, the mighty warrior, with his son, Ethelbald, collected an army at the place which is called Akelea,[56] and, engaging with the pagans, he defeated them with unheard-of slaughter.

In the year 852, Berthwulph, king of the Mercians, departed this life, and was succeeded by Burrhed. In the same year,

[55] It is supposed that this may have been Carisbrook, in the isle of Wight.

[56] Ockley, in Surrey.

king Ethelstan and earl Elchere, conquered a great army of the pagans at Sandwich, and after slaying nearly all of them, took nine of their ships.

In the year 853, Burrhed, king of the Mercians, supported by the assistance of king Ethelwulph, attacked the Mid-Britons,[57] and having conquered them, reduced them to subjection. In the same year, king Ethelwulph sent his son Alfred, who was then five years old, to Rome with a great escort of nobles; on which, Saint Leo, the pope, at the request of his father, ordained and anointed him for king, and, receiving him as his own adopted son, confirmed him, and sent him back with his blessing to his father.

In the year 854, Wulfred, having received the pall, was confirmed in the see of York, Osbert being king of Northumbria; Eardulph also received the bishopric of Lindisfarne. At this period, earl Alchere with the men of Kent, and duke Wada, with the men of Surrey, fought a severe battle in the isle of Tened[58] against the pagans, and after routing them at the first onset, at length, after very many had fallen on either side, both the noblemen were slain. This year, Ethelwulph, king of the West Saxons, gave his daughter in marriage to Burrhed, king of the Mercians, at the royal town which is called Cyppanhame,[59] with a great profusion of all kinds of riches.

In the year 855, a great army of the pagans passed the whole of the winter in the isle of Sceapeye,[60] that is to say, "the island of sheep." In the same year, king Ethelwulph released the tenth part of the whole of his kingdom from all royal service and tribute, and with an everlasting pen[61] at the cross of Christ, offered it up to the One and Triune God, for the redemption of his soul and those of his predecessors. He also proceeded with great pomp to Rome, and taking with him his son Alfred, whom he loved more than his other sons, and whom he had before sent to Rome, now for the second time, remained there a whole year, on the completion of which, he returned to his own country, bringing with him Juthina,[62] the daughter of Charles, king of the Franks. After his return from Rome he lived two years.

Among the other good works that he did, he ordered every

[57] The Welsh, on the borders of England. [58] Thanet.
[59] Chippenham, in Wiltshire. [60] Sheppey.
[61] Graphio. "Graphium," was properly the "stylus," or iron pen of the ancient Romans. [62] Her name was really Judith.

year to be taken to Rome three hundred mancuses of money; a hundred in honor of Saint Peter, for the purchase of oil, with which all the lamps of that church might be filled at the vigils of Easter, and likewise at cock-crow; a hundred also, in honor of Saint Paul, for the same purpose; and a hundred mancuses for the Catholic Pontiff, the successor of the Apostles.

He being dead, and buried at Winchester, his son Ethelbald, during two years and a half after the reign of his father, governed the West Saxons, and with disgraceful wickedness took to wife, Judith, the daughter of king Charles, whom his father had married. At the same period, the most holy Edmund, who sprang from the race of the ancient Saxons, ascended the throne of East Anglia.

In the year 860, king Ethelbald departed this life, and was buried at Sherburne, and his brother Ethelbert succeeding him, held Kent, Surrey,[63] and Sussex as his kingdom; in his days a great army of the pagans came up from the sea, and having hostilely attacked the city of Winchester, destroyed it. As they were returning towards the sea, laden with great booty, Osric, earl of Hampshire, with his men, and earl Ethelwulph, with the men of Berkshire, stoutly confronted them, and, an engagement taking place, the pagans fell on every side, the rest being dispersed in flight.

Ethelbert, also, having governed his kingdom peacefully, and with the love of all, for five years, died amid the great regrets of his people, and was buried at Sherburne, near his brother, in the year 863. In this year also, Saint Swithin, bishop of Winchester, departed unto the Lord.

In the year 864, the pagans wintered in the isle of Tened, and made a firm treaty with the men of Kent, who agreed to give them money for observing their compact. In the meantime, however, just like foxes, the pagans secretly sallied forth from their camp by night, and, breaking their covenant, in hopes of greater gain, ravaged all the eastern coast of Kent.

In the year 866, Ethelred, brother of king Ethelbert, undertook the government of the kingdom of the West Saxons. In the same year, a great fleet of the pagans came from Danubia to Britain, and wintered in East Anglia, where that force in a great measure provided itself with horses.

[63] The reading clearly ought to be "Suthrigiam," but the text has it "supremam."

again uniting all the strength of their forces, went out to fight against the above-mentioned army, with all their might and a hearty good-will, at a place called Eschedun,[69] which means "the hill of the ash." But the pagans divided themselves into two bodies, with equal close columns, and prepared for battle. For on that occasion they had two kings and many earls; the centre of the army they gave to the two kings, and the other part to all the earls. On seeing this, the Christians also, dividing their army into two bodies, with no less alacrity, ranged them front to front; after which Alfred more speedily and promptly moved onward to give them battle; whereas, just then, his brother Ethelred was in his tent at prayer, hearing mass, and resolutely declared that he would not move from there before the priest had finished the mass, and that he would not forsake the service of God for that of men. This faith on the part of the Christian king greatly prevailed with God, as we shall show in the sequel.

Now the Christians had determined that king Ethelred, with his troops, should engage with the two pagan kings; and that his brother Alfred, with his men, should take the chance of war against all the nobles of the pagan army. Matters being thus arranged, while the king, still at his prayers, was prolonging the delay, the pagans, fully prepared, advanced rapidly towards the place of combat; on which, Alfred, who then held but a subordinate authority, being unable any longer to cope with the forces of the enemy, unless he either retreated, or made the charge before his brother came up, at length, with the courage of a wild boar, manfully led on the Christian troops against the army of the enemy, and, relying on the divine aid, his ranks being drawn up in close order, immediately moved on his standards against the foe. At last, king Ethelred having finished his prayers, on which he had been engaged, came up, and having invoked the great Ruler of the world, immediately commenced the battle.

But at this point, I must inform those who are not aware of the fact, that the field of battle was not equally advantageous to those engaged. For the pagans had previously taken possession of the higher ground, while the Christians drew up their forces on the lower. There was also on that spot a thorn

[69] Now Aston, in Berkshire; some, however, think that Ashendon in Buckinghamshire is meant.

tree, of very stunted growth, around which the hostile ranks closed in battle, amid the loud shouts of all. After they had fought for some time boldly and bravely on both sides, the pagans, by the Divine judgment, were no longer able to bear the onset of the Christians, and the greater part of them being slain, the rest took to a disgraceful flight.

At this place one of the two kings of the pagans, and five of their earls, were slain, and many thousands of them besides who fell at that spot, and in various places, scattered over the whole breadth of the plain of Eschedun. There fell there king Baiseg, and earl Sydroc the elder, and another earl Sydroc the younger, earl Osbern, earl Freana, and earl Harold. The whole army of the pagans pursued its flight all night, until next day, when most who had escaped reached the castle.

In four days[70] after these events, Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, uniting their forces, marched to Basing, again to fight with the pagans, and after a prolonged combat the pagans at length gained the victory. Again, after a lapse of two months, king Ethelred and his brother Alfred, after having long fought with the pagans, who had divided themselves into two bodies, conquered them at Meretun,[71] putting them all to flight; but these having again rallied, many on both sides were slain, and the pagans at last gained the day.

The same year, after Easter, king Ethelred departed this life, after having manfully ruled the kingdom five years amid much tribulation, on which his brother Alfred succeeded him as king, in the year from the incarnation of our Lord 872. He was the most accomplished among the Saxon poets, most watchful in the service of God, and most discreet in the exercise of justice. His queen Elswisa bore him two sons, Edward and Egelward, and three daughters, Egelfleda, queen of the Mercians, Ethelgeva, a nun, and Elethritha.

At the completion of one year[72] from the beginning of his reign, at a hill called Walton,[73] he fought a most severe battle

[70] Asser and Roger of Wendover say fourteen days; which is more probable.

[71] Merton.

[72] "One month" is a various reading here, and is supported by Roger of Wendover.

[73] A various reading here, supported by Asser, Roger de Wendover, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, is Wilton, but Brompton calls the place Walton in Sussex.

again uniting all the strength of their forces, went out to fight against the above-mentioned army, with all their might and a hearty good-will, at a place called Eschedun,[69] which means "the hill of the ash." But the pagans divided themselves into two bodies, with equal close columns, and prepared for battle. For on that occasion they had two kings and many earls; the centre of the army they gave to the two kings, and the other part to all the earls. On seeing this, the Christians also, dividing their army into two bodies, with no less alacrity, ranged them front to front; after which Alfred more speedily and promptly moved onward to give them battle; whereas, just then, his brother Ethelred was in his tent at prayer, hearing mass, and resolutely declared that he would not move from there before the priest had finished the mass, and that he would not forsake the service of God for that of men. This faith on the part of the Christian king greatly prevailed with God, as we shall show in the sequel.

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But at this point, I must inform those who are not aware of the fact, that the field of battle was not equally advantageous to those engaged. For the pagans had previously taken possession of the higher ground, while the Christians drew up their forces on the lower. There was also on that spot a thorn

[69] Now Aston, in Berkshire; some, however, think that Ashendon in Buckinghamshire is meant.

tree, of very stunted growth, around which the hostile ranks closed in battle, amid the loud shouts of all. After they had fought for some time boldly and bravely on both sides, the pagans, by the Divine judgment, were no longer able to bear the onset of the Christians, and the greater part of them being slain, the rest took to a disgraceful flight.

At this place one of the two kings of the pagans, and five of their earls, were slain, and many thousands of them besides who fell at that spot, and in various places, scattered over the whole breadth of the plain of Eschedun. There fell there king Baiseg, and earl Sydroc the elder, and another earl Sydroc the younger, earl Osbern, earl Freana, and earl Harold. The whole army of the pagans pursued its flight all night, until next day, when most who had escaped reached the castle.

In four days[70] after these events, Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, uniting their forces, marched to Basing, again to fight with the pagans, and after a prolonged combat the pagans at length gained the victory. Again, after a lapse of two months, king Ethelred and his brother Alfred, after having long fought with the pagans, who had divided themselves into two bodies, conquered them at Meretun,[71] putting them all to flight; but these having again rallied, many on both sides were slain, and the pagans at last gained the day.

The same year, after Easter, king Ethelred departed this life, after having manfully ruled the kingdom five years amid much tribulation, on which his brother Alfred succeeded him as king, in the year from the incarnation of our Lord 872. He was the most accomplished among the Saxon poets, most watchful in the service of God, and most discreet in the exercise of justice. His queen Elswisa bore him two sons, Edward and Egelward, and three daughters, Egelfleda, queen of the Mercians, Ethelgeva, a nun, and Elethritha.

At the completion of one year[72] from the beginning of his reign, at a hill called Walton,[73] he fought a most severe battle

[70] Asser and Roger of Wendover say fourteen days; which is more probable.

[71] Merton.

[72] "One month" is a various reading here, and is supported by Roger of Wendover.

[73] A various reading here, supported by Asser, Roger de Wendover, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, is Wilton, but Brompton calls the place Walton in Sussex.

with a handful of men against the pagans; but, alas! the enemy was victorious; nor indeed is it to be wondered at, that the Christians had but a small number of men in the engagement; for in a single year they had been worn out by eight battles against the pagans, in which one of their kings and nine dukes, with innumerable troops, had been slain.

In the year 872, Alchun, bishop of the Wiccii,[74] having departed this life, Werefrith, the foster-father of the holy church of Worcester, and a man most learned in the holy scriptures, was ordained bishop by Ethered archbishop of Canterbury, on the seventh day before the ides of June, being the day of Pentecost; he, at the request of king Alfred, translated the books of the dialogues of the pope Saint Gregory, from the Latin into the Saxon tongue. At the same period, the Northumbrians expelled their king, Egbert, and their archbishop Wulpher. An army of the pagans came to London, and wintered there, on which the Mercians made a treaty with them.

In the year 873, the said army left London, and first proceeded to the country of the Northumbrians, and wintered there in the district which is called Lindesig,[75] at a place called Torkeseie,[76] on which the Mercians again made a treaty of peace with them. Egbert the king of Northumbria dying, his successor was Reisig, who reigned three years. Wulpher, also, was this year recalled to his see.

In the year 874, the above-mentioned army left Lindesey, and, entering Mercia, wintered at a place which is called Reopadun.[77] They also expelled Burrhed king of Mercia, from his kingdom, in the twenty-second year of his reign. Going to Rome, he died there, and was honorably buried in the church of Saint Mary, in the school of the Saxons. After his expulsion, the Danes reduced the kingdom of the Mercians to subjection, and committed it to the charge of a certain military officer of that nation, Ceolwulph by name, on condition that whenever they chose, without any subterfuge, they might take and keep it.

[74] The inhabitants of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire.

[75] Lindesey in Lincolnshire.

[76] Of this place Lambarde says; "it is a town in Lincolnshire, which, because it stood near the water, and was much washed therewith, obtained the name of an island, for so the latter part of the word, 'eie' doth signify, the former being the name of some person."

[77] Repton in Derbyshire.

In the year 875, the army of the pagans, leaving Reopadun, divided into two bodies, one part of which, with Alfdan, proceeded to the country of the Northumbrians, and reduced the whole kingdom of Northumbria to subjection. Thereupon Erdulph, bishop of Lindisfarne, and abbat Edred carried away the body of Saint Cuthbert from the island of Lindisfarne and wandered about with it for a period of seven years. The other division of the army with Guder,[79] Osbitel, and Amund, their three kings, wintered at Grantebrige.[80]

King Alfred, in a naval engagement with six ships of the pagans, captured one, and the rest escaped by flight.

In the year 876, the pagan king Halden divided Northumbria between himself and his followers. Reisig, king of the Northumbrians, died, and was succeeded by Egbert the Second. Rollo, the pagan, a Dane by birth, with his followers this year entered Normandy, on the fifteenth day before the calends of December; he was the first duke of the Normans, and on being baptized thirty years afterwards, was named Robert.

The above-mentioned army sallying forth by night from Grantebrige, entered a fortified place which is called Werham.[81] On learning their sudden arrival, the king of the Saxons made a treaty with them, on condition that having first given hostages,[82] they should depart from the kingdom. However, after their usual custom, caring nothing for hostages or oaths, they broke the treaty, and one night took the road to Examcester,[83] which in the British language is called Caer-wisc.[84]

In the year 877, the above-mentioned army left Examcester, and marching to Cyppanham,[85] a royal town, passed the winter there. King Alfred in these days endured great tribulations, and lived a life of disquietude. In the same year also, Inguar and Haldene came from the country of the Demetæ,[86] in which they had wintered, like ravening wolves, after having slaughtered multitudes of Christians there and burned the monasteries, and sailing to Devonshire, were slain there by the

[79] The various reading supported by the other chronicles is Guthrum.
[80] Cambridge. [81] Wareham. [82] The Danes, namely,
[83] Exeter, "the fortified city on the Ex."
[84] "The city on the river Wisc." [85] Chippenham.
[86] The original has "De Meticâ regione," which is obviously an error for "de Demeticâ regione." The Demetæ were the people of the coast of South Wales.

most valiant thanes of king Alfred, together with twelve hundred men, at Cernwich,[87] in which place the said king's thanes had shut themselves up for safety.

King Alfred being encouraged in a vision by Saint Cuthbert, fought against the Danes, at the time and place where the saint had commanded him; and having gained the victory, from that time forward was always invincible and a terror to the foe. For the king, putting his trust in the Lord, came with an immense army to the place which is called Edderandun,[88] near which he found the forces of the enemy prepared for battle. On this, a severe battle being fought, which lasted the greater part of the day, the pagans were conquered and put to flight; the rest being hemmed in by the king's army, fearing the rigours of famine and cold, and dreading the severity of the king, with tears and entreaties, sued for peace, and offered hostages together with oaths. In addition to this, their king, whose name was Guthrum, declared that he wished to become a Christian; on which, king Alfred having granted all these requests, the above-named king of the pagans, together with thirty chosen men of his army, met him at a place which is called Aalr,[89] and king Alfred, receiving him as his son by adoption, raised him from the holy font of baptism, and named him Ethelstan, and enriched him and all his companions who had been baptized with him, with many presents. He remained with the king twelve days, receiving during that time most honorable entertainment, and the king bestowed on him East Anglia, over which Saint Edmund had reigned.

In the year 878, the above-mentioned army of pagans left Scippanham[90] as they had promised, and coming to Cirencester remained there one year. In the same year also, an immense army of the pagans came from the parts beyond the sea to the river Thames, and joined the forces before-mentioned. In the same year, an eclipse of the sun took place, between the ninth hour[91] and vespers.

In the year 879, the army of the pagans, leaving Cirencester,

[87] More properly Kynwith, near Bideford, in North Devon. Hubberstone, the spot where Hubba was buried, is still pointed out.

[88] Probably Edington, in Wiltshire.

[89] Called also "Alre," or "Aller," near the isle of Athelney, in Somersetshire.

[90] Chippenham.

[91] Three o'clock in the afternoon. This eclipse took place on the 14th of March, 880.

proceeded to East Anglia, and parcelling out that country, began to take up their abode there. The pagans, who had passed the winter in the island of Hame,[92] began to visit France,[93] and for one year took their quarters at Ghent.

In the year 880, the above-mentioned army of the pagans, having provided themselves with horses, came into the territories of the Franks, on which the Franks engaged them in battle, and came off victorious. The pagans, having now obtained horses, made incursions on every side. In these days, numerous monasteries in that kingdom were demolished and destroyed. In consequence of this, the brethren of the monastery of the abbat Saint Benedict, disinterred his remains from the tomb where they had been deposited, and taking them with them, wandered to and fro.

In the year 881, the above-mentioned army, having towed their ships up the river Meuse, into the interior of France, wintered there one year. In the same year, king Alfred, engaging in a naval fight with the ships of the pagans, overcame them, and took two, after having slain all that were in them. After this, he inflicted numerous wounds upon the commanders of two ships, till at last, laying down their arms, with prayers and entreaties they surrendered to him.

In the year 882, the army of the pagans so often mentioned, took possession of Cundoth,[94] and quartered there one year. The army, which, under the command of Alfdene, the king of the pagans, had invaded Northumbria, had for some time been without a leader, in consequence, as I have already mentioned, of the slaughter of Alfdene and Inguar by the thanes of king Alfred: but now, having subdued the inhabitants of the country, they took possession of it, and began to take up their abode there, and to inhabit the districts of Northumbria that they had before laid waste.

Upon this, Saint Cuthbert, appearing in a vision to abbat Edred, commanded him to tell the bishop and all the army of the English and the Danes, that, paying the price of his redemption, they must redeem Cuthred, the son of Hardicanute, whom

[92] This is the place which the other chroniclers call Fulenham, now Fulham, near London.

[93] Roger of Wendover says that the Danes, who wintered at Fulham, "arrived from the parts of Gaul."

[94] Or "Cundaht," now Condé, in France.

the Danes had sold as a slave to a certain widow at Wintingham,[95] and when redeemed must make him their king. This was accordingly done, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Alfred. Cuthred being thus raised to the throne, the episcopal see, which was previously in the island of Lindisfarne, was established at Cestre,[96] anciently called Cuneceastre, seven years after its removal from the island of Lindisfarne. At this time also, the law of peace which Saint Cuthbert had also enjoined by means of the above-named abbat, (namely, that whoever should flee to his body, should enjoy peace without molestation from any one, for thirty-seven days,[97]) both king Cuthred and king Alfred enjoined as a law of perpetual observance. In addition to this, the above-named two kings, with the consent of all, had previously given, in augmentation of the former episcopal see, the whole territory between the Tyne and the Tees to Saint Cuthbert, for a perpetual possession: for long before this period, the bishopric of the church of Hagustald[98] had ceased to exist. And whatever person, with what intent soever, should attempt to infringe these provisions, him with everlasting curses they condemned to the punishments of hell.

There belonged to the bishopric of Lindisfarne, from early times, Luguballia,[99] or Luel, and Northam;[1] all the churches also, that lay between the river Tweed and the south Tyne, and beyond the uninhabited land, as far as the western side, at this period belonged to the above-named church. These houses also belonged to the see, Carnhum and Culterham, and the two Gedewerdes,[2] on the southern bank of the river Tyne, which bishop Egred built; Meilros[3] also, and Tigbre, and Tinigham and Colingham, and Brigham, and Tillemuthe, and Northam, above-mentioned, which was anciently called Ubbanford. Mercwrede was also in the possession of this church, having been given with all its appurtenances by king Ceolwulph.

For this house the king, on renouncing the world, transferred

[95] Whittingham, in Northumberland.
[96] Chester-le-street, in Durham.
[97] Roger of Wendover says a month.
[98] Hexham.
[99] Carlisle.
[1] Or Norham, in Northumberland.
[2] There is no doubt that the names of most of these places belonging to the bishopric of Lindisfarne, are shockingly misspelt in the text.
[3] Melrose, in Roxburghshire.

together with himself to the church of Lindisfarne, of which, he became a monk, and fought for a heavenly kingdom. His body being afterwards brought into the church of the above-named town of Northam, became famous there, according to the report of the inhabitants of the place, for performing many miracles. It was through the agency of this king, after he had become a monk, that licence was granted to the monks of the church of Lindisfarne to drink wine or ale; for before that, they were accustomed to drink nothing but milk and water, according to the ancient tradition of Saint Aidan, the first bishop of that church, and of the monks, who, accompanying him from Scotland, had there, by the liberality of king Oswald, received a refuge, and with great severity of discipline, rejoiced to serve God.

Besides this, the above-named bishop Egred built a church at a place which is called Geinforde, and presented it to Saint Cuthbert; he also built Bellingham in Heorternesse, and two other towns, Becclif and Wigeclif, on the southern bank of the river Tees, which he gave to Saint Cuthbert, for the maintenance and support of his servants; and in like manner, Wodecester, and Whittingham, and Edulfingham, and Ecwlingham,[5] being presented by king Ceolwulph, from an early period belonged to Saint Cuthbert.

In the year 883, pope Marinus, in his love for, and at the earnest entreaty of, king Alfred, obligingly made the school of the Saxons at Rome free from all tax and tribute; he also sent many gifts to that king, among which he gave him a large piece of the holy cross, upon which the Son of God was crucified for the salvation of mankind.

At this time the above-mentioned army of the pagans went up the river Sunne[6] to Amiens, and quartered themselves there one year.

In the time of king Alfred, there came into England one John, a Scot by birth, a man of shrewd intellect and of great eloquence. Having a long time previously left his country, he came to France to the court of Charles the Bald, by whom he was entertained with great respect, and was honored by him with his particular intimacy. He shared with the king both his serious and his more merry moments, and was the sole companion both of his table and his retirement. He was also a man of great facetiousness and of ready wit, of which

[5] Probably Eglingham, in Northumberland. [6] Somme.

there are instances quoted even to this day; as the following, for instance. He was sitting at table opposite the king, who was on the other side of it, and the cups having gone round and the courses ended, Charles becoming more merry than usual, after some other things, on observing John do something offensive to the French notions of good breeding, he pleasantly rebuked him, and said, "What is there between a sot and a Scot?" On which he turned back this hard hit on its author, and made answer, "A table only." What could be be more facetious than this reply? The king had asked him with reference to the different notions of manners, whereas John made answer with reference to the distance of space. Nor indeed was the king offended; for, being captivated by this prodigy of science, he was unwilling to manifest displeasure by even a word against the master, for by that name he usually called him.

At another time, when the servant had presented a dish to the king at table, which contained two very large fishes, besides one somewhat smaller, he gave it to the master, that he might share it with two clerks who were sitting near him. They were persons of gigantic stature, while he himself was small in person. On this, ever devising something merry, in order to cause amusement to those at table, he kept the two large ones for himself, and divided the smaller one between the two clerks. On the king finding fault with the unfairness of the division, "Nay," said he, "I have acted right and fairly. For here is a small one," alluding to himself, "and here are two great ones," touching the fishes; then, turning to the clerks, "here are two great ones," said he, pointing at the clerks, "and here is a small one," touching the fish.

At the request, also, of Charles, he translated the "Hierarchia," of Dionysius the Areiopagite, from Greek into Latin, word for word; the consequence of which is, that the Latin version can be hardly understood from having been rendered rather according to the Greek order of the words than according to our own idiom. He also composed a treatise, which he entitled *περὶ φύσεων μερισμοῦ*,[7] that is to say, "On the Divisions of Nature;" very useful for solving the perplexity as to some questions, making some allowance, however, for him on cer-

[7] Roger of Wendover says that the title was *περὶ φυσικῶν μερίσματος*; meaning much the same thing.

tain points. In some respects he has certainly deviated from the track of the Latins by keeping his eyes intently fixed upon the Greeks; for which reason he has been even considered a heretic, and a certain Florus wrote against him. And, indeed, there are in his book, περὶ φύσεων, very many things which, unless they are most carefully examined, seem opposed to the Catholic faith. Pope Nicholas is known to have been of this opinion; for he says, in an epistle to Charles, "It has been reported to our Apostleship, that a certain man, named John, by birth a Scot, has lately translated into Latin the work of Saint Dionysius the Areiopagite, which he eloquently wrote in Greek, touching the divine names and the celestial orders. Now, according to the usual custom, this ought to have been sent to us and submitted to the approval of our judgment; and the more especially as the said John, though he is stated to be a man of great knowledge, has been said for some time past by general report not to be quite sound on certain points."

In consequence of this discredit he became tired of France, and came to king Alfred, by whose munificence he was appointed a teacher, and settled at Malmesbury, as appears from the king's writings. Here, some years afterwards, he was stabbed with their writing instruments[8] by the boys whom he was teaching, and quitted this life in great and cruel torments; at a period when, his weakness waxing stronger and his hands shaking, he had often asked in vain that he might experience the bitterness of death. He lay for some time with an ignoble burial in the church of Saint Laurence, the scene of his shocking death; but, after the Divine favour for many nights had honored him by a ray of fire, the monks, being thus admonished, transferred him to the greater church, and placed him at the left side of the altar.

In the year 884, the above-mentioned army of the pagans divided themselves into two bodies; one of which entered East France, the other returned into Kent, and lay siege to the city of Rouecestre;[9] but the citizens made a stout resistance, and king Alfred coming to their aid with his army, compelled the heathens to raise the siege and return to their ships, leaving the fortress which they had built there before the gates of the above named city, besides their spoil, and the men and horses

[8] The "graphia," or "styli," the iron pens with which they wrote on wax tablets.

[9] Rochester.

which they had brought with them from France. In this year also a fleet was sent by king Alfred for the defence of the places around East Anglia. When they had come to the mouth of the river Stour,[9*] they found there sixteen ships of the pirates, which they took, slaying all on board of them. Those of the Danes, however, who were able to escape, collected their ships in various bodies in every quarter, and then engaging with the English in a naval battle, while, with inert supineness, they were asleep, a multitude of them unarmed were slain, and the Danes came off victorious.

At this period, Carloman, king of the Western Franks, that is to say, of the Alemanni, was killed in hunting, having been attacked by a wild boar when unattended, which mangled him with its tusk. His brother Louis had died the year before, who was also king of the Franks; for they were both sons of Louis, the king of the Franks, who had died in the year above-mentioned in which [10] the eclipse of the sun took place. He also was the son of Charles, king of the Franks, whose daughter, Jutthitta,[11] Ethelwulph, king of the West-Saxons, had taken for his queen.

In this year a great army of the pagans came in ships from Germany into the country of the ancient Saxons. The Saxons and the Frisians having united their forces against them, fought with them twice in one year, and were victorious. In the same year also, Charles, king of the Alemanni, with the voluntary consent of all, received the kingdom of the West Franks and all the territories which lie between the Tyrrhenian sea and the inlet of the ocean which divides the ancient Saxons and the Gauls. This Charles was the son of king Louis, who was brother of Charles, king of the Franks, and father of the above-named Judith; these two brothers were sons of Louis, the son of Charles the Great, that ancient and most wise sovereign, who was the son of king Pepin.

In the year 885, the above-mentioned army, which had first entered the kingdom of the East Franks, again returned to the West Franks, and sailed up the river Seine to Paris; but after having besieged the city for a year, the inhabitants making a stout defence, they were unable to effect an entrance within the walls.

[9*] The river which divides Essex from Suffolk. [10] A.D. 880.
[11] Judith.

King Alfred, after the burning of cities and the slaughter of the inhabitants, rebuilt London with great honor, and made it habitable, and gave it into the charge of Ethered, earl of Mercia. To this king all the Angles and Saxons, who before had been dispersed in all quarters, or were with the pagans[12] but not in captivity, came, and voluntarily submitted to his sway. At this period, Plegmund was archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year 886, the above-mentioned army left Paris, being unable to gain their object, and steered their fleet thence along the Seine, as far as a place called Chezy. There having taken up their quarters for a year, in the year following they entered the mouth of the river Iona,[13] and, making great ravages to the country, remained there a year.

In the same year, Charles, king of the Franks, departed this life, in the sixth week after his expulsion from his kingdom by Ernulph, his brother's son. After his death the kingdom was divided into five parts, but the principal part devolved on Ernulph, to whom the other four, of their own accord, took the oath of fealty; inasmuch as not one of them could be legitimate heir on his father's side, except Ernulph alone: with him, therefore, remained the supreme power.

This, then, was the division of the kingdom: Ernulph received the countries on the eastern side of the river Rhine; Rhodulph the inland parts of the kingdom; Odo the west; and Beorgar and Wido[14] Lombardy and all the lands on that side of the mountains. But these kingdoms, thus divided, afflicted each other with mighty wars, and the kings expelled one another out from their dominions.

In this year Ethelhem,[15] earl of Wiltshire, carried to Rome the alms of king Alfred.

In the year 887, among the numberless good things that king Alfred did, he founded two most noble monasteries; one for monks, at a place which is called Ethelingege,[16] or the "the island of nobles," where, collecting monks of various

[12] Asser seems to say that those submitted "who were in captivity with the heathens." This is clearly wrong, for they had not the opportunity of so doing. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Roger of Wendover agree with our author.

[13] Yonne.

[14] Witha, or Guido.

[15] Roger of Wendover erroneously calls this person Athelm, bishop of Winchester.

[16] Or Athelney, in Somersetshire.

orders, he first appointed John to be abbat, a priest and monk, and an ancient Saxon by birth; the other a noble monastery also near the east gate of Sceaftesbrig,[17] he erected for the reception of nuns, and over it he appointed as abbess his own daughter Ethelgiva, a virgin consecrated to God. These two monasteries he enriched with possessions in land, and riches of every kind.

In the year 888, Ethelfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and was succeeded by Plegmund.

In the year 889, king Guthrum, whom, as I have previously mentioned, king Alfred raised from the font, giving him the name of Ethelstan, departed this life. He, with his people, dwelt in East Anglia, and was the first who held and possessed that province, after the martyrdom of the king Saint Edmund.

In the year 890, Wulpher, archbishop of York, died, in the thirty-ninth year of his archiepiscopate.

In the year 892, Hasting, the pagan king, entered the mouth of the Thames, with eighty piratical ships, and threw up fortifications at Middletun.[18]

In the year 893, Cuthred, king of Northumbria, died. The pagans of Northumbria ratified the peace with Alfred by oath.

In the year 894, the pagans brought their ships up the river Thames, and after that, up the river Lige,[19] and began to throw up their fortifications near the river, at the distance of twenty miles from London.

In the year 895, in summer time, a great part of the citizens of London, and a considerable number from the neighbouring places, attempted to destroy the fortifications which the pagans had constructed; but on their making a stout resistance, the Christians were put to flight, and four of the thanes of king Alfred slain.

In the year 896, the army of the pagans in East Anglia and Northumbria, collecting plunder by stealth on the coast, grievously laid waste the land of the West Saxons, and especially by using long and swift ships, which they had built many years before. To oppose them, by order of king Alfred ships were constructed, twice as long, sharp, and swift, and not so high,[20] by the onset of which, the said ships of the

[17] Shaftesbury.
[18] Milton, near Gravesend.
[19] Probably the same as the Limen or Rother, in Kent.
[20] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says they were higher.

enemy might be overcome. On these being launched, the king gave orders to take alive as many as they could, and to slay those whom they could not take; the result of which was, that in the same year, thirty ships of the Danish pirates were captured, some of whom were slain, and some taken to the king alive, and hanged on gibbets.

In the year 897, Rollo, the first duke of the Normans, with his army laid siege to the city of Chartres; but Walzelm, the bishop of that city, calling Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Ebalus, earl of Poitou, to his aid, and carrying the tunic of Saint Mary in his hands, by the Divine will put duke Rollo to flight, and delivered the city.

In the year 898, Ethelbald was ordained archbishop of York.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 899, king Alfred, son of the most pious king Ethelwulph, having reigned twenty-nine years and six months, departed this life, in the fourth year of the indiction,[21] on the fifth day before the calends of November, and was buried in the new monastery at Winchester.

He was succeeded by his son Edward, surnamed the Elder, who was inferior to his father in his acquaintance with literature, but his equal in dignity and power, and his superior in glory. For, as will be shewn in the sequel, he extended the limits of his kingdom much farther than his father did. He also built many cities, and restored some that had been destroyed; the whole of Essex, East Anglia, Northumbria, and many districts of Mercia, of which the Danes had been long in possession, he manfully wrested from their hands. After the death of his sister Ethelfreda, he obtained possession of the whole of Mercia, and received the submission of all the kings of the Scots, the Cumbrians, the people of Strath-Clyde, and the West Britons.

By Egewinna, a most noble lady, he had Ethelstan, his eldest son; by his wife Edgiva he had three sons, Edwin, Edmund, and Edred, and a daughter named Eadburga, a virgin most

[21] The indiction was so called from the edicts of the Roman emperors; and as one such edict was supposed to appear regularly every fifteen years, the years were reckoned by their distance from the year of each indiction. From the time of Athanasius downwards, they were generally employed by ecclesiastical writers in describing epochs.

strictly consecrated to God, with three[22] other daughters; one of whom, Otho, the eighty-ninth emperor of the Romans, and another, Charles, king of the West Franks, took to wife; whose father's sister, that is to say, the daughter of the emperor Charles, Ethelwulph, the king of the West Saxons, had married; the third daughter was married to Sithric, king of Northumbria.

In this year, Erdulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, departed this life, and was succeeded by Guthred; Osbert was also expelled from his kingdom.

In the year 900, the most valiant duke Athulph, brother of queen Ealwitha, the mother of king Edward, and Virgilius, the venerable abbat of the Scots, departed this life; also Grimbald, the saint and priest, one of the masters of king Alfred, attained the joys of the kingdom of heaven.

In the year 902, the people of Kent fought with a great host of the piratical Danes, at a place which is called Holme, and came off victorious.

In the year 903, that pious handmaid of Christ, queen Elswitha, the mother of king Edward, departed this life; she founded a monastery for nuns at Winchester.

In the year 904, the armies of the pagans of East Anglia and Northumbria, finding that king Edward was invincible, made peace with him, at a place which, in the English language, is called Thitingaford.[23]

In the year 905, the city, which is called in the British tongue, Karlegion,[24] and in the Saxon, Legacestre, was rebuilt by the command of duke Ethered and Ethelfleda.

In the year 906, the bones of Saint Oswald, the king and martyr, were removed from Bardonig,[25] into Mercia. The most invincible king Edward, because the Danes had infringed the treaty which they had made, sent an army of West Saxons and Mercians into Northumbria, which, having arrived there, for nearly forty days did not cease to lay it waste, and slaying a vast number of the Danes, compelled their kings and

[22] Roger of Wendover mentions five daughters, besides Eadburga, whom he calls Eadfleda.

[23] This place in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is called Hitchinford. Lambarde calls it "Itingford," and says, "I find it not so circumscribed, that I can make any likely conjecture where it should be."

[24] Properly "Caerlirion," the ancient name of Leicester.

[25] Bardney.

leaders to renew the treaty of peace with king Edward, which they had broken.

In the year 907, in the province of Stafford, at a place which is called Teotenhale,[26] a memorable battle took place between the English and the Danes; but the English gained the day.

In the year 908, Ethered, the king's earl of the Mercians, a man of great virtue, departed this life; and after his death, his wife Egelfleda, the daughter of king Alfred, for a long time most ably governed the kingdom of the Mercians, except the cities of London and Oxford, of which her brother, king Edward, retained the government.

In the year 909, Egelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, on the second day before the nones of May, came with an army to the place which is called Sceargate,[27] and there erected a fortified castle, and after that, another on the western bank of the river Severn, at the place which is called Brige.[28]

In the year 910, at the beginning of summer, Egelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, proceeded with the Mercians to Tamuirting,[29] and rebuilt that city. In this year king Niel was slain by his brother Sithric.

In the year 911, Werfred, bishop of the Wiccii, departed this life at Worcester; he was a man of great sanctity and learning, and, as I have previously mentioned, at the request of king Alfred, translated the Dialogues of Saint Gregory the pope into the Saxon tongue; he was succeeded by Ethelhun. Egelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, founded the city which is called Eadesbirig,[30] and at the close of autumn another, which is called Warewic.[31]

In the year 912, the most invincible king Edward went to Bedford, before the feast of Saint Martin, and received the submission of its inhabitants, and having remained there thirty days, ordered a city to be founded on the south side of the river Lea.[32]

In the year 913, Egelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, sent an army into the territory of the Britons,[33] to besiege the castle

[26] Totenhall. [27] Roger of Wendover calls it "Strengate."
[28] Bridgnorth, in Shropshire. [29] Tamworth, in Staffordshire.
[30] Eddesbury. [31] Warwick.
[32] This is probably the river meant; though in the original the river is called "Ose," being evidently a misprint for Ouse. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle here mentions Hertford, on the south side of the Lea, as being founded by Edward. [33] The Welsh.

at Bricenamere;[34] having taken the place, they captured the wife of the king of the Britons, with thirty-four men, and brought them prisoners into Mercia.

In the year 914, Egelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, on the day before the calends of August, took Derby by storm, and gained possession of that province; four of her thanes, who were most esteemed by her, were there slain at the city gate, while bravely fighting.

In the year 915, Egelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, a woman of remarkable prudence, justice, and virtue, departed this life, on the nineteenth day before the calends of July, in the eighth year after she by herself had governed the kingdom of the Mercians with a vigorous rule, and left her only daughter Elfwinna, whom she had by Ethered, the king's earl, heiress to her kingdom. Her body was conveyed to Gloucester, and honorably buried in the church of Saint Peter.

In the year 916, king Edward sent into Northumbria an army of Mercians, to liberate the city of Mamcestre,[35] and post there some brave soldiers as a garrison. After this, he entirely deprived his niece Elfwinna of her authority in the kingdom of Mercia, and ordered her to be taken into Wessex. King Sithric also took Devonport by storm.

In the year 917, the king of the Scots, with the whole of his nation, Reginald, king of the Danes, with the Danes and English who inhabited Northumbria, and the king of the Strath-Clyde Britons,[36] with his people, chose Edward the Elder as their father and liege lord, and made a lasting treaty with him.

In the year 918, the Clito Ethelward, brother of king Edward, departed this life, on the seventeenth day before the calends of November, and was buried at Winchester; Ethelstan, the bishop of the Wiccii,[37] also died, and was succeeded by Wilfred.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 919,[38] Edward the Elder, the most invincible king of the English, departed this life, at the royal town which is called Fearndun,[39] in the thirty-fourth[40] year of his reign, and the fifteenth of the indic-

[34] Brecknock.

[35] Manchester.

[36] This, no doubt, as we learn from other historians, is the meaning of the word "Streeglendwalli."

[37] Bishop of Worcester.

[38] The other chroniclers say that he died in the year 924.

[39] Faringdon, in Berkshire.

[40] This is an error, as it should be twenty-fourth; though, according to our author's reckoning, it would be in the twentieth.

tion, after having greatly distinguished himself while king. He reigned most gloriously over all the nations that inhabited Britain, both those of the Angles, the Scots, the Cumbrians, the Danes, and the Britons.[41] After his death, he left the helm of state to his son Ethelstan, and his body having been carried to Winchester, was buried with regal pomp at the new monastery there.

Ethelstan was crowned at Kingestun,[42] which means "the royal town," and was consecrated with due honor by Athelin, archbishop of Canterbury. In his time, the illustrious child Dunstan was born in the kingdom of Wessex.

In the year 920, Ethelstan, the illustrious and glorious king of the English, with great pomp and state, gave his sister in marriage to king Sithric, who was of Danish origin.

In the year 921, king Sithric departed this life, and king Ethelstan having expelled his son Cuthred, who had succeeded his father, added his kingdom to his own dominions. All the kings beside, of the whole of Albion, namely, Huwald,[43] king of the West Britons,[44] Constantine, king of the Scots, and Wuer,[45] king of the Wenti, he conquered in battle and utterly routed. All of these, seeing that they could not resist his valour, met him on the fourth day before the ides of July, at a place which is called Eamot, and having made the oaths, made a lasting treaty with him.

In the year 922, Wilfred, bishop of the Wiccii, died, and was succeeded by Kinewold.

In the year 923, Frithestan, bishop of Winchester, a man of remarkable sanctity, resigned the bishopric of Winchester, Brinstan, a religious man, being ordained bishop in his stead, and in the following year departed to the Lord.

In the year 924, king Ethelstan ordered his brother Edwin to be drowned in the sea.

In the year 925, Ethelstan, the valiant and glorious king of the English, Constantine, king of the Scots, having broken the treaty which he had made with him, marched with a large army into Scotland, and coming to the tomb of Saint Cuthbert, commended himself and his expedition to his guardianship, and presented to him many and various gifts, such as befitted a

[41] The Welsh.
[42] Kingston-on-Thames.
[43] Howel.
[44] West Welsh.
[45] Roger of Wendover calls him Wulferth. The Wenti were probably the people of Monmouthshire.

king, and lands as well; consigning to everlasting flames those who should take away any portion therefrom. After this, with a very large force he subdued the enemy, and with his army laid waste Scotland, even as far as Feoder and Wertermore, while with his fleet he ravaged as far as Catenes;[46] in consequence of this, king Constantine, being compelled so to do, gave up his son to him as a hostage, together with suitable presents; and the peace being thus renewed, the king returned to Wessex. In the same year Saint Bristan departed this life.

In the year 925, the religious monk Elphege, surnamed the Bald, a kinsman of Saint Dunstan, received the bishopric of Winchester.

In the year 927, Anlaf, the pagan king of Ireland and of many of the islands, being encouraged by his father-in-law, Constantine, king of the Scots, entered the mouth of the Humber with a vast fleet, amounting to six hundred and fifteen sail; on which he was met by king Ethelstan and his brother the Clito Edmund, with an army, at the place which is called Brumanburgh.[47] The battle lasted from the beginning of the day to the evening, and they slew five minor kings and seven dukes, whom the enemy had invited to their aid, and shed such a quantity of blood, as in no battle before that had ever been shed in England; and, having compelled the kings Anlaf and Constantine, and the king of the Cumbrians, to fly to their ships, they returned in great triumph. But the enemy having experienced extreme disaster in the loss of their army, returned home with only a few men.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 940, Ethelstan, the valiant and glorious king of the English, departed this life at Gloucester, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and in the fourteenth of the indiction, on the sixth day before the calends of November, being the fourth day of the week; his body was carried to the city of Maidulph,[47*] and was there honorably interred. His brother Edmund succeeded him in the eighteenth year of his age.

In the year 941, the Northumbrians proving regardless of the fealty which they owed to Edmund, the mighty king of the English, chose Anlaf, king of the Norwegians

[46] Caithness.

[47] Or Brunenburgh; Trumley, in Lincolnshire. This battle was the subject of an Anglo-Saxon poem, which is still in existence.

[47*] Malmesbury.

as their king. The elder Richard became duke of the Normans, and continued so for fifty-two years.

In the first year of the reign of king Edmund, king Anlaf first came to York, and then marching to the south, laid siege to Hamtune;[44] but not succeeding there, he turned the steps of his army towards Tameworde,[45] and having laid waste all the places in the neighbourhood, while he was returning to Legacestre,[46] king Edmund met him with an army; but he had not a severe struggle for the mastery,[47] since the two archbishops Odo and Wulstan, having allayed the anger of both of the kings, put an end to the fight. And thus peace being made, the Watlingastrete[48] was made the boundary of both kingdoms; Edmund having the sway on the southern side, and Anlaf on the northern. Anlaf having pillaged the church of Saint Balther and burnt Tinningham, shortly after perished. After this, the people of York laid waste the island of Lindisfarne, and slew great numbers. The son of Sithric, whose name was Anlaf, then reigned over the Northumbrians.

In the year 942, Edmund, the mighty king of the English, entirely wrested five cities, namely, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford from the hands of the Danes, and reduced the whole of Mercia under his own power. He was a friend[49] of Dunstan, the servant of God, and by following his counsels became renowned. Being loaded by him with various honors the latter was appointed to the abbacy of Glastonbury, in place he had been educated.

In the year 943, when his queen, Saint Elgiva, had borne to Edmund, the mighty king, a son named Edgar, Saint Dunstan heard voices, as though on high, singing and repeating, "Peace to the church of England in the times of the child that is now born, and of our Dunstan." In this year, the same king raised king Anlaf, of whom we have previously made mention, from the font of holy regeneration, and gave him royal presents, and shortly afterwards held Reginald, king of the

[44] Southampton. [45] Tamworth. [46] Leicester.

[47] On the contrary, Roger of Wendover says that the loss on either side was excessive.

[48] The road which passed from the south of England, through London, into the north.

[49] There is little doubt that the word "summus" here, is an error for "amicus."

Northumbrians when he was confirmed by the bishop, and adopted him as his own son.

In the year 944, Edmund, the mighty king of the English, expelled two kings, namely, Anlaf, son of king Sithric, and Reginald, son of Guthferth, from Northumbria, and reduced it to subjection.

In the year 945, Edmund, the mighty king of the English, laid waste the lands of the Cumbrians, and granted them to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on condition that he should be faithful to him both by land and sea.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 946, Edmund, the mighty king of the English on the day of the feast of Saint Augustine, the instructor of the English, while, at a town, which in English is called Pucklecirce,[50] he was attempting to rescue his sewer Leo[51] from the hands of a most vile robber, for fear lest he should be killed, was slain by the same man, after having reigned five years and seven months, in the fourth year of the indiction, on the seventh day before the calends of June, being the third day of the week. Being taken to Glastonbury, he was there interred by Saint Dunstan, the abbat.

His brother Edred succeeded him in the kingdom, and was consecrated king by Saint Odo, the archbishop, at Kingston.

In the year 947, Wulstan, archbishop of York, and all the nobles of Northumbria, swore fidelity to Edred, the excellent king of the English, at a town which is called Tadenesclif,[52] but they did not long observe it; for they elected a certain man, named Eiric, a Dane by birth, to be king over them.

In the year 948, in return for the unfaithfulness of the Northumbrians, Edred, the excellent king of the English, laid waste the whole of Northumbria; in which devastation the monastery at Rhipum,[53] which was said to have been formerly built by Saint Wilfred, the bishop, was destroyed by fire. But, as the king was returning homewards, the army sallied forth from York, and made great slaughter of the rear of the king's

[50] Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire. Matthew of Westminster and Roger of Wendover call the place Micklesbury.

[51] It is more generally represented that the name of the robber was Leof; the name no doubt which is here given to the attendant.

[52] Lambarde takes this place to be the same as Topcliff, in Yorkshire.

[53] Ripon.

army, at a place which is called Chesterford. The king being greatly enraged thereat, wished to return at once and entirely to depopulate the whole of that region; but, on understanding this, the Northumbrians, being struck with terror, forsook Eiric, whom they had appointed king over them, and made compensation to the king for his injuries with honors, and for his losses with presents, and mitigated his anger with no small sum of money.

In the year 951, Saint Elphege, surnamed the Bald, bishop of Winchester, who had graced Saint Dunstan with the monastic garb and the degree of priest, ended this life, and was succeeded in the see by Efsin. In this year also died Oswel,[55] the king of the Britons.

In the year 952, Edred, the renowned king of the English, placed Wulstan, archbishop of York, in close confinement at Withanbrig,[56] because he had been often accused before him on certain charges.

In the year 953, Wulstan, the archbishop of York, having been released from custody, the episcopal dignity was restored to him at Dorchester.

The kings of the Northumbrians having now, as I have mentioned above, come to a close, it is my intention here to insert how and to what earls that province afterwards became subject.

The last of the kings of that province, as I have said a little above, was Eiric, whom the Northumbrians, on violating their plighted faith, which they had sworn to king Edred, made king; for which reason the king, in his anger, ordered the whole province to be utterly laid waste. On this, the Northumbrians having expelled their king and slain Amancus, the son of Anlaf, and with oaths and presents appeased king Edred, the province was given in charge to earl Osulph; who afterwards, in the reign of king Edgar, took Oslac as his associate in the government. After this, Osulph took charge of the parts on the northern side of Tyne, while Oslac ruled over York and its vicinity. He was succeeded by Waltef the Elder, who had, as his successor, his son, Ucthred. When, in the reign of king Edric, king Canute

[55] V. r. Owel, or, as we write it, Howel.

[56] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says Jedburgh.

invaded Northumbria with a hostile force, being compelled by necessity, he went over with his followers to Canute; and after having taken the oath of fealty and given hostages, he was slain by a certain very wealthy Dane, Thurebrand, surnamed Holde, Canute giving his sanction thereto; and in his place his brother, Eadulph Cudel, was substituted. Earl Ucthred left three sons surviving him, Aldred, Eadulph, and Cospatric. The first two of these were successively earls of Northumbria; the third, who did not enjoy the honor of the earldom, had a son named Ucthred, whose son was Eadulph, surnamed Rus, who, in after times, was the leader of those who murdered bishop Walcher; indeed, he himself is said to have slain him with his own hand. However, shortly afterwards, he himself was slain by a woman, and was buried in the church of Gedeworde; but afterwards such a mass of filth as his body was cast out from there by Turgot, formerly prior of the church of Durham, and archdeacon.

After Eadulph Cudel, Aldred, the son of the above-named earl Ucthred, received the earldom, and slew the murderer, Thurebrand, in revenge for the death of his father. On this, Carl, the son of Thurebrand, and the said earl Aldred, after plotting against the lives of each other, were at last reconciled. But shortly after, Aldred, suspecting no evil, was slain by Carl, in a wood which is called Risewode, the brother of Aldred having joined in the plot. After the death of his brother, Eadulph became earl of Northumbria; who, being elated with pride, laid waste the country of the Britons—that is to say, of the Welsh—in a most cruel manner. But, in the third year after, when, a treaty having been made, he had come to Hardicanute to be reconciled, he was slain by Siward; who, in succession to him, had the earldom of the whole of that province of Northumbria: that is to say, from the Humber to the Tweed. On his death he was succeeded by Tosti; who, having been banished from England for the great injuries which he had done to Northumbria, his earldom was given in charge by king Edward to Morcar; and, afterwards, by king William. Morcar, finding his attention distracted by weighty matters in other quarters, entrusted the earldom beyond the Tyne to Osulph, a young man, son of the above-named earl Eadulph. Morcar being afterwards taken prisoner and placed in confinement, king William gave the earldom of Osulph to Copsi, who was the uncle of

earl Tosti, a man of wisdom and prudence. He, having made a vow to Saint Cuthbert, gave to his servants in his church, namely, that of Durham, these lands:—In Merscum, ten carrucates and a half of land, and the church of Saint Germanus in the same town; in Thortuna, two carrucates; and in Thestrota, ten bovates of land; in Readeclive half a carrucate, and in Gisburgh one carrucate of land.

On being deprived of the earldom by Copsi, Osulph, after hiding himself in hunger and destitution in the woods and mountains, at length collected a band of his companions, whom the same necessity had brought together, and surrounded Copsi at Niwebrin;[57] who, escaping among the confusion that ensued, concealed himself in the church. Being however betrayed, the enemy set fire to the church: whereon he was compelled to make his way to the door, where he was slain by the hand of Osulph, in the fifth week after he had received the earldom, on the fourth day before the ides of March. In the ensuing autumn, Osulph himself, rushing headlong upon a spear which a robber presented at him, was pierced thereby, and died on the spot.

After his death, Cospatric, the son of Maldred, the son of Crinan, went to king William, and, for a large sum of money, made purchase of the earldom of Northumbria; for, through his mother's side, the honor of that earldom belonged to him; his mother being Algitha, the daughter of earl Ucthred, whom Elgiva, daughter of king Ethelred, bore to him. This Algitha her father gave in marriage to Maldred, the son of Crinan. After this, Cospatric held the earldom until the king deprived him of it; making it a charge against him that he had with his counsel and assistance aided those who had slain the earl Robert Cumin with his followers, at Durham, although he really was not present there; and also alleging that he had sided with the enemy when the Normans were slain at York. Flying, therefore, to king Malcolm, he shortly afterwards set sail for Flanders; and, after some time, on his return to Scotland, the above-named king gave him Dunbar, in Lothian,[58] with the adjacent lands, that with these he might maintain himself and his people until more fortunate

[57] Probably Newburgh, in Yorkshire,.

[58] In the original it is "Londoneio;" most probably an error for "Laudonia."

times. But not long after this, being reduced to extreme infirmity, he sent for Aldwin and Turgot, the monks, who at this time were living at Meilros,[59] in poverty and contrite in spirit for the sake of Christ, and ended his life with a full confession of his sins, and great lamentations and penitence, at Ubbanford, which is also called Northam, and was buried in the porch of the church there. He gave them two fair dorsals,[60] that, in whatever place they might chance to take rest, they should set them up there in remembrance of him. These are still preserved in the church at Durham.

This Cospatric was the father of Dolfin, Walthen, and Cospatric. After Cospatric, the earldom of Northumbria was given to Walthen, the son of earl Siward, who was entitled to it both on his father's and his mother's side. For he was the son of earl Siward, by Elfleda, the daughter of Alfred, who was formerly earl. Some time after, Walthen having been taken prisoner, the charge of the earldom was entrusted to bishop Walcher up to the time of his death. After him, the king conferred that honor on Alfric. He, being unable to make head against times of difficulty, and having returned to his own country, the same king made Robert de Mowbray earl of Northumbria; but he being taken prisoner, king William the younger, and, after him, king Henry, kept Northumbria in their own hands.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 955, Edelred,[61] the excellent king of the English, fell sick, in the tenth year of his reign, and his life was despaired of; on which, speedily dispatching a messenger, he sent for the father of his confessions,[62] namely, Saint Dunstan, the abbat. While repairing with all haste to the palace, and when he had now got half way thither, a voice was distinctly heard by him from above, saying, "King Edelred now rests in peace;" whereupon, the horse on which he was sitting, not being able to endure the force of the angelic voice, without any injury to his rider, fell dead upon the ground. The king's body was carried to

[59] Melrose.

[60] Dorsals were garments, or pieces of tapestry, which were hung against walls as a screen for the backs of those who sat near them: whence their name

[61] A mistake for Edred.

[62] The text is probably corrupt in this passage.

Winchester, and received an honorable burial from the abbat Dunstan, at the old monastery there.

His cousin, the Clito[63] Edwin,[64] succeeded him in the kingdom; he was the son of king Edmund, and of Saint Elgiva, his queen. In the same year he was consecrated king by archbishop Odo, at Kingston.

In the year 956, Saint Dunstan, the abbat, was banished on account of his righteousness by Edwin, king of the English, and passing the seas, took refuge, during the period of his exile, in the monastery of Blandigny.[65] On the seventh day before the calends of January, Wulstan, archbishop of York, departed this life, and was buried at Oundle;[66] he was succeeded by Oskitel, a venerable man.

In the year 957, Edwy, king of the English, by reason of his unwise administration of the government, being despised by them, was forsaken by the people of Mercia and Northumbria, and his brother, the Clito Edgar, was chosen king by them, and the rule of the two kings was so separated that the river Thames divided their kingdom. Shortly after this, Edgar, the king of the Mercians, recalled Saint Dunstan, the abbat, from exile, with great honor and distinction. A short time after, Coenwald, the bishop of Worcester, departed this life, a man of great humility, and of the monastic profession. In his place Saint Dunstan was elected bishop, and was consecrated by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year 958, Saint Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, separated from each other, Edwy, king of the West Saxons, and Elgiva, either because, as it is said, she was related to him, or because he loved her instead of his own wife.[67] In the same year, the said archbishop, a man famed for his talents, and commendable for his virtues, endued also with a spirit of

[63] "Clito" was a title which was sometimes given to all the king's sons among the Anglo-Saxons, but more generally in especial to the eldest sons. It was probably derived from the Latin "inclytus," "glorious," or from its root, the Greek word κλειτὸς, of the same meaning.

[64] Generally called Edwy.

[65] The reading in the text is Blandimum; it should be Blandinium. The monastery of Blandigny, or St. Peter, was in the city of Ghent.

[66] In Northamptonshire.

[67] "Sub propriâ uxore." It is not universally agreed that king Edwy was married. Bridferth, one of the early writers, says that Edwy was intimate with two women, mother and daughter.

prophecy, was removed from human affairs, and carried by the hands of angels into Paradise. He was succeeded by Elfsin, bishop of Winchester, and in his place Brihtelm was ordained to the see of Winchester.

In the year 959, Elfsin, archbishop of Canterbury, while proceeding to Rome to obtain his pall, perished, frozen with ice and snow, upon the Alpine mountains. Edwy also, king of the West Saxons, after having reigned four years, departed this life at Winchester, and was buried in the new monastery there; on which he was succeeded in the kingdom by his brother, Edgar, king of Mercia, who was elected king by the people of all England, and united the kingdom, before divided, into one. This took place in the sixteenth year of his age, five hundred and ten years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, and in the three hundred and sixty-third year after Saint Augustine and his companions had come to England.

Brihtelm, bishop of the people of Dorset,[68] was elected to the primacy of the see of Canterbury, but as he was not suited for an office of such importance, by command of the king he left Canterbury, and returned to the church which he had lately left. Upon this, by the Divine will, and the counsel of the wise, Saint Dunstan, the bishop of Worcester, was appointed primate and patriarch of the mother church of the English; by whom and other prudent men, Edgar, the king of the English, being becomingly instructed, he everywhere checked the wicked, reduced the rebellious under the yoke of correction, cherished the virtuous and modest, restored and enriched the churches of God that had been laid waste, and having removed all corruptions[68*] from the monasteries of the secular[69] clergy, gathered together multitudes of monks and nuns for the praise of the mighty Creator, and ordered more than forty monasteries to be erected for them. All these he honored as brethren, and cherished as most beloved sons, admonishing by his example the pastors whom he had set over them, to exhort them to live regularly and without reproach, to the end that they might please Christ and his saints in all things.

[68] Meaning bishop of Winchester, and not bishop of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, of which Leowin was at this time bishop.

[68*] The word in the text is "venenis," perhaps too strong a word to be the correct one.

[69] In the original, "scholarium;" probably a mistake for "secularium."

In the year 960, Saint Dunstan went to the city of Rome, in the third year of the indiction, and received the pall from pope John, and then returned to his country in the paths of peace. In the lapse of a few months after this, he repaired to the royal threshold, and, knocking at the gate of the palace, with suggestions for the exercise of the royal piety and with most humble prayers, he entreated the king that he would promote to the honor of the bishopric of Worcester the blessed Oswald, the cousin of his own predecessor Odo, a monk noted for his piety, meekness, and humility, and who, by real experience, he had proved to wax strong in the Divine fear and in the holy exercise of virtue. King Edgar assented to the requests of Saint Dunstan, and the blessed Oswald was installed by himself in the high priesthood.

In the year 963, on the death of Brihtelm, Saint Ethelwald, the venerable abbat,[70] who had been educated by the blessed Dunstan, received the bishopric of Winchester, and in the same year, by the king's command, the clergy[71] having been expelled, filled the old monastery with monks; for he had especially persuaded the king, whose chief adviser he was, to expel the clergy from the monasteries, and to place in them monks and nuns.

In the year 964, Edgar the Peaceful, king of the English, took to wife Elfthritha,[72] the daughter of Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, after the death of her husband, Elfwold, the glorious duke of the East Angles; by whom he had two sons, Edmund and Egelred; he had also before this, by Egelfleda[73] the Fair, the daughter of duke Ordmar, Edward, afterwards king and martyr; and by Saint Elfthritha,[74] he had a daughter, Editha, a virgin most strictly consecrated to God.

In the same year, the same king placed monks in the new monastery[75] and in that at Middleton, and over the former he appointed Ethelgar, over the latter, Kineward, abbats.

In the year 967, Edgar the Peaceful, king of the English,

[70] Of Abingdon.
[71] The secular clergy.
[72] More generally called Elfrida.
[73] More generally called Elfleda.
[74] She is called Wulfreda by Roger of Wendover and William of Malmesbury. By the term, "sancta," our author would seem to imply that she was a nun; but William of Malmesbury says, "it is certain that she was not a nun at that time, but being a lay virgin, had assumed the veil through fear of the king, though she was immediately afterwards forced to the royal bed." Roger of Wendover gives the same account.
[75] At Winchester.

placed nuns in the monastery of Rameseie,[76] which his grandfather, king Edward the Elder, had built, and appointed Saint Merwinna abbess over them.

In the year 968, bishop Aldred died at St. Cuthbert's, in Cuneceastre,[77] and was succeeded in the bishopric by Elfsin.

In the year 969, Edgar the Peaceful, king of the English, commanded Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and the blessed Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and Saint Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, to expel the secular clergy in the larger monasteries, that were built throughout Mercia, and to place monks in them. In consequence of this, Saint Oswald, having gained his wish, expelled from the monastery the clergy of the church of Worcester, who refused to assume the monastic habit; but those who consented to do so, the bishop himself ordained as monks, and appointed over them as prior,[78] Winsin, a man of great piety.

In the year 970, one hundred and ten years after his burial, in the fourteenth year of the indiction, on the ides of July, being the sixth day of the week, the relics of the holy and venerable bishop Swithin were removed from the place of their sepulture by Saint Ethelwald, the venerable bishop, Elstan, the abbat of Glastonbury, and Ethelgar, the abbat of the new monastery,[79] and were interred in the church of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

In the year 971, the Clito Edmund, son of king Edgar, died, and was honorably interred in the monastery of Rameseie. Shortly after this, Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, the father-in-law of king Edgar, departed this life, and was buried at Exancestre.[81]

In the year 972, Edgar the Peaceful, king of the English, having completed the church of the new monastery, which had been begun by his father, king Edmund, caused it to be dedicated with all honor. Oskitel, the archbishop of York, having departed this life, his kinsman, Saint Oswald, the bishop of Worcester, was chosen archbishop in his room.

In the year 973, in the thirtieth year of his age, being the fifth year of the indiction, on the fifth day before the ides of May, being the day of Pentecost, Edgar the Peaceful, king of

[76] Ramsey. [77] Chester-le-street.

[78] "Decanum," properly, "dean;" an older term, meaning the same as prior. [79] At Winchester. [81] Exeter.

the English, received the blessing from Saints Dunstan and Oswald, the archbishops, and from the other bishops of the whole of England, as the city of Accamann,[82] and was consecrated with very great pomp and glory, and anointed king.

In the lapse of a short time after this, sailing round the north of Britain with a large fleet, he came to the city of the Legions,[83] where, according to his command, his eight tributary kings met him, namely, Rinath, king of the Scots; Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians; Maccus, king of numerous islands; and five others—Dusnal, Sifreth, Huwald, James, and Inchil;[84] and there they swore that they would be faithful to him, and would be ready to assist him both by land and by sea.

On a certain day he embarked with them in a vessel, and they taking their places at the oars, he himself took the helm, and steered it skilfully according to the course of the river; and amid all the multitude of his chieftains and nobles who attended in similar vessels, he sailed from the palace to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist, where prayers having been offered up, he returned in the same state to the palace; on entering which, he is reported to have said to his nobles, that now at last each of his successors would be able to boast that he was king of the English, after he had enjoyed the display of such honors, so many kings paying obedience to him. In this year Saint Oswald received the pall from Stephen, the hundred and thirty-fourth pope.

In the year 974, there was a great earthquake throughout the whole of England.

In the year 975, king Edgar the Peaceful, the monarch of the English land, the flower and grace of the kings his predecessors, departed this life; not less worthy of remembrance among the English than Romulus among the Romans, Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians, Arsaces among the Parthians, Charles the Great among the French, Arthur among the Britons. After having accomplished all things in a royal manner, he departed this life in the thirty-

[82] Bath: which by the Saxons was called Akemancester.

[83] Chester.

[84] These five subreguli, with their territories, are thus mentioned by Roger of Wendover—"Dusnal, king of Demetia (South Wales); Siferth and Huwall, kings of Wales; James, king of Galwallia; and Inkil, king of Westmoreland."

second year of his age, the nineteenth of his reign over Mercia and Northumbria, the sixteenth of his rule over all England, in the third year of the indiction, and on the eighth day before the ides of July, it being the fifth day of the week, leaving his son Edward heir to his kingdom and his virtues. His body was carried to Glastonbury, and there interred with royal honors.

He, during his lifetime, had collected together three thousand six hundred ships; and it was his custom every year, after the solemnities of Easter were concluded, to collect twelve hundred of these on the eastern, twelve hundred on the western, and twelve hundred on the southern coast of the island, and to row to the western side with the eastern fleet, and then sending that back, to row to the north with the western one; and again sending that back, to row to the east with the northern one; and in this manner it had been his usage every summer to sail around the whole island, manfully acting thus for the defence of his kingdom against foreigners, and for the exercise of himself and his people in military affairs.

But in the winter and spring it was his practice to pass along the interior of his kingdom throughout all the provinces of the English, and to see how his legal enactments, and his decrees and statutes, had been observed by the men in power. He was also accustomed to use every possible precaution that the poor might not receive detriment by oppression from the rich. Thus, in one respect, his object was military strength, in the other, justice; and in both he consulted the welfare of the people and of the realm. By reason of this he was held in fear by his enemies on every side, while he was endeared to those who were subjected to him; at his departure the whole kingdom was in a state of perturbation, and after a period of gladness, because the country flourished in peace in his days, tribulation began to arise in every quarter.

For Elpher, the duke of the Mercians, and many chief men in the kingdom, blinded by great bribes, expelled the abbats and monks from the monasteries in which king Edgar the Peaceful had placed them, and introduced there secular clergy with their wives; but the madness of this rash man was resisted by Ethelwin, the duke of East Anglia, a friend of God, and his brother Elfwold, and earl Brithnoth, who, hold-

ing a synod, declared that they could never allow the monks to be expelled from the kingdom, inasmuch as it was they who kept all religion within the realm; after which, collecting an army, they defended the monasteries of East Anglia with the greatest determination.

While this was going on, a dissension about the election of a king arose among the nobles of the realm, as some favoured Edward, the son of the deceased king, and others his brother Egelred. For which reason the archbishops Dunstan and Oswald convened the bishops, abbats, and a great number of the nobles, and, having elected Edward, as his father had commanded, consecrated him, and anointed him king. In the autumn of this year a comet was seen.

In the year 977, a very great synod was held in East Anglia, at a town which is called Kirding.[85] After this, while another synod was being held at Calne, a royal town, the elders of all England, who were there assembled, fell from an upper chamber, with the exception of Saint Dunstan; some of them were killed, while some with difficulty escaped death.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 978, Edward, king of the Angles, was unrighteously slain by his people, by the command of his stepmother, Elfritha, at a place which is called Corvesgate,[86] and was buried without royal pomp at Werham.[87] His brother, Egelred,[88] succeeded him, a distinguished prince, of elegant manners, beauteous countenance, and graceful aspect. He was consecrated king, at Kingestun, by the holy archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and ten bishops, in the sixth year of the indiction, on the eighth day before the calends of May, being the Lord's day after the festival of Easter.

Saint Dunstan, being filled with the spirit of prophecy, foretold to him that in his reign he would suffer much tribulation, in these words: "Because thou hast aspired to the kingdom through the death of thy brother, whom thy mother hath slain, hear, therefore, the word of the Lord; thus saith the Lord, 'The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall rage against thee all the days of thy life, and shall slay thy seed, until thy kingdom shall be transferred unto another

[85] A misprint for Kirtling, now Kirtlington, in Cambridgeshire. The subject discussed by the synod was the marriage of the priesthood.

[86] Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire.

[87] Wareham.

[88] V. r. Ethelred, by which name he is generally known.

kingdom, whose manners and whose language the people whom thou dost govern knoweth not; nor shall thy sin be expiated but by a prolonged vengeance, the sin of thyself, and the sin of thy mother, and the sin of the men who have shared in her unrighteous counsels.'" Therefore, after this, a cloud appeared at midnight throughout all England, at one time of a bloody, at another of a fiery, appearance, which afterwards changed to various hues and colours; it disappeared towards dawn.

In the year 979, Elpher, duke of the Mercians, came to Werham[89] with a multitude of people, and ordered the holy body of Edward, the precious king and martyr, to be taken up from the tomb, where many miracles had taken place. When it was stripped, it was found to be whole and entirely free from all corruption and contagion; it was then washed and arrayed in new vestments, and conveyed to Scaftesbirig,[90] and honorably buried there.

In the year 980, Southampton was ravaged by the Danish pirates, and almost all of its citizens either killed or carried away captives. Shortly after this, the same army devastated the isle of Tenedland.[91] In this year, also, the province of the city of the Legions[92] was laid waste by the Norwegian pirates.

In the year 981, the monastery of Saint Petroc[93] the confessor, in Cornwall, was ravaged by the pirates, who, the year before, had laid waste Southampton, and were then committing frequent ravages in Devonshire, and in Cornwall near the sea-shore.

In the year 982, three ships touched on the coast of the province of Dorset, and laid waste Portland. In this year the city of London was burned with fire.

In the year 983, Alpher, duke of the Mercians, a kinsman of Edgar, king of the English, departed this life, on which his son Alfric succeeded to the dukedom.

In the year 984, Saint Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, departed from this world to the Lord, in the second year of the indiction, on the calends of August; and was succeeded by Elphege,[94] abbat of Bath. He had assumed the religious habit at the monastery which is called Dehorhirst.[94*]

[89] Wareham. [90] Shaftesbury. [91] The isle of Thanet.
[92] Chester. [93] Padstow. [94] The second bishop of that name.
[94*] Deerhurst, near Gloucester.

In the year 986, by reason of certain dissensions, Egelred, king of the English, laid siege to the city of Rochester, but perceiving the difficulty of taking it, departed in anger, and laid waste the lands[95] of Saint Andrew the Apostle. Alfric, the duke of the Mercians, son of duke Alfer, was this year banished from England.

In the year 987, there occurred two plagues, unknown to the English nation in preceding ages, namely, a fever affecting the people, and a murrain among animals, which, in the English language, is called "Scitha," being a flux of the bowels; these greatly ravaged the whole of England, and affected both men and animals with great devastation, and, consuming the inner parts of the body, raged in an indescribable manner throughout all the territories of England.

In the year 988, Wesedport[96] was ravaged by the Danish pirates, by whom, also, Goda, earl of Devon, and Stremewold, a very brave warrior, were slain; but a considerable number of the enemy having been killed, the English became masters of the place.[97]

In the first year of the indiction, on the fourteenth day before the calends of June, it being the Sabbath, Saint Dunstan the archbishop departed this life, and attained a heavenly kingdom; in his stead Ethelgar, bishop of Selsey,[98] received the archbishopric, and held it one year and three months.

In the year 989, archbishop Aldred[99] died, and was succeeded by Aldune.

In the year 991, Gippeswic[1] was ravaged by the Danes. Their leaders were Justin, and Guthmund, the son of Steitan; with them, not long after this, Brithnoth, the brave duke of the East Saxons, engaged in battle near Meldun;[2] but, after a multitude on both sides had fallen, the duke himself was slain, and the Danish fortunes prevailed. Moreover, in this year, by the advice of Siric, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the dukes Ethelward and Alfric, a tribute, which consisted of ten

[95] Belonging to the bishopric of Rochester.

[96] Probably Watchet, in Somersetshire.

[97] "Loco fluminis" in the original; "fluminis" being probably an error for some other word.

[98] In Sussex.

[99] The same who just before is called Ethelgar.

[1] Ipswich. [2] Maldon.

pounds,[3] was for the first time paid to the Danes, in order that they might desist from the continued pillage, conflagrations, and slaughters of the people, of which they were repeatedly guilty near the sea-shore, and might observe a lasting peace with them.

Saint Oswald the archbishop, on the sixth day before the ides of November, being the third day of the week, consecrated the monastery of Rawele, which he and Ethelwin, the duke of East Anglia, a friend of God, aided and comforted by the Divine counsel and assistance, had erected.

In the year 992, being the fifth year of the indiction, on the day before the calends of March, being the second day of the week, Saint Oswald the archbishop departed this life before the feet of the poor, where, according to his usual custom, he was performing the Divine command,[4] in the manner he had previously predicted, and attained the joys of the kingdom of heaven; he was buried in the church of Saint Mary, at Worcester, which he himself had erected from the very foundation. He was succeeded by Adulph, the venerable abbat of Medeshampstead;[5] and not long after the death of the blessed father Oswald, duke Ethelwin, of illustrious memory, the friend of God, departed this life, and was honorably buried at Ramesege.[6]

In the year 993, the above-mentioned army of the Danes took Bebbanburgh,[7] and carried off all they could find in it. After this, they directed their course to the mouth of the river Humber, and, having burned many towns and slain many persons in Lindesey and Northumbria, took considerable booty. Against them a great number of the people of the district collected with all haste; but when they were about to engage, the leaders of the army, whose names were Frana, Frithegist, and Godewin, because, on the fathers' side, they were of Danish origin, betrayed their followers, and were the first to set the example of flight.

In the year 994, Anlaf, the king of the Norwegians, and Sweyn, the king of the Danes, arrived at London, on the day of the nativity of Saint Mary, with ninety-four galleys, and

[3] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Roger of Wendover say that it was ten thousand pounds, which no doubt is the correct statement.

[4] In washing the feet of the poor.

[5] Peterborough. [6] Ramsey. [7] Bamborough.

immediately attempted to force an entrance and burn it: but by the aid of God and of His Mother, they were repulsed by the citizens, with no small loss to their army. Thereupon, being exasperated with rage and sorrow, on the same day they betook themselves thence, and first in Essex and in Kent, and near the sea-shore, and afterwards in Sussex and in the province of Southampton, they burned houses, laid waste the fields, and without respect to sex or age destroyed a very great number of people with fire and sword, and carried off a large amount of spoil; at last, having obtained horses for themselves, furiously raging, they traversed many provinces to and fro, and spared neither the female sex nor yet the innocent age of infants, but, with the ferocity of wild beasts, consigned all to death.

Upon this, king Egelred, by the advice of his nobles, sent ambassadors to them, promising that he would give them tribute and provisions, on condition that they should entirely put an end to their cruelty. Assenting to this request of the king, they returned to their ships, and then the whole of the army assembled together at Southampton and passed the winter there. The provisions were provided for them by the whole of Wessex; and by the whole of England the tribute, which amounted to sixteen pounds, was paid. In the meantime, by the command of king Egelred, Elphege, the bishop of Winchester, and the noble duke Ethelwald, proceeded to king Alaf, and, having given hostages, brought him with great honor to the royal town of Andeafaran,[8] where the king was staying.

He was honorably received by the king, who caused him to be confirmed by the bishop, and, adopting him as his son, presented him with royal gifts, on which he promised king Egelred that he would no more come with an army to England; and, after this, he returned to the ships, and at the approach of summer returned to his own country, and carefully adhered to his promise.

In the year 995, Aldune, the bishop, removed the body of Saint Cuthbert from Cestre[9] to Dunholm.[10]

In the year 996, Elfric was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year 997, the army of the Danes, which had remained

[8] Andover. [9] Chester-le-Street. [10] Durham.

in England, having sailed round Wessex, entered the mouth of the river Severn, and at one time laid waste South Britain ;[11] at another, Cornwall ; at another, Wesedport, in Devonshire ; and, burning a vast number of towns, put multitudes of people to the sword ; and after this, again going round Penwithsteort[12] up to the mouth of the river Tamar, their ships having coasted along Devonshire and Cornwall, they disembarked from their ships, leaving them behind, and, there being no one to prevent them, continued their conflagrations and slaughter as far as Lideford.[13] In addition to this, they burned the monastery of the primate, Ordulf, which is called Taustoke,[14] and, laden with great booty, made their way back to their ships, and wintered at that place.

In the year 998, the above-named army of the pagans, leaving the mouth of the river which is called Frome, repaired again to Dorsetshire, and, after their usual manner, betook themselves to plundering ; and, as often as they took up their quarters in the Isle of Wight,[15] levied supplies upon Sussex and the province of Southampton. Against such an outburst as this, forces were often gathered together ; but, as often as the English were about to engage in battle, either through treachery or some misfortune, they turned their backs and left the victory in the hands of the enemy.

In the year 999, the army of the pagans so often mentioned, entering the mouth of the river Thames, passed up the river Meodewege,[16] as far as Rochester, and for a few days laid strict siege to it, upon which, the people of Kent, uniting together to repel them, had a severe engagement with them ; but, after many had been slain on both sides, the Danes remained masters of the river. After this, taking horse, the Danes laid waste almost the whole of the western coast of Kent. On hearing of this, Egelred, the king of the English, by the advice of his

[11] South Wales.

[12] Of this place Lambarde says : "The country that lieth next the point of Cornwall is to this day called Penwith ; and, therefore, the Saxons adding 'steort,' which signifyeth a last of a region or promontory that runneth narrow into the sea, called that cape Penwithsteort."

[13] A town in Devonshire, on the river Tamar. [14] Tavistock.

[15] As a sample of the state of the text, this passage is thus printed : "Et quotiescunque invecta jacuit de Suthsaxonia, et Suthamtunensi provinciâ sibi victum accepit."

[16] Medway.

principal men, collected together both a fleet and a land force. But, in the end, neither the land nor the naval force effected anything for the public good, beyond harassing the people, wasting money, and arousing the vengeance of the enemy.

In the year 1000, the above-mentioned fleet of the Danes invaded Normandy. Egelred, king of the English, laid waste the lands of the Cumbrians. He gave orders to his fleet, that, sailing round the north of Britain, it should meet him at a place named; but, being prevented by the violence of the winds, it was unable to do so. However, it laid waste the island which is called Monege.[17]

In the year 1001, the above-mentioned army of the pagans, returning from Normandy into England, entered the mouth of the river Exe, and shortly after commenced the siege of the city of Exancester; but, while attempting to destroy the walls, they were repulsed by the citizens, who manfully defended the city. Upon this, being greatly incensed, after their usual manner, they wandered through Devonshire, burning towns, ravaging the fields, and slaughtering the people; and, in consequence, the men of Devonshire and Somerset uniting together, gave them battle at a place which is called Penhou.[18] But the English, by reason of the small number of their soldiers, were not able to cope with the multitude of the Danes, and took to flight; whereon, the enemy having made a great slaughter, gained the day. After this, taking horse, throughout almost the whole of Devonshire they committed worse excesses than before, and, having collected much booty, returned to their ships. After this, they turned their course to the Isle of Wight; and, for a long time, there being no one to resist them, occupied themselves in plundering as usual, and raged to such a degree against the people with the sword, and against the houses with fire, that no fleet would dare to engage with them at sea, and no army by land. In consequence, the sadness of the king was far from slight, while the people were afflicted with incredible sorrow.

In the year 1002, Egelred, king of the English, having held a council with his chief men, thought proper to make peace with the Danes, and to give them provisions and tribute to appease them, in order that they might cease from their

[17] Mona, or Man.

[18] Penhoe; a place either in Somersetshire or Dorsetshire.

evil-doings. For this purpose duke Leofsy was sent to them, who, on coming, asked them to receive the supplies and the tribute; whereupon they willingly received his embassy, and acceding to his request, fixed the amount of tribute that should be paid them for keeping the peace. And, not long after this, the sum of twenty-four pounds was paid them.

In the meantime, the same duke Leofsy slew Easig, a nobleman, the king's high steward, for which reason, the king, being inflamed with anger, banished him from the country. In the same year king Egelred took to wife Emma, called in Saxon Elgiva, the daughter of Richard, the first duke of the Normans. In this, the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Egelred, and the fifteenth of the indiction, on the seventeenth day before the calends of May, being the fourth day of the week, Ardulph, archbishop of York, the abbats, priests, monks, and religious men being there assembled, raised the bones of Saint Oswald, the archbishop, from the tomb, and placed them, with due honor, in a shrine which he had prepared; and not long after this, that is to say, on the day before the nones of May, he himself died, and was buried in the church of Saint Mary, at Worcester, being succeeded by the abbat Wulstan.

In this year, also, king Egelred ordered all the Danes who lived in England, both great and small, and of either sex, to be slain, because they had endeavoured to deprive him and his chief men of kingdom and life, and to reduce the whole of England under their dominion.

In the year 1003, by reason of the carelessness and treachery of Hugh, the Norman earl, whom queen Emma had appointed over Devonshire, Sweyn, king of the Danes, entered the city of Exeter by storm and sacked it, destroying the walls from the eastern as far as the western gate, and filling[19] his ships with much spoil. After this, while he was laying waste the province of Wiltshire, a stout army manfully assembled from the provinces of Southampton and Wiltshire, and went up with fixed determination to fight against the enemy; but when the armies were so near that the one could see the other, Alfric, the above-named earl, who was at the time in command of the English, forthwith had recourse to his old

[19] "Reperiit" is evidently a mistake for "replevit."

devices,[20] and, pretending illness, began to vomit, saying that a severe fit of illness had come upon him, and that in consequence he was unable to fight with the enemy.

When the army saw his inertness and timidity, in sorrow they turned away from the enemy without fighting, making good the ancient adage—"When the leader trembles in battle, all the other soldiers become still more fearful." Sweyn, on observing the irresoluteness of the English, led his army to Wilton, and spoiled and burned it; in like manner, he also ravaged Salisbury, and then returned to his ships.

In the year 1004, Sweyn, king of the Danes, coming with his fleet to Norwich, laid it waste and burned it. Upon this, Ulfketel, duke of East Anglia, a man of great activity, as Sweyn had come unawares, and he had had no time for collecting an army against him, after taking counsel with the chief men of East Anglia, made peace with him; but he, breaking the treaty the third week after, secretly stole forth from the ships with his forces, and attacking Theodford,[21] laid it waste, and after staying in it one night, burned it at daybreak. On learning this, duke Ulfketel gave orders to some men of the province to break up the ships of the enemy; but they were either afraid to do so, or neglected to obey his commands. He himself, however, as soon as he possibly could, having secretly collected an army together, boldly advanced against the enemy; and, on their return to the ships with an unequal number of soldiers, he met them, and had a most severe engagement with them; and many on both sides being slain, the most noble men of East Anglia fell, and the Danes escaped with difficulty. But if the full forces of the East Anglians had been present, the Danes could have never regained their ships; as, indeed, they themselves bore witness that they had never experienced in England a more severe and hard-fought battle than that in which duke Ulfketel had engaged with them.

In the year 1005, a severe and dreadful famine afflicted England. For this reason Sweyn, king of the Danes, returned to Denmark, with the intention of returning before long.

In the year 1006, Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and was succeeded by Elphege, bishop of Winchester, who was succeeded in his bishopric by Kenulph. In the

[20] "Arces," a mistake for "artes."

[21] Thetford.

month of July an innumerable fleet of Danes arrived in England, and entered the port of Sandwich, and ravaging all places with fire and sword, first in Kent and then in Sussex, collected a very large quantity of spoil. On this, king Egelred assembled an army in Mercia and Wessex, and resolved to fight manfully with them; but they would under no circumstances engage with him openly, but frequently committed their ravages, now in one place, and now in another, immediately, after their usual manner, retreating to their ships; and in this way, throughout the autumn, they harassed the army of the English.

At length, on the approach of winter, as they were returning homeward with enormous booty, they repaired to the Isle of Wight, and remained there until the Nativity of our Lord;[22] on the approach of which, as the king was at that period staying in the province of Shrewsbury, they made way through the province of Southampton to Berkshire, and burned Reading, and Wallingford, and Ceolesy,[23] with a great number of men. Moving thence, they passed Easterdune[24] and came to Cwichelmelow;[25] returning from there by another road, the pirates provoked the natives of the place to battle, and at once engaging with them, put them to flight, and then retreated to the ships with the booty they had taken.

In the year 1007, by the advice of his chief men, Egelred, king of the English, sent ambassadors to the Danes, and told them that he was willing to give them sustenance and tribute, on condition that they should desist from their ravages, and keep a lasting peace with him; to this request they consented, and from that time, provisions, and a tribute of thirty-six thousand pounds, were given to them from the whole of England. In this year, also, king Egelred made a certain Edric, whose surname was Streone, duke of the Mercians; who, although he had Edgitha the king's daughter in marriage, was still frequently found, by his shifting craftiness, to be a perfidious traitor to his country, and a public enemy, as will appear in the sequel; at last, in the reign of king Canute, he received a worthy reward for his treachery.

In the year 1008, Egelred, king of the English, ordered for

[22] Christmas Day.

[23] Cholsey.

[24] Ashdown, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[25] The same place that is also called Ceolesy; it is four miles from Wallingford, in Berkshire.

every one hundred and ten hides of land, one galley to be built, and for every nine,[26] a coat of mail and a helmet to be provided, and gave directions that ships should be built with all speed throughout the whole of England. These being prepared, he put on board of them picked soldiers, with provisions, and that they might protect the extremities of his kingdom from the incursions of the foreigners, collected them at the port of Sandwich. At this period, Brithric, the brother of the perfidious duke Edric Streone, a slippery, ambitious, and haughty man, unjustly accused before the king, Wulnoth,[27] a thane of the South Saxons, who shortly after took to flight to avoid being seized, and having obtained nine vessels, committed numerous ravages near the sea-shore.

But when word was brought to the royal fleet, that if any one wished, he might easily take him; Brithric, having collected eighty galleys, set out to give him chase; however, after he had sailed for some time with a fair wind, on a sudden a most violent tempest arose, and wrecked and shattered his ships, and threw them ashore, where they were shortly after burnt by Wulnoth. On this being known, the king with his chieftains and nobles returned home. But by his orders the fleet repaired to London, and thus this mighty labour of the people was wasted.

In the year 1009, the Danish earl Turkill came with his fleet to England, and afterwards, in the month of August, another innumerable fleet of the Danes, the chiefs of which were Hemming and Ailaf, came to the Isle of Tenedland,[28] and without delay united with the aforesaid fleet, after which both of them entered the harbour of Sandwich, and the men disembarking, hastily attacked the city of Canterbury, and began to storm it; but shortly after, the citizens of Canterbury, with the people of East Kent, suing for peace, obtained their request, and gave them, in consideration of a treaty of peace, three thousand pounds.

Upon this they returned to their ships, and steered their course to the Isle of Wight, and after that, according to their usual practice, frequently collected spoil in Sussex and in the

[26] Roger of Wendover and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle say, "for every eight."

[27] The father of Earl Godwin. He was accused of treason.

[28] Thanet.

province of Southampton, in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore, and burned a great number of towns. On this, king Egelred collected an army throughout all England, and stationed it in the provinces adjoining the sea, as a protection against their incursions; but for all this, the enemy did not cease committing ravages in all quarters, according to the situation of the places. But upon one occasion, when they had made a descent for plunder at a greater distance than usual from the sea, and were returning laden with spoil, the king, attended by many thousands of armed men, got before them, prepared, as was all his army, to conquer or die.

But the perfidious duke Edric Streona, his son-in-law, used his endeavours in every way, both by treachery and ambiguous speeches, that they might not engage, but for that time let the enemy escape. To this he persuaded the king, and prevailed, and, like a traitor to his country, rescued the Danes from the hands of the English, and allowed them to escape; on which, taking a different direction, with great joy they returned to their ships. After the feast of Saint Martin, they arrived in Kent, and chose their winter quarters on the river Thames, and collected provisions in Essex and other provinces that were adjoining either bank of the river. They also frequently attacked the city of London, and endeavoured to take it, but were repulsed by the citizens, not without some little loss to themselves.

In the year 1010, the above-mentioned army of the Danes, in the month of January, disembarking from their ships, came through the forest which is called Cyltern,[29] into Herefordshire, and after laying it waste ravaged it with flames, and on their return collected booty on both banks of the river Thames. When they had been informed that an army was collected against them at London, and was about to engage with them, a part of the army passed over to the southern side of the river, at a place which is called Stane,[30] and having united and enriched themselves with abundance of spoil, proceeded through Surrey, and then returned to their ships, which during the season of Lent, while they were staying in Kent, they refitted.

After Easter, they came to East Anglia, and having disembarked near Gipeswic,[31] marched to a place which is called Rigmere, where they had learned that duke Ulfketel was en-

[29] Chiltern. [30] Staines. [31] Ipswich.

camped with his army, and fought a severe battle with him on the third day before the nones of May. But while the battle was being hotly contested, the East Angles turned their backs, a certain thane of the king, a man of Danish origin, Turketel, surnamed Merenheauod, being the first to begin the flight; but the men of Cambridgeshire, manfully fighting, made a stout resistance, till at last, being overpowered, they took to flight.

In this battle fell Ethelstan, the king's son-in-law, Oswy, a noble thane, together with his son, Wulfric the son of Leofwin, Edwy, the son of Effuic, and many other noble thanes, and an innumerable multitude. The Danes being masters of the field of slaughter, gained possession of East Anglia; and taking to horse, did not cease for three months ravaging the whole province, collecting booty, burning towns, and slaughtering men and animals; after which they laid waste Thetford and Grantebrige,[32] and burned them; having accomplished which, the foot on board ship, and the cavalry on horseback, returned again to the river Thames. After the lapse of a few days, they again sallied forth to plunder, and made straight for the province of Oxfordshire, and first ravaged it, and then the districts of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, burning the towns, and slaughtering the men and cattle, after which they returned to their ships with vast booty.

After this, about the time of the festival of Saint Andrew the Apostle, they committed to the flames Northampton and its vicinity, as far as they pleased, and then crossed the river Thames and entered Wessex, where, having consigned to the flames Caning's-marsh,[33] and the greater part of the province of Wiltshire, after their usual manner, they returned with great booty to their ships about the Nativity of our Lord.

In the year 1011, on the northern side of the Thames, the provinces of East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Herefordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Grantebrigeshire,[34] the middle parts of Huntingdonshire, and the villages of a great part of Northamptonshire, were ravaged; and on the southern side of the river Thames, the provinces of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Southampton, Wiltshire, and Berkshire were laid waste by the above-mentioned army of the Danes, with fire and sword; upon which Egelred, king of the English, and the

[32] Cambridge.
[33] A large tract of land in Wiltshire.
[34] Cambridgeshire.

chief men of his kingdom, sent ambassadors to them to sue for peace, and request them to cease from their ravages, promising them provisions and tribute; on hearing which, not without treachery and dissimulation, as the event proved, they consented to his offer.

For, although food was provided for them in abundance, and tribute paid as much as they pleased, still, they did not desist from making incursions in straggling bodies throughout the provinces wherever they chose, laying waste towns, spoiling some wretched people of their property and slaying others.

In the same year, after having ravaged a great part of England, an army of the Danes, between the Nativity of Saint Mary and the feast of Saint Michael, drawing their lines around it, laid siege to the city of Canterbury. On the twentieth day of the siege, through the treachery of the archdeacon Elmer, whom Saint Elphege had before rescued from being condemned to death, a part of the city was burnt, and, the army effecting an entrance, the city was taken. Some were slaughtered with the sword, some destroyed by the flames. Many were also thrown from the walls, while some were put to death by being hung up by their secret parts. The women were dragged by their hair through the streets of the city, and then, being thrown into the flames, were thus put to death; infants were torn from their mother's breasts, and were either caught on the points of spears, or ground to pieces under the wheels of vehicles.

In the meantime archbishop Elphege was taken, bound in fetters, kept in confinement, and put to various torments. Ailmar, abbat of the monastery of Saint Augustine, was allowed to depart. Godwin, the bishop of Rochester, was also taken, and Leoufruna, abbess of the monastery of Saint Mildred, Elfrige, the king's steward, the monks also and secular clergy, and an innumerable multitude of either sex. After this, Christ's Church was sacked and burnt; a multitude of monks, and a crowd, consisting not only of men, but even women and children as well, were decimated, and nine were put to death, while the tenth was reserved alive: the amount of the decimated thus saved was four monks and eight hundred men. After the people had been slaughtered and the whole of the city burnt, archbishop Elphege was dragged forth in fetters, hurried along with violence, grievously wounded, and afterwards led away to the fleet and thrust into prison, where he was tortured for seven months.

In the meantime the wrath of God, waxing fierce against this murderous race, put an end to two thousand of them by a tormenting pain in the intestines. The others being attacked in a similar manner, were appealed to by the faithful, to make reparation to the archbishop, but refused to do so. In the meantime, the mortality increased, and at one time would put an end to ten, at another twenty, and at another a still greater number at the same instant.

In the year 1012, the perfidious duke Edric Streona, and all the chief men of England, assembled at London before Easter, and remained there until the tribute promised to the Danes, which consisted of forty-eight pounds,[35] was paid. In the meantime, on the holy Sabbath of the rest of our Lord, a proposal was made to archbishop Elphege by the Danes, that if he wished to preserve his life and liberty, he should pay three thousand pounds. Upon his refusal, they deferred his death until the next Sabbath, on the approach of which they were inflamed against him with great anger, both because they were intoxicated with excess of wine, and because he had forbidden that any thing should be given for his liberation. After this, he was brought forth from prison, and dragged before their council. On seeing him, they instantly sprang from their seats, struck him down with the butt ends of their axes, and overwhelmed him with stones, bones, and the skulls of oxen.

At length, a certain person, whose name was Thrum, and whom he had confirmed the day before, moved with pity at this wickedness,[36] struck him on the head with an axe, upon which he immediately fell asleep in the Lord, on the thirteenth day before the calends of May, and sent his soul exulting in the triumph of martyrdom to heaven. On the following day his body was carried to London, and being received with due honor by the citizens, was buried by the bishops Ednoth of Lincoln, and Alphune of London, in the church of Saint Paul.

After this, when the tribute had been paid and peace established with the Danes on oath, the Danish fleet which had been collected, dispersed far and wide; but five-and-forty ships remained with the king, and swore fealty to him, and

[35] Evidently a mistake for forty-eight thousand pounds, mentioned by Roger of Wendover and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[36] "Impiâ motus pietate," can hardly be a correct reading here.

promised that they would defend England, on condition of his giving them food and clothing.

In the year 1013, Living was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury. In the month of July, Sweyn, king of the Danes, arrived at the port of Sandwich with a strong fleet, and after remaining there a few days, took his departure, and sailing round East Anglia, entered the mouth of the river Humber, from which, entering the river Trent, he sailed up to Gainesburg,[37] where he pitched his camp. Without delay there made submission to him, first, earl Ucthred and the people of Northumbria and Lindesey, and after them the people of the Five Boroughs,[38] next all the people living in the district north of Watlingastrete, the road which the sons of king Wethle made through England, from the Eastern Sea to the Western; all these made submission, and having entered into a treaty of peace with him and given hostages, swore fealty to him, and were ordered to provide horses and food for his army.

These things being done, and the fleet with the hostages entrusted to his son Canute, he took chosen men as auxiliaries from those who had been surrendered, and made an expedition against the South Mercians. Having passed over Watlingastrete, he issued an edict to his followers that they should lay waste the fields, burn the towns, spoil the churches, slay without regard or mercy all those of the male sex who should fall in their hands, and reserve the females to satisfy their lust, doing all the mischief they possibly could.

They acting in this manner, and raving with the rabidness of wild beasts, he came to Oxford, and took it more speedily than he had previously expected; having received hostages, he passed on in haste to Winchester, and arriving there, the citizens, being alarmed, made peace with him without delay, and gave him hostages, such and as many as he demanded. Having received these, he moved on his army towards London; and great numbers of them being drowned in the river Thames, perished there, having never attempted to find either a bridge or a ford. On arriving at London, he endeavoured in many ways to capture it either by stratagem or by force.

[37] Gainsborough.

[38] These were Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Stamford and Derby.

But Egelred, king of the English, with the citizens and the aid of the Danish earl, Turkill, so often mentioned, who was with him at the time, manfully defended the walls of the city, and held out against him. Being repulsed, he repaired first to Wallingford, then to Bath, ravaging and laying waste everything in his progress, according to his usual practice, and there he sat down with his forces to refresh them. Then came to him Athelmar, the earl of Devon, and with him the thanes of the west, and having made peace with him, gave him hostages. All these things being thus accomplished to his wish, on returning to his fleet, he was by all the people styled and considered king, although he acted in most respects in a tyrannical manner.

The citizens of London, also, sent hostages to him, and made peace with him; for they were afraid that his fury would be so inflamed against them, that, taking away all their possessions, he would either order their eyes to be put out, or their hands or feet to be cut off. When king Egelred saw this, he sent queen Emma by sea to Normandy, to her brother Richard, the second duke of Normandy, and her sons Edward and Elfred, together with their tutor, Elphune, bishop of London, and Elfsy, abbat of Medeshampstead.[39] But he himself remained for some time with the Danish[40] fleet, which lay in the Thames at a place called Grenwic;[41] and afterwards proceeding to the Isle of Wight, there celebrated the Nativity of our Lord; after which, he passed over to Normandy, and was honorably entertained by duke Richard.

In the mean time, the tyrant Sweyn ordered provisions to be prepared in abundance for his fleet, and an amount of tribute to be paid that could hardly be endured. In like manner, in all respects, earl Turkill ordered payment to be made to the fleet which lay at Grenwic. In addition to all this, each of them, as often as they thought proper, collected spoil, and did much mischief.

In the year 1014, the tyrant Sweyn, after innumerable and cruel misdeeds, which he had been guilty of either in England or in other countries, to complete his own damnation, dared to exact a heavy tribute from the town where lies interred the uncorrupted body of the royal martyr, Edmund; a thing that no one had dared to do before, from the time when that town[42]

[39] Peterborough. [40] Qy. English? [41] Greenwich.
[42] Bury St. Edmunds.

had been given to the church of the above-named saint; he repeatedly threatened, also, that if it was not quickly paid, beyond a doubt he would burn the town, together with the townsmen, utterly destroy the church of the martyr himself, and torment the clergy with various tortures. In addition to this, he even dared frequently to speak slightingly of the martyr himself, and to say that he was no saint at all. But, inasmuch as he was unwilling to put an end to his misdeeds, the Divine vengeance did not permit this blasphemer to live any longer.

At length, towards the evening of the day on which, in a general council which he had held at a place which is called Geagnesburt,[43] he had again repeated these threats, while surrounded with most numerous crowds of Danes, he alone beheld Saint Edmund coming armed towards him; on seeing whom, he was terrified, and began to cry out with loud shrieks, exclaiming, "Fellow-soldiers, to the rescue, to the rescue! behold Saint Edmund has come to slay me;" after saying which, being pierced by the Saint with a spear, he fell from the throne[44] upon which he was sitting, and, suffering great torments until nightfall, on the third day before the nones of February, terminated his life by a shocking death.

After his death, the fleet of the Danes elected his son, Canute, king. But the elders of the whole of England, with one consent, in all haste sent messengers to king Egelred, declaring that they loved no one, and would love no one, more than their own natural lord, if he would either rule them more becomingly, or treat them with more mildness than he had previously done. On hearing this, he sent his son, Edward, to them, with his deputies, and in a friendly way greeted his people, both great and small, promising that he would be to them a loving and affectionate lord, and would consult their wishes in all things, would listen to their advice, and with a forgiving temper pardon whatever had been said in abuse, or done in contradiction by them to himself or his family; if, on the other hand, they would be ready to restore him with unanimity and without guile, to his kingdom. To this they all made answer in kindly terms, and full friendship was

[43] Probably Gainsborough.

[44] "Emissario" is the word in the text, probably a mistake for some other word. "Missarius" means one that strikes or wounds; but if it is to be retained here, some other word is omitted.

established on either side, both by words and by pledge. In addition to this, the nobles unanimously made promise that they would no more admit a Danish king into England.

On these things being concluded, a deputation was sent by the English to Normandy, and the king was brought back in all haste during the season of Lent, and received with due honor by all. In the meantime it was arranged by Canute and the men of Lindesey,[45] that, procuring horses for the army, they should make a descent for the purpose of plunder. But, before they were prepared, king Egelred came thither with a strong army, and, Canute with his fleet being put to flight, laid waste the whole of Lindesey, and ravaged it with fire, slaughtering all the inhabitants he could. But Canute, at once taking safety in flight, directed his course towards the south of England, and in a short time came to the port of Sandwich, where he put on shore the hostages that had been given to his father by the whole of England, and, having cut off their hands, ears, and nostrils, allowed them to depart, and then set sail for Denmark, to return in the ensuing year. In addition to all these evils, king Edward ordered to be paid to the fleet, which lay at Grenwic, a tribute which amounted to thirty thousand pounds.

On the third day before the calends of October, the sea overflowed its shores, and drowned a great number of towns in England and numberless multitudes of people.

In the year 1015, while a great council was being held in secret at Oxford, the perfidious duke Edric Streona, by stratagem enticed Sigeferth and Morcar, the sons of Earngrim, the very worthy and influential thanes of the Seven Boroughs, into his chamber, and there ordered them to be put to death. King Egelred thereupon took possession of their property, and ordered Aldgitha, the relict of Sigeferth, to be taken to the city of Maidulph.[46] While she was being kept in confinement there, Edmund, the king's son, surnamed Ironside, came thither, and, against the will of his father,[47] took her to wife, and, between the feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity of Saint Mary, set out for the Five Boroughs, and invading the territories of Sigeferth and Morcar, subjected their people to himself.

[45] Roger of Wendover says that he had gained them over to his cause.
[46] Malmesbury.
[47] Roger of Wendover says, without his father's knowledge.

At the same time, Canute, king of the Danes, came with a great fleet to the port of Sandwich; and then, sailing round Kent, entered the mouth of the river Frome, and collected great booty in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and the province of Winchester.[48] At this period, because king Egelred lay sick at Corsham, the Clito Edmund, his son, acted in his behalf, and, with the duke Edric Streona, who was full of guile and treachery, collected a large army: but, when they had met together, duke Edric in every possible way laid snares for the Clito Edmund, and tried by treachery to cut him off. On Edmund learning this, they soon separated from each other, and left the place to the enemy. Not long after this, the same duke enticed away forty ships of the royal fleet, manned with Danish soldiers, and, going over to Canute, made submission to him. The men of Wessex did the same, and gave hostages, and afterwards provided horses for his army.

In the year 1016, Canute, king of the Danes, and the perfidious duke Edric Streona, with a large retinue,[49] crossed the river Thames at a place which is called Cricklade; and, on the approach of the Epiphany of our Lord, made a hostile irruption into Mercia, and laying waste many towns in the province of Warwick, burned them, and slew all the persons they could find. When the Clito Edmund, surnamed Ironside, heard of this, in all haste he collected an army; but, after it was brought together, the men of Mercia were unwilling to engage with the men of Wessex and the Danes, unless king Egelred and the citizens of London were with them. In consequence of this, the expedition was given up, and each one returned home.

After the festival was concluded, the Clito Edmund again formed a still greater army; after which, he sent messengers to London, to beg his father to meet him as soon as possible, with all the men he could find. But, after an army had been collected together, intimation was given to the king, that, if he did not take due precaution, some of his allies were about to betray him. The army was soon broken up in consequence, on which he returned to London; but the Clito proceeded to Northumbria. For which reason some thought that he still intended to form a greater army against Canute; but in the

[48] It ought to be "Wiltonensi," Wiltshire.

[49] V. r. "Equitatu," body of cavalry.

same way that Canute and Edric did on their part, so did he and Ucthred, the earl of Northumbria, lay waste some of the provinces. For first they ravaged Staffordshire, and next the provinces of Shrewsbury and Leicester, because they had refused to go out to fight against the army of the Danes.

In the meantime, Canute and Edric Streona laid waste, first the provinces of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Somersetshire, and Nottinghamshire, and, afterwards, Northumbria. On hearing this, the Clito Edmund Ironside, pausing in his ravages, hastened to London to his father; while, on the other hand, earl Ucthred returned home with all speed, and, compelled by necessity, betook himself, with all the Northumbrians, to Canute, and gave him hostages; yet, for all that, either by his command or with his sanction, he was slain by Turebrand, a noble Dane, together with Turketel, the son of Navena. After his death, Canute appointed Eiric earl in place of Ucthred; and after that, returning in all haste to the south,[50] before the festival of Easter, with the whole of his army retreated to his ships.

At this period, in the fourth year of the indiction, on the ninth day before the calends of May, being the second day of the week, Egelred, king of the English, departed this life at London, after having in his life experienced great troubles and many tribulations, which Saint Dunstan had prophesied to him should come upon him for the death of his brother Edward, as I have mentioned under the first year of his reign. His body was becomingly buried in the church of Saint Paul.

After his death, the bishops, abbats, and most noble men of England met together and with one consent elected Canute their lord and king, and coming to him at Southampton, repudiated and rejected in his presence all the family of king Egelred, and made peace with him, and took the oaths of fealty to him; on which he swore to them that before God and men he would be a faithful master to them.

But the citizens of London, and a part of the nobles who were at that time staying there, with unanimous consent elected the Clito Edmund king, who, being thus elevated to the royal throne, fearlessly entered Wessex, and being received by all the people with great congratulations, reduced it very

[50] A various reading has here, "Edmund Ironside returning in all haste to the south by another road."

speedily to subjection; on hearing which, many of the people of England with alacrity voluntarily submitted to him. But Canute, in the meanwhile, about the time of the Rogation days, came up with all his fleet to London; and on arriving there, the Danes dug a great ditch[51] on the southern side of the Thames, and towed their ships along to the western side, after which, surrounding the city with a wide and deep trench, in strict siege they shut out all from either ingress or egress. They also made frequent attempts to take it by storm; but, the citizens making a stout resistance against them, they were repulsed from the walls; in consequence whereof, the siege being put off for a time, and a part of the army left to guard the ships, they hastened with all speed to Wessex, and gave king Edmund Ironside no time for collecting a large army.

However, with the army which in such a short period he had collected, relying on the aid of God, he boldly met them in Dorsetshire, and attacking them at a place which is called Penn,[52] near Gillingham, fought with them, and conquered, and put them to flight. After this, midsummer being past, he again collected a still larger army than before, and resolved to engage boldly with Canute; this took place in Worcestershire, at a place which is called Eearstam,[53] where he drew up his army as the situation and his own strength would allow him, and placing all his best men in the front rank, the rest of the army he set in reserve; and then appealed to them, calling each by name, and exhorting and entreating them that they would bear in mind that they were fighting for their country, their children, their wives, and their homes; and, in the most encouraging language having kindled the spirits of the soldiers, he then ordered the trumpets to sound, and his troops to advance at a gentle pace. The army of the enemy did the same. When they had come to the spot where the battle was able to be commenced, with immense clamour they rushed on with hostile standards, and the combat was waged with lances

[51] This is supposed to have been commenced on the eastern side of London Bridge, at either Deptford or Rotherhithe, and running through the present St. George's Fields, to have entered the river at Vauxhall.

[52] It is wrongly called in the text "Peonum."

[53] Properly Sberston. According to Hardy, this is supposed to have been a stone which divided the four counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick.

and swords, and the engagement carried on with the greatest vigour. In the meantime, king Edmund Ironside fought bravely in the front rank, hand to hand, while giving all requisite orders. He himself fought most valiantly, and struck down many an enemy, at the same moment performing the duties of a valiant soldier and of a good general; but, inasmuch as his brother-in-law Edric Streona, that most perfidious duke, and Almar the beloved, and Algar, the son of Mehu, who ought to have been aiding him, together with the men of the provinces of Southampton and Wiltshire, and an innumerable multitude of people, were on the side of the Danes, his army had to struggle hard for victory.

However, on the first day of the week, Monday to wit, so severe and so bloody a battle was fought, that either army, from exhaustion being no longer able to fight, at sunset ceased of its own accord. Still, on the following day, king Edmund would have crushed all the Danes, if it had not been for the treachery of the perfidious duke Edric Streona. For, when the battle was at its height, and he saw that the English were prevailing, having cut off the head of a man, Osmer by name, who very strongly resembled king Edward in features and hair, raising it aloft, he exclaimed: "Englishmen! it is in vain you fight!" adding, "You men of Dorset, Devon, and Wiltshire, your chieftain is slain,—take to flight with all speed.[54] Behold the head of Edmund, your king! I hold it in my hand; give way, then, instantly!"

When the English heard this, they were more shocked at the atrocity of the deed than alarmed through belief in him who announced it. Hence it came to pass that the more unsteady ones were nearly taking to flight, but instantly, on it being found that the king was alive, they recovered their courage, and boldly rushing upon the Danes, slaughtered many of them, fighting with all their might until twilight, on the approach of which, as on the preceding day, they separated of their own accord. But when the greater part of the night had passed, Canute commanded his men to decamp in silence, and taking the road towards London, returned to the ships, and shortly after again laid siege to it.

On the next day, when king Edmund Ironside found that the Danes had fled, he returned into Wessex to collect a

[54] "Præcipites" seems a better reading here than "principes."

larger army. His brother-in-law, the perfidious duke Edric, seeing his valour, sought him again as his natural lord, and making peace with him, swore that he would continue faithful to him; upon which, with an army collected together for the third time, the king liberated the citizens of London from the siege, and drove the Danes to their ships. Two days after this, he passed over the Thames at a place which is called Brentford, to engage with the Danes for the third time; there he joined battle with them, and having put them to flight, gained the victory. On this occasion many men on the side of the English, while crossing the river without due precautions, were drowned. After this, the king hastened to Wessex, for the purpose of collecting a more numerous army; on which, the Danes again repaired to London, laid siege to it, and stormed it on every side; but, by the aid of God, they were unsuccessful.

Upon this, they returned thence with their fleet, and entered the river which is called Arewe,[55] and, landing from their ships, proceeded into Mercia for the purpose of plunder, after their usual manner slaughtering all they met, burning towns, and carrying off the spoil: after which, they returned to their ships, and the land forces were conveyed by sea to the river which is called Meodewege,[56] while the cavalry endeavoured to drive the live-stock, which formed part of their booty, by land.

In the meantime, king Edmund Ironside for the fourth time collected a valiant army throughout the whole of England, and passing over the Thames at the place[57] where he had done so previously, quickly entered Kent, and fought a battle with the Danes near Ottaford; on which, being unable to resist his attack, they turned their backs and fled with their horses to Scepege.[58] However, he slew all he could overtake, and had not the perfidious duke Edric Streona, with his treachery, withheld him at Eagleford,[59] from pursuing the enemy, he would that day have gained a complete victory. After returning into Wessex, Canute crossed over with his forces into Essex, and proceeded again to Mercia, for the sake of plunder, giving orders to his army to commit still greater excesses than before.

[55] The Orwell, in Suffolk. [56] The Medway.
[57] Brentford. [58] The Isle of Sheppey. [59] Aylesford, in Kent.

On this, with the greatest alacrity, they obeyed his commands, and having slaughtered all who fell into their hands, and burned a very great number of towns, and laid waste the fields, greatly enriched, they repaired with all haste to their ships. Edmund Ironside, king of the English, pursuing them with an army which he had levied from the whole of England, came up with them, as they were retreating, at a hill which is called Assendun,[60] that is to say, "the hill of the ass." There, with all expedition, he drew up his troops in three divisions, and then going round each troop, exhorted and entreated them, bearing in mind their ancient valour and victories, to defend him and his kingdom from the avarice of the Danes, and reminded them that they were about to engage with those whom they had conquered already.

In the meantime, Canute slowly led his forces to a level spot; while, on the other hand, king Edmund quickly moved his line in the order in which he had drawn it up, and suddenly giving the signal, fell upon the Danes; on both sides they fought with the greatest valour, and in every quarter multitudes fell. But that most perfidious and most wicked duke, Edric Streona, seeing the line of the Danes wavering, and the English likely to gain the victory, just as he had previously arranged with Canute, took to flight with the people of Maiseveth[61] and the part of the army which he commanded, and by treachery betrayed his lord, king Edmund, and the army of the English. There were slain in that battle duke Alfric, duke Godwin, Ulfketel duke of East Anglia, duke Ethelward, son of Ethelwin, the friend of God, duke of East Anglia, and almost the entire mass of the nobility of England, which in no battle ever sustained a greater wound than it did there. Eadnoth, also, the bishop of Lincoln, and the abbat Wulsy, who had come for the purpose of invoking the Lord on behalf of the soldiers while waging the battle, were slain.

A few days having intervened after this, king Edmund Ironside being still desirous to come up with Canute, while the most iniquitous and treacherous Edric and some others did not wish that to take place, they gave him advice to make peace with Canute and divide the kingdom between them. At length, though with some reluctance, he yielded to their suggestions, and messengers going from one to the other, and

[60] Ashendon, in Essex. [61] Radnorshire.

hostages being given on either side, the two kings met at a place which is called Deerhurst; Edmund pitched his camp with his men on the western bank of the Severn, while Canute encamped with his on the eastern side.

Upon this, the two kings were conveyed in boats[63] to the island called Olanege,[64] which is situate in the middle of the river; where[65] peace, friendship, and brotherhood having been established by pledge and by oath, the kingdom was divided. Then, after having exchanged arms and clothes, the tribute being agreed upon which should be paid to the fleet, they separated from each other. The Danes, however, returned to their ships with the spoil which they had collected, and the citizens of London made peace with them, paying a price for it, and allowing them to winter there.

After these things, in the fifteenth year of the indiction, about the time of the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle, king Edmund Ironside died at London,[66] but was buried at Glastonbury, with his grandfather, king Edgar the Peaceful. After his death, king Canute ordered all the bishops and chieftains, and all the nobles and principal men of the English nation, to be assembled at London. When these had come before him, as though he did not know it, he cunningly asked those who had acted as witnesses between him and king Edmund when they made the treaty of friendship and partition of the kingdom between them, to what effect he and king Edmund had expressed themselves about the brothers and sons of the latter, as to whether it should be allowed the same to reign over the kingdom of Wessex after their father, in case Edmund should die while he was still living: on which they began to say that, beyond a doubt, they were quite certain that king Edmund neither living nor dying had bespoken any portion of the kingdom for his brothers. But, as to his sons, they said that they knew this, that king Edmund wished Canute to be their guardian and protector, until they should be of fit age to reign.

[63] "Trabariæ," the word used in the text, were boats like canoes, made out of a single piece of wood. [64] Olney.

[65] According to Roger of Wendover and other historians, Edmund Ironside and Canute first engaged there in single combat.

[66] Roger of Wendover says at Oxford, where he was barbarously murdered by the son of Edric Streona.

But they, God testifying thereto, gave false testimony and treacherously lied, thinking both that Canute would prove more kind to them by reason of their falsehoods, and that they should gain great rewards from him; whereas, not long after, some of these false witnesses were slain by the same king. After having put the above question, king Canute received the oaths of fealty from the nobles above-mentioned; on which they swore to him that they willingly chose him for their king, and would readily obey him, and pay tribute to his army; and having received pledges from his bare hand, together with the oaths of the principal men among the Danes, they utterly disregarded the brothers and sons of king Edmund, and declared that they should not be their kings.

Now, one of the above-mentioned Clito's was Edwin the Excellent, a most revered brother of king Edmund, whom on that occasion, with most wicked counsels, they pronounced deserving of banishment. When, therefore, Canute had listened to the adulation of the persons above-mentioned, and the contempt in which they held Edwin, rejoicing, he entered his chamber, and calling to him the perfidious duke Edric, inquired of him in what way he might be able to beguile Edwin to the risk of his life; on which Edric made answer, that he knew a certain man named Athelward, who could very easily put him to death, with whom he should be able to have some conversation, and to whom he would offer a very considerable reward.

However, on learning the name of the man, the king cunningly sent for him, and said: "Thus and thus has duke Edric informed me, saying that you are able to beguile the Clito Edwin, so that he may be slain; do you only assent to my proposal, and obtain for me his head, and you shall enjoy all the honors and dignities of your forefathers, and shall be dearer to me than my own born brother." On this, he made answer that he was willing to seek for him in order that he might be slain, if in any way he could effect it: but, in reality, he did not wish to kill him at present, but, by way of excuse, made this promise: he was a person sprung from a most noble English family.

In this year king Canute obtained the rule of the whole of England, and divided it into four parts; Wessex he took for himself, East Anglia he gave to earl Turkill, Mercia to the perfidious duke Edric, and Northumbria to earl Eiric. He also made a treaty with the nobles and all the people, and they established

by oath a firm friendship between them, and, laying them aside, set at rest all ancient enmities. Then, by the counsel of the perfidious duke Edric, king Canute banished the Clito Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, and Edwin,[67] who was styled "the King of the Churls;" but this Edwin was reconciled to the king. The Clito Edwin, however, being deceived by the treachery of those whom he had hitherto deemed to be most friendly disposed to him, at the request and entreaty of king Canute, was, the same year, without guilt on his part, put to death.

Edric also gave him this advice, that he should put to death the younger Clito's, Edward and Edmund, the sons of king Edmund; but as it seemed to him a great disgrace for them to be put to death in England, after the lapse of a short time he sent them to the king of Sweden to be slain; he however, although there was a treaty between them, would by no means assent to his request, but sent them, for the preservation of their lives, to Salomon, king of the Hungarians, to be brought up; and one of them, namely, Edmund, in process of time, ended his life there. But Edward received in marriage Agatha, the daughter of the emperor, by whom he had Margaret, afterwards queen of the Scots, Christina, a virgin, who became a nun, and the Clito Edgar.

In the month of July, king Canute took to wife queen Emma, the widow of king Egelred, by whom he had a son, named Hardicanute, afterwards king, and a daughter, named Gunhilda, who was afterwards married to Henry, the emperor of the Romans.

In the year 1018, at the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, while Canute was in London, he ordered the perfidious duke Edric Streona to be slain in his palace, because he feared lest he should be on some occasion betrayed by his treachery, just as his former masters Egelred and Edmund had been frequently betrayed. He also ordered his body to be thrown over the walls of the city, and to be cast out without burial; together with him duke Norman, the son of duke Leofwin, and brother of earl Leofric, Ethelward, the son of duke Engelmar, and Brithric, the son of Elphege, earl of Devonshire, were slain without any guilt on their parts. In this year, by the whole of England, seventy-two pounds, and by London, four hundred and ten pounds,[68] were paid to the army of the Danes. Aldun,

[67] Properly Edwy.

[68] These numbers are manifestly wrong; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

bishop of Durham, departed this life, and a great battle was fought between the English and the Scots at Carre.[69] The English and the Danes came to an understanding at Oxford as to the observance of the laws of king Edgar.

In the year 1019, Canute, king of the English and of the Danes, crossed to Denmark, and remained there throughout the whole of the winter.

In the year 1020, king Canute returned to England, and at the festival of Easter held a great council at Cirencester. Edmund was appointed to the see of Durham, and Living, archbishop of Canterbury, departing this life, was succeeded by Agelnoth, who was called the Good, the son of Agelmar, a nobleman. In the same year, the church which king Canute and earl Turketel had built on the hill which is called Assendun,[70] was dedicated in their presence with great honor and pomp by Wulstan, the archbishop of York, and many other bishops.

In the year 1021, Canute, king of the English and of the Danes, before the feast of Saint Martin, expelled the earl Turkill so often mentioned, together with his wife, Egitha, from England. Algar, the bishop of East Anglia, departed this life, and was succeeded by Alfwin.

In the year 1022, Agelnoth, the archbishop of Canterbury, went to Rome, and being received by pope Benedict with great honor, the pall was given to him.

In the year 1023, the body of Saint Elphege the Martyr was transferred from London to Canterbury. Wulstan, the archbishop of York, departed this life at York, on the day before the calends of July, being the third day of the week, but his body was carried to Ely, and there buried. He was succeeded by Alfric, the prior of Winchester.

In the year 1026, Alfric, the archbishop of York, went to Rome, and received the pall from pope John. Richard, the second duke of Normandy, departed this life; and was succeeded by Richard the Third, who died in the same year, being succeeded by his brother Robert.

In the year 1027, it having been intimated to the king of the English and of the Danes that the people of Norway greatly despised their king, Olaf, for his simplicity, mildness, justice

states the amount paid by the whole of England as 72,000 pounds, and that paid by the city of London, 10,500.

[69] Probably Carron. [70] Ashendon, in Essex.

and piety, he sent to certain of them a great quantity of gold and silver, begging them, with many intreaties, that, having deposed and expelled him, they would become subject to him, and permit him to reign over them. Receiving, with great avidity, what he sent them, they ordered word to be sent him, that they were ready to receive him whenever he chose to come.

In the year 1028, Canute, king of the English and of the Danes, crossing over to Norway with fifty large ships, expelled king Olaf, and rendered it subject to himself.

In the year 1029, Canute, king of the English, of the Danes, and of the Norwegians, returned to England; and shortly after sent into exile Hacun, a Danish earl, on the pretext that he was sending him on an embassy, as he feared lest he should be deprived of his life by him. He was married to a noble woman, Gunhilda, the daughter of his own sister and of Wertgeorn, king of the Windi.

In the year 1030, the above-named earl Hacun perished at sea; some say that he was slain at this period in the island of Orkney. Saint Olaf, the king and martyr, son of Harold, king of Norway, whom king Canute had expelled, returning to Norway, was unrighteously slain by the Norwegians.

In the year 1031, Canute, king of the English, of the Danes, and of the Norwegians, set out with great state from Denmark for Rome, and presented to Saint Peter, the chief of the Apostles, vast gifts of gold and silver and other precious things, and obtained, at his request, from pope John, that the school of the English at Rome should be exempt from all tax and tribute; also, in going and returning he bestowed bounteous alms on the poor, and put an end to many barriers on the road where toll was exacted from strangers, by payment of a large sum of money; before the tomb of the Apostles he also made a vow to amend his life and manners.

In the year 1032, the church of Saint Edmund, the king and martyr, was dedicated. Conflagrations, almost unextinguishable, ravaged many places throughout England. Elphege, the bishop of Winchester, departed this life, and was succeeded by Elfwyn, the king's priest.

In the year 1033, died Leolf, bishop of the Wiccii,[72] a man of great piety and modesty, at the episcopal town of

[72] Worcester.

Kemeys.[73] He died on the fourth day before the calends of September, being the third day of the week, and, as we have reason to believe, departed to the kingdom of heaven; his body was buried with due honor in the church of Saint Mary, at Worcester. To his see was elected Brithege, abbat of Pershore, son of the sister of Wulstan, the archbishop of York.

In the year 1034, Malcolm,[74] the king of the Scots, departed this life, and was succeeded by Machetad.

In the year 1035, Canute, king of the English, just before his death appointed his son, Sweyn, king of the Norwegians; and of the Danes Hardicanute, his son by queen Emma; his son Harold, whom he had by Elfgiva of Southampton, he appointed king of England; and shortly after, in the same year, on the second day before the ides of November, being the fourth day of the week, he departed this life at Shaftesbury, but was buried at Winchester, with all due honors, in the old monastery there. After his burial, queen Elfgiva,[75] who was also called Emma, took refuge[76] at that place.

But Harold, on obtaining the royal dignity, sent his followers with all haste to Winchester, and took away from her, in a tyrannical manner, the largest and best portion of the treasures which king Canute had left her; and after having spoiled her, dismissed her, to take her seat there as she had previously done. With the consent, also, of the greater part of the elders of England he began to reign, as being the lawful heir; but yet not with such power as did Canute, because [by some] Hardicanute was looked for as being the more lawful heir. For which reason, shortly afterwards, the kingdom of England was divided by lot, and the northern part fell to Harold, the southern to Hardicanute. Robert, duke of the Normans, died, and was succeeded by his son, William the Bastard, at a very youthful age.

In the year 1036, the innocent Clito's Alfred and Edward, the sons of Egelred, the former king of the English, crossed over to England with a few ships from Normandy, where they had remained for a long time with their uncle Richard, and,

[73] In Pembrokeshire. [74] The Second.

[75] A suspicion is mentioned by some of the chroniclers that this woman palmed off the children of a priest and a cobbler on Canute as his own. She herself was the daughter of earl Elfelm.

[76] This was for protection from the violence of Harold.

attended by a great number of Norman soldiers, came to Winchester, to have an interview with their mother, who was staying at that place. This some of the men in power took amiss, and were indignant at it; because, although unjustly so, they were much more devoted to king Harold than to them, and especially, as it is said, the earl Godwin.

He, after having hurried on Alfred towards London for the purpose of an interview with king Harold, in obedience to his commands, detained him and placed him in close custody. Some of his attendants he dispersed, some he placed in chains, and afterwards put out their eyes; some he scalped and tortured, and deprived of their hands and feet, by cutting them off. Many, also, he caused to be sold, and by various and shocking deaths he put to death six hundred men at Guilford. But their souls, we believe, are now rejoicing in Paradise with the Saints, whose bodies, without cause, were so cruelly consigned to death on earth.

On hearing this, queen Emma in great haste sent back her son Edward, who had remained with her, into Normandy; whereupon, by the command of Godwin and certain others, the Clito Alfred was led in the most strict bonds to the isle of Ely; but as soon as the ship came to shore, on board of it, they instantly in the most cruel manner put out his eyes, and then, being led to the monastery by the monks, he was delivered into their charge; here, shortly afterwards, he departed this life, and his body was buried with due honor in the south porch on the western side of the church, while his soul enjoys the delights of Paradise.

In the year 1037, Harold king of the Mercians and Northumbrians, was chosen king by the nobles and the people, to reign over all England. But Hardicanute, because he stayed too long in Denmark and delayed coming to England as he had been requested, was entirely set aside, and his mother Elfgiva, who was also called Emma, the former queen of the English, at the beginning of the winter, was expelled from England without mercy, and shortly afterwards, passing over in a ship to Flanders, was received with honor by earl Baldwin. He, in the way that became such a man, as long as her need demanded it, willingly took care that all necessaries were provided her. In the same year, a short time before this, Avic, the prior of Evesham, a man of great piety, died.

In the year 1038, Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, on the fourth day before the calends of November, on the seventh day after whose death, Egelred, bishop of Sussex,[77] died: for he had asked of God, that he might not live long in this world after the death of his most beloved father Egelnoth. Grimketel succeeded Egelred in the bishopric, and Eadsy, the king's chaplain, succeeded Egelnoth as archbishop. In the same year also, died Brithege, the bishop of Worcester, on the fourteenth day before the calends of January, being the fourth day of the week, and was succeeded by Living.

In the year 1039, there was a very severe storm. Brithmar, bishop of Lichfield, died, and was succeeded by Wulsy. Hardicanute, king of the Danes, crossed over to Flanders, and visited his mother Emma.

[In the year 1040], Harold, the king of the English, died at London, and was buried at Westminster; after his burial, the nobles of almost the whole of England sent ambassadors to Hardicanute at Bruges, where he was staying with his mother, and thinking that they were acting rightly, entreated him to come to England, and receive the sceptre of the kingdom. Having prepared forty ships, and equipped them with Danish soldiers, before midsummer he arrived in England, and was joyfully received by all, and shortly after elevated to the throne of the kingdom. But, during the period of his reign, he did nothing worthy of the royal dignity. For as soon as he began to reign, not forgetting the injuries which his predecessor Harold, (who was supposed to he his brother), had done either to him or to his mother, he sent Elfric, archbishop of York, earl Godwin, Stir, master of the household, Edric, his keeper of the purse, Throud, his executioner, and other men of high rank to London, and ordered them to dig up the body of Harold, and cast it into a swampy place. After it had been thrown up on shore there, he ordered it to be dragged out, and to be cast into the river Thames. But a short time after, it was taken up by a certain fisherman, and carried off in haste by the Danes, and honorably buried by them in the burying ground which they had at London.

These things being done, king Hardicanute ordered eight marks to be paid by the whole of England to each rower, and twelve to each pilot of his fleet, a tribute so heavy, that

[77] Bishop of Selsey.

hardly any person was able to pay it. In consequence of this, to all who, before his arrival, greatly wished for it, he became exceedingly odious. Added to this, he was extremely exasperated against earl Godwin, and Living, the bishop of Worcester, for the death of his brother Alfred, Alfric, the archbishop of York, and certain others being their accusers. He therefore took away the bishopric of Worcester from Living, and gave it to Alfric; but in the following year he took it from Alfric, and restored it, with marks of kindness, to Living, with whom he had become reconciled.

But Godwin, to make his peace, presented to the king a galley or ship, of exquisite workmanship, having a gilded beak, provided with the choicest equipments, and fitted out with splendid arms and eight hundred[78] picked soldiers. Each one of these had on his arms bracelets of gold, weighing sixteen ounces, a triple coat of mail, a helmet on his head partly gilded, a sword girt to his loins with a gilded hilt, a Danish battle-axe ornamented with gold hanging from the left shoulder, in his left hand a shield, the boss and studs of which were gilded, and in his right a lance, which in the English language is called "Ategar."

In addition to this, he made oath before the king, and almost all the nobles and most dignified thanes of England, that it was neither by his advice or concurrence that his brother had been deprived of his sight, but that his lord, king Harold, had ordered him to do what he did do.

In the year 1041, Hardicanute, king of the English, sent the servants of his household throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, to collect the tribute which he had ordered. A sedition arising in consequence, two of them, Feader and Turstan by name, were slain by the people of the province of Worcester and the citizens, in the upper room of a tower in the monastery of Worcester, whither they had fled for the purpose of concealment; this took place on the fourth day before the nones of May, being the second day of the week. In consequence of this, the king, being aroused to anger, for the purpose of avenging their death, despatched thither, Thuri, earl of Mid-Anglia, Leofric, earl of Mercia, Godwin, earl of Wessex, Si-

[78] "Octingesimo" in the text. Eighty, spite of the eight hundred of Roger of Wendover, is much more probable.

ward, earl of Northumbria, Rome, earl of Maiseveth,[79] and the earls of the whole of England, and nearly all his own household servants, with a great army, Alfric then being bishop of Worcester; these he sent thither, with orders to slay all they could, and, after plundering the city, to set it on fire and lay waste the whole province.

A short time after the feast of All Saints, they began to lay waste the city and the province, and ceased not to do so for four days; however, they took and slew but few of the citizens or provincials, because, their approach being known beforehand, the provincials had taken to flight in various directions; but a multitude of the citizens had fled for refuge to a certain little island, situate in the middle of the river Severn, which is called Beverege, and, having thrown up fortifications there, stoutly defended themselves against their enemies, until peace was restored and they had free liberty to return home. On the fifth day, therefore, after the burning of the city, every man returned home laden with considerable spoil, and the king's anger was immediately appeased. Not long after this, Edward, the son of Egelred the former king of the English, came to England from Normandy, where he had been in exile many years, and being honorably entertained by his brother, king Hardicanute, took up his residence at his court.

In the year 1042, Hardicanute, king of the English, was present at a banquet, at which Osgod Clapa, a man of high rank, was marrying his daughter Gyta, to Tuvy, a Dane, and a very influential man, at a place which is called Lamtithe;[80] while in merry mood, and in perfect health and good spirits, he was enjoying the hilarity of the nuptials by the side of the bride, and standing up, was drinking to certain men, he suddenly fell to the earth with a dreadful shock, and remaining speechless, expired on the sixth day before the ides of July, being the third day of the week, and being carried to Winchester, was buried near king Canute, his father.

Upon this, his brother Edward, by the especial aid of earl Godwin and Living, the bishop of Worcester, was elevated to the dignity of king, at London; his father was Egelred, whose

[79] Radnorshire.

[80] Lambeth, in Surrey. This event took place at Clapham, which was formerly in the parish of Lambeth.

father was Edgar, whose father was Edmund, whose father was Edward the Elder, whose father was Alfred.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1043, on the first day of Easter, being the nones of April, Edward was anointed king at Winchester, by Eadsy, archbishop of Canterbury, and Alfric, archbishop of York, and nearly all the other bishops of England.

In the same year, after the feast of Saint Martin, the king, with Leofric, Godwin, and Siward attending him, suddenly proceeded from the city of Gloucester to Worcester, and following the advice which they had given him, took away from his mother all the valuables she had, consisting of gold, silver, jewels, precious stones, and other things; either because before he had been made king, or since then, she had given him less than he required, and had been extremely harsh towards him.

Edmund, bishop of Durham, having departed this life, he was succeeded by Egelric, Siward being at that time earl of Northumbria.

In the year 1044, Alword, bishop of London, who, both before he was bishop, and in the time of his episcopate, was abbat of the monastery of Evesham, being unable to perform the duties of the see by reason of his infirmities, wished to reside at Evesham, but the brethren of that place would by no means consent thereto. Consequently, taking away most of the books and ornaments that he had given to that place, and as some say, some things that other persons had given, he retired to the monastery of Ramsege,[81] and gave to Saint Benedict all that he brought; there he took up his abode, and dying there in the same year, on the eighth day before the calends of August, being the fourth day of the week, he was buried at that place.

At a general synod, which at this time was held at London, a religious monk of Evesham, who had also been a monk in the Isle of Man,[82] was chosen abbat of Evesham, and was ordained on the fourth day before the ides of August, being the sixth day of the week. In the same year, the noble matron Gunhilda, the daughter of king Wertgeorn and of the sister of king Canute, who was left a widow after the

[81] Ramsey.

[82] "Qui et Manni," are the words in the text; but they are most probably not the correct reading.

death of earl Hacun and Harold, with her two sons, Hemming and Turkill, was expelled from England. Proceeding to Flanders, she resided for some time at a place which is called Briege,[83] and then went to Denmark.

In the year 1045, Brithwold, bishop of Wiltshire,[84] departed this life, and was succeeded by Herman, the king's chaplain, a native of Lorraine. In the same year, Edward, king of the English, assembled a very strong fleet, at the port of Sandwich, against Magnus, king of Norway, who was making preparations to invade England; but a war being waged against himself by Sweyn, king of the Danes, it put an end to the expedition.

In the year 1046, on the tenth day before the calends of April, being the Lord's day, Living, bishop of the Wiccii,[85] and of Devonshire and Cornwall, died; after whose death the bishopric of Crediton and Cornwall was immediately given to Leofric, a Briton,[86] the king's chancellor; and Aldred, who was first a monk of Winchester, and afterwards abbat of Tavistock, received the bishopric of the Wiccii.[87] In this year Osgod Clapa was banished from England. Magnus, king of Norway, the son of king Olaf the Saint, having put to flight Sweyn king of the Danes, subdued the country of Denmark.

In the year 1047, the snow fell, in the west of England, in such vast quantities, that it even broke down the woods. Aldwin, bishop of Winchester, departed this life, on which Stigand was raised to the see. Sweyn, king of the Danes, sent ambassadors to Edward, king of the English,[88] on which earl Godwin advised the king to send him at least fifty ships, equipped with soldiers; but because this advice did not seem good to earl Leofric and all the people, he was not willing to send him any. After this, Magnus, king of Norway, attended with a large and powerful fleet, fought a battle with Sweyn, and, after many thousands had been slain on both sides, expelled him from Denmark; after which, he reigned over that country as well, and compelled the Danes to pay him a small tribute, and not long after, died.

[83] Bruges.

[84] Bishop of Ramesbury; which see was afterwards removed to Salisbury. [85] Worcester. [86] A native of Wales.

[87] The meaning is, that the bishopric of Worcester was divided into two; that of Crediton being formed from it.

[88] The text has here, "Norreganorum," "of the Norwegians," evidently a mistake.

In the year 1048, Sweyn regained possession of Denmark, and Harold Harfager, who was the son of Siward, king of Norway, and, on the mother's side, brother of Saint Olaf, and on the father's side, uncle to king Magnus, returned to Norway, and shortly after sent ambassadors to Edward, king of the English, and offered to him, and received in return, assurances of peace and friendship. On the calends of May, being the Lord's day, there was a great earthquake at Worcester, in the county of the Wiccii, at Derby, and at many other places; a mortality among men and animals prevailed throughout many of the provinces of England, and fires in the air, commonly called woodland[89] fires, destroyed towns and crops of standing corn in the province of Derby, and some other provinces.

In the year 1049, Leo began to reign,[90] the hundred and fifth pope; he was the pope who composed the new Gregorian chaunt. The emperor Henry collected an innumerable force against Baldwin, earl of Flanders, especially because he had burned his palace at Nimeguen, and, most beauteous as it was, destroyed it. Pope Leo took part in this expedition, and a great number of noblemen and grandees of many nations. Sweyn, king of the Danes, as the emperor had commanded him, was there also with his fleet, and on this occasion took the oaths of fealty to the emperor, who sent also to Edmund, king of the English, and requested that he would not allow Baldwin to escape, if he should attempt to do so by sea. In consequence of this, the king went with a large fleet to the port of Sandwich, and remained there until the emperor had obtained of Baldwin every thing he required.

In the meantime, earl Sweyn, the son of earl Godwin and Gyta, who had formerly left England, (because he was not allowed to marry Edgiva, abbess of the monastery of Leominster, whom he had debauched), and had gone to Denmark, returned with eight ships, and, dissembling, declared that he would, in future, continue faithful to the king. Earl Beorn, who was the son of the Danish earl Ulph, the uncle of Sweyn, the son of Spralling, the son of Urse, promised him that he would obtain his request of the king, and that his earldom should be restored to him.

Therefore, after earl Baldwin had made peace with the emperor, the earls Godwin and Beorn, with the king's permission, came with forty-two ships to Pevensey; but the rest of the

[89] Silvaticus. [90] Leo the Ninth.

fleet he ordered to return home, retaining only a few ships with him. When word was brought to the king that Osgod Clapa lay at Ulps with twenty-nine[91] ships, he recalled as many as he could of the ships that he had sent away; on which, Osgod, having fetched away his wife, whom he had sent to Bruges, returned to Denmark with six ships; but the others, going to Essex, returned, carrying off no little booty from the neighbourhood of Eadulph's Promontory. But in returning, they were overtaken by a violent storm, which sank them all, except two, that were taken in the parts beyond sea, when all were slain who were found on board of them. While these things were going on, earl Sweyn came to Pevensey, and with deceitful intent, requested his cousin, earl Beorn, to go with him to the harbour of Sandwich, and, as he had promised, reconcile the king to him.

Beorn, trusting in his relationship, and taking with him but three companions, set out with him; on which, Sweyn took him to Bosanham,[92] where his ships were, and putting him on board, instantly ordered him to be strongly fettered, and kept him there with him until he came to Dartmouth, where having slain him, and thrown him into a deep ditch, and covered him with earth, the six ships left him; two of which were shortly afterwards taken by the men of Hastings, who, having slain those on board of them, carried the ships to Sandwich, and there presented them to the king. Sweyn, however, flying to Flanders, with two ships, remained there until Aldred, the bishop of Worcester, brought him back, and reconciled the king to him.

In the same year, at the request of the abbat Herimar, a man of exemplary piety, Saint Leo the pope came to France, having in his retinue the governor and all the dignitaries of the city of Rome, and dedicated the monastery of Saint Remigius, the apostle of the Franks, which had been built at Rheims, with the greatest pomp; and afterwards held a great synod of archbishops, bishops, and abbats, in that city, which lasted six days; to which synod was sent, by Edward, king of the English, Aldwin, a monk of Ramsey, and abbat of the monastery of Saint Augustine.

In the year 1050, Machetad, the king of Scotland, sent money

[91] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says thirty-nine.
[92] Bosham, in Sussex.

to Rome, for the purpose of distribution. Edsy, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and was succeeded by Robert, bishop of London, a Norman by birth. Herman, bishop of Wiltshire,[93] and Aldred, bishop of Worcester, set out for Rome.

In the year 1051, Alfric, who was also called Putta, archbishop of York, died at Southwell, and was buried at Medeshamburgstede,[94] being succeeded by Kinsy, the king's chaplain. In this year, king Edward freed the English from the heavy tax, in the thirty-eighth year after his father, king Egelred, had first ordered it to be paid for the Danish soldiers.

After these things, in the month of September, Eustace the Elder, earl of Boulogne, who had married the sister of king Edward, Goda by name, arrived at Canterbury with a few ships. Here[95] his soldiers, while stupidly and awkwardly in quest of lodgings for themselves, killed one of the citizens; on which, a fellow-citizen of his, being witness of this, avenged him, by slaying one of the soldiers. On this, the earl and his men, being greatly enraged, slaughtered a great number of men and women with their arms, and trod down children and infants under their horses' hoofs. But when they saw the citizens running together to resist them, disgracefully taking to flight, they escaped with difficulty, after seven of their companions had been slain, and fled to king Edward, who was then at Glavorne.[96]

Earl Godwin being indignant at such things taking place in his earldom, and greatly inflamed with anger, in his own earldom, that is to say, in Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, and his eldest son Sweyn in his, namely Oxford, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, and Berkshire, and his other son Harold in his, namely, the provinces of Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdon, and Grantebrigge,[97] collected an innumerable army; which however did not escape king Edward. Consequently, sending messengers in all haste to Leofric, earl of the Mercians, and Siward, earl of Northumbria, he begged them to make haste and come to him with all they could assemble, as he was placed in great jeopardy.

[93] Of Ramesbury. [94] Peterborough.

[95] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Matthew of Westminster represent this as taking place at Dover, after the return of Eustace from Canterbury, where he had stopped to refresh himself. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle places the event in 1048. [96] Gloucester. [97] Cambridge.

However, they came at first with a few only; but when they knew how the matter stood, they sent through their earldoms swift messengers on horseback, and collected a large army. In like manner, earl Rodulph, son of Goda, sister of king Edward, collected as many as he could in his earldom. In the meantime, Godwin and his sons, after the nativity of Saint Mary, coming with their forces into the province of Gloucester, pitched their camp at a place which is called Langeto, and sending ambassadors to the king at Gloucester, under the threat of making war, demanded the surrender of earl Eustace, and his allies as well, both Normans and men of Boulogne, who had taken possession of the castle on the hill of Dover.

In consequence of this, the king was for the moment greatly alarmed, and, being afflicted with great anguish, was utterly at a loss to know what to do; but when he understood that the army earls Siward, Leofric, and Rodulph were approaching, he determinedly made answer that he would on no account give up Eustace and the others who were demanded; on hearing which, the messengers returned empty-handed. After their departure the army entered Gloucester, being prepared for battle with such hostile and resolute spirit, that they wished to engage immediately with earl Godwin's army, if the king would permit them. But, inasmuch as the best men in all England were assembled together on his side and theirs, it seemed to earl Leofric and some others, to be the more prudent part not to begin a battle with their fellow-countrymen; but they proposed that, exchanging hostages, the king and Godwin should, on a day named, meet at London for a conference.

This counsel being approved of, and messages interchanged, and hostages given and received, the earl returned into Wessex; but the king assembled a more numerous army from the whole of Mercia and Northumbria, and led it with him to London. On the other hand, Godwin and his sons came to Southweorc,[98] with a great multitude of the men of Wessex; but, as his army had gradually diminished, he did not dare to come to the conference with the king, but on the approach of night, took to flight. Wherefore, next morning, the king in council, and by the unanimous consent of his army, pronounced sentence of banishment against him and his five sons; on which he, with his wife Githa, and Tosti,

[98] Southwark.

with his wife Juthitha, daughter of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and two other of his sons, Sweyn and Girth, repaired to Tornege, where his ships were in readiness. Hastily placing on board as much gold and silver and other precious things as they were able to carry, and embarking with all speed, they directed their course to Baldwin, earl of Flanders. Moreover, Harold and Leofwin, his sons, going to Bristol, embarked on board a ship which their brother Sweyn had provided for himself, and crossed over to Ireland. The king, on account of the anger which he entertained against her father Godwin, repudiated queen Edgitha, and sent her ignominiously with a single attendant to Werewell, where he gave her into the custody of the abbess.

After these things had thus happened, William, duke of the Normans, with a multitude of his subjects, came to England, and, with his attendants, was honorably entertained by king Edward, who afterwards dismissed him, on his return to Normandy, with great and numerous presents.

In the year 1052, Elfgiva, or Emma, the former queen, and wife of kings Egelred and Canute, departed this life at Winchester, on the second day before the nones of March, and was buried there. In the same year, Griffin, king of Wales, ravaged a great part of the province of Hereford; the people of the province, and a considerable number of Normans, went out from the castle against him, but, after slaying many of them, he gained the victory, and carried off with him considerable spoil. This battle was fought on the same day that, thirteen years before, the Welch had slain Edwin, the brother of earl Leofric.

Shortly after this, earl Harold and his brother Leofwin returned from Ireland, and entering the mouth of the Severn with a great number of ships, landed at the confines of Somerset and Devon, and laid waste many towns and fields in those parts. Against them a great number of the people of Somerset and Devon went out, but Harold defeated them, slaying more than thirty noble thanes of their number, together with many others; after which he returned to his ships with the spoil, and then sailed round Penwithsteort.[99] Upon this, king Edward, with all expedition, sent forty ships, supplied with provisions and picked soldiers, to the port of Sandwich, and ordered them to

[99] Land's End.

await the approach of earl Godwin, and be on the look-out; but, in spite of this, unknown to them all, returning with a few ships, he landed in Kent, and secretly sending messengers, enticed to his assistance the people of Kent, and afterwards the people of Sussex, Essex, Surrey, and all the mariners of Hastings and of all the parts near the sea-shore, besides some others; all these with one voice declared that they were ready to live or die for him.

When this became known to the king's fleet that lay at the port of Sandwich, it set out in pursuit of him, on which he took to flight, and escaped, concealing himself in whatever place he could. But the king's forces returned to the port of Sandwich, and from there repaired to London. On learning this, earl Godwin returned to the Isle of Wight, and sailed near the shore until his sons Harold and Leofwin came with their fleet; and when they had met they desisted from plunder and rapine, only, when necessity demanded it, taking provisions for their troops. Enticing to their assistance all the people they could in the vicinity of the sea-shore and in other places, and picking up all the mariners they met with, they steered their course towards the port of Sandwich, their arrival at which place was reported to king Edward, who was at this period staying at London. Despatching messengers with all speed, he sent word to all who had not revolted from him, that they must come to his assistance with the greatest haste; but being very slow in their movements, they did not come in time.

In the meantime, earl Godwin coming up the Thames with his fleet against the tide, on the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, being the second day of the week, came to Southweorc,[1] and waited there until flood-tide. Meanwhile, by means of messengers, he convened certain of the citizens of London whom he had previously brought over by various promises, and caused nearly all of them to wish entirely as he would have them. After this, all things being arranged and set in order, on the flood-tide coming, with all speed they heaved their anchors, and no one on the bridge opposing them, sailed up the river close to the south shore. The land forces also came, and putting themselves in battle array on the bank of the river, presented a dense and terrible

[2] Southwark.

line of battle; after which, the fleet turned towards the north shore, as it was its intention to surround the king's fleet. For the king had both a fleet and a numerous land army; but because both with the king and with Godwin there were very few who had any spirit (so greatly did almost all the English abhor fighting against their own kindred and fellow-countrymen), the consequence was, that all the more prudent men on either side, effecting a reconciliation between the king and the earl, bade the army lay aside their arms. The following morning the king held a council, and fully restored to Godwin and his wife and all his sons, with the exception of Sweyn, their former honors.

He, being moved with penitence, because, as previously mentioned, he had slain his cousin Beorn, journeyed from Flanders to Jerusalem, barefoot, and on his return thence, having contracted a disease from the excessive cold, died in Lycia. Edgitha, also, his queen, the daughter of the earl, the king received with due honor, and restored her to her former dignity.

Peace and concord being thus established, to all the people they promised good laws, and banished all the Normans who had instituted unjust ones, and had pronounced unjust judgments, and had given the king bad counsel against the English. Some few, however, namely, Robert Le Dragon, and his son-in-law, Richard the son of Scrobi, Alfred, the king's master of the horse, Aufrid, surnamed Ceokesfot, and some others whom the king loved more than the rest, and who had preserved their fidelity to him and all the people, they allowed to remain in England. But Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, William, the bishop of London, and Ulph, the bishop of Lincoln, with difficulty escaping with their Normans, crossed the sea; however, on account of his virtues, William was shortly after recalled and reinstated in his bishopric.

Osborn, however, surnamed Pentecost, and his companion, Hugh, surrendered their castles, and, with the permission of earl Leofric, passing through his earldom, repaired to Scotland, where they were received by Machetad,[2] king of the Scots. In the same year, on the night of the feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle, there was a wind so strong and violent that it blew down many churches and houses, and broke numberless trees, or tore them up by the roots.

[2] The king who is more generally known as Macbeth.

In the year 1053, the brother of Griffin, king of South Wales, whose name was Rees, on account of the frequent depredations which he had committed, was slain by command of king Edward, at a place called Bulendun,[3] and his head was brought to the king at Gloucester, on the vigil of the Epiphany. In the same year, when the second day of the festival of Easter was being celebrated, a dreadful calamity befel earl Godwin at Winchester, while, as usual, he was sitting at table with the king. For, being suddenly attacked by a fatal malady, he sank down on his seat bereft of speech: on seeing which, his sons, Harold, Tosti, and Girth, carried him into the king's chamber, hoping that, after a little while, he would recover from the attack; but he, being deprived of all strength, departed this life on the fifth day after, being the seventeenth day before the calends of May, and was buried in the old monastery there. He was succeeded in the dukedom by his son Harold, whose earldom was given to Algar, the son of earl Leofric.

In the year 1054, Siward, the valiant earl of Northumbria, by command of king Edward, invaded Scotland, with both an army of horse and a strong fleet, and fought a battle with Machetad, king of the Scots; and, after many thousands of the Scots, and all the Normans, of whom mention has been made above, were slain, put him to flight, and gave the crown to Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, as king Edward had commanded. But in this battle his own son,[4] and many of the English and Danes, were slain.

On the death of Godwin, the abbat of Winchelcomb, Alred, bishop of Worcester, on the feast of Saint Kenelm, appointed abbat in his room Godric, the son of Godman, the king's chaplain. After this, the same bishop was dispatched on an embassy, with costly presents, to the emperor; by whom, and Herman, archbishop of Cologne, he was entertained with great honor, and remained with them a whole year; on the king's behalf, he also suggested to the emperor to send ambassadors to Hungary, and bring back his cousin, the son of king Edmund Ironside, and procure his return to England.

In the year 1055, Siward, earl of Northumbria, died at

[3] Bullingdon. [4] Osborn.

York, and was buried at the monastery of Galmanho,[5] which he had founded, and his earldom was given to Tosti, the brother of duke Harold.

A short time after this, a council was held in London, and king Edward outlawed earl Algar, the son of earl Leofric, without any blame on his part; who immediately went to Ireland, and, having procured eighteen piratical ships, returned, and going to Griffin, king of the Welsh,[6] begged that he would aid him against king Edward; on which he, immediately collecting from the whole of his kingdom a numerous army, requested Algar, with his forces, to meet him and his army at a place named. Having met, they entered the province of Hereford, for the purpose of laying waste the territories of the English; whereupon the timid duke Rodulph, nephew of king Edward, collecting an army, met them two miles from the city of Hereford, on the ninth day before the calends of November. He ordered the English, contrary to their usage, to fight on horseback; but, just when they were about to engage, the duke, with his Franks and Normans, was the first to take to flight, which the English seeing, followed their leader's example.

Nearly the whole of the enemy pursued them, and slew of them four or five hundred men, and wounded a great number; after which, having gained the victory, king Griffin and earl Algar entered Hereford, and, having slain seven canons who had defended the doors of the principal church, and having burnt the monastery (which bishop Athelstan, the true worshipper of Christ, had built), with all its ornaments, and the relics of Saint Egelbert, the king and martyr, and of other Saints, and having slain some of the citizens and taken many prisoners, and spoiled and burnt the city, they enriched themselves with a vast amount of plunder.

After this, the king commanded an army to be levied in England, and, assembling it at Gloucester, gave the command of it to the valiant duke Harold, who followed them, and, boldly entering the territories of the Welch, pitched his camp beyond Straddele. But they, being aware that he was a brave man and a warlike commander, did not dare to join battle with him, but fled into South Wales; on discovering which, he dispatched

[5] An abbey, afterwards incorporated with St. Mary's, at York.
[6] North Wales.

thither the greater part of his army, and commanded them, if necessity demanded it, manfully to resist the enemy. Returning with the rest of his troops to Hereford, he surrounded it with a deep trench, and fortified it with gates and bars.

In the meantime, messages being interchanged, Griffin, Algar, and Harold, and those who were with them, met at a place which is called Billigesleage,[7] and, peace being granted and received, agreed upon a lasting friendship between them. This being settled, the fleet of earl Algar proceeded to Chester, and there awaited the pay that had been promised it; but he himself went to the king, and received back from him his earldom. At the same period, Tremerin, the bishop of Wales,[8] a religious man, departed this life. He had for a long time been the coadjutor of Athelstan, bishop of Hereford, after he himself had become unable to perform the duties of the bishopric; for, during a period of thirteen years, he was deprived of his eyesight.

Herman, the bishop of the province of Wiltshire, being annoyed because the king was unwilling to allow the transfer of the see from the town which is called Ramnebirig[9] to the abbey of Malmesbury,[10] resigned the bishopric, and, crossing the sea, assumed the monastic habit at Saint Bertin's, and remained at the monastery there three years.

In the year 1056, the emperor Henry died at Rome, and was succeeded by his son Henry. Athelstan, the bishop of Hereford, a man of great sanctity, departed this life on the fourth day before the ides of February, at the town which is called Bosanbrig, and his body being taken to Hereford, was buried in the church there, which he had built from the foundation. He was succeeded by Leonegar, the chaplain of duke Harold, who, in the same year, on the sixteenth day before the calends of July, was slain at the place which is called Glastingeberie,[11] together with his clergy, and the sheriff Agelnoth, and many others, by Griffin, king of the Welsh. He enjoyed the bishopric eleven weeks and four days.

After his death, the bishopric of Hereford was given in charge to Aldred, bishop of Worcester, until a bishop should be appointed. Afterwards, the same bishop, and the nobles

[7] Or Bilsley. [8] Of Saint David's. [9] Ramesbury.
[10] Roger of Wendover says Salisbury. [11] Glastonbury.

Leofric and Harold, reconciled Griffin, king of the Welsh, with king Edward. Earl Agelwin Oddo,[11*] the lover of churches, the supporter of the poor, the defender of widows and orphans,[12] the guardian of chastity, having received the monastic habit a month before his death from Aldred, bishop of Worcester, died on the second day before the calends of September, at Deorhirst, but being honorably buried in the monastery of Pershore, rests there. Algeric, the bishop of Durham, having of his own accord resigned the bishopric, retired to his own monastery, which is called Burgh,[13] where he was educated, and became a monk, and lived there twelve years. He was succeeded in the bishopric by his brother, Egelwin, a monk of the monastery.

In the year 1057, the Clito Edward, son of king Edmund Ironside, according to the command of his uncle, king Edward, came to England from Hungary, whither, as previously mentioned, he had long before been sent into banishment. For the king had determined to make him heir to the kingdom in succession to himself; but, shortly after he had arrived, he departed this life at London. Leofric, the praiseworthy earl, and of happy memory, son of duke Leofwin, departed this life at a good old age, at his own town, which is called Bromleage,[14] on the second day before the calends of September, and was honorably buried at Coventry: which monastery, among the other good works which he did in his lifetime, he himself and his wife, the noble countess Godiva, a worshipper of God, and a devoted lover of Saint Mary ever a virgin, had built with their patrimonial possessions from the very foundation, and abundantly endowed it with lands, and so enriched it with various ornaments, that in no monastery throughout the whole of England could such a quantity of gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones be found, as was at that period contained therein.

The monasteries, also, of Leominster and Wenlock, and of Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Werburgh the Virgin, at Chester, and the church which Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln, had built at the famous place which, in English is called

[11*] Earl of Devon.

[12] This seems to be intended as the meaning of the word "pupillorum" here.

[13] Burgh, near Stamford.

[14] Bromley.

Stow Saint Mary,[15] in Latin the place of Saint Mary, they enriched with precious ornaments: the monastery of Worcester, also, they endowed with lands, and that of Evesham with buildings, and enriched it with various ornaments and lands. The wisdom of this earl, so long as he lived, greatly benefitted the kings and all the people of England: he was succeeded in his dignities by his son, Algar.

Hecca, the bishop of the South Saxons,[16] died, and in his place Egelric, a monk of Christ's church in Canterbury, was chosen bishop.

In the year 1058, Algar, earl of Mercia, was outlawed by king Edward the Second, but, by the aid of Griffin, king of the Welsh, and the assistance of a fleet of the Norwegians, which unexpectedly came to aid him, he speedily regained his earldom by force. Aldred, bishop of Worcester, with becoming honor, dedicated the church which he had built in the city of Gloucester, from the foundation, in honor of Peter the chief of the Apostles; and afterwards, with the king's permission, appointed Wulstan, who had been ordained by himself a monk of Worcester, abbat there. Then, resigning the charge of the bishopric of Wiltshire,[17] which had been entrusted to him to govern, and restoring it to Herman, who has been previously mentioned, he went beyond sea, and set out for Jerusalem by way of Hungary, a thing that no archbishop or bishop of England is known to have done till then.

In the year 1059, Nicolas, bishop of the city of Florence, was elected pope, and Benedict was expelled.

In the year 1060, Henry, king of the Franks, departed this life, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Philip. Duduc, bishop of Wells, died, and was succeeded by Gisa, the king's chaplain; they were both natives of Lorraine. Kinsy, archbishop of York, died at York, on the eleventh day before the calends of January, and being carried to the monastery which is called Burgh, was honorably interred there. In his room, Aldred, bishop of Worcester, was chosen archbishop, on the Nativity of our Lord; and the bishopric of Hereford, which had also been conferred on him by reason of his zeal, was given to Walter, a native of Lorraine, the chaplain of queen Edgitha.

In the year 1061, Aldred, archbishop of York, set out for Rome with earl Tosti, and received the pall from pope Nicolas.

[15] In Lincolnshire. [16] Of Selsey, in Sussex [17] Ramesbury.

In the meantime, Malcolm, king of the Scots, boldly laid waste Northumbria, the earldom of his sworn brother, Tosti, having violated the peace[18] of Saint Cuthbert at Eilond. In the same year, pope Nicolas departed this life, and Alexander, being chosen the hundred and forty-ninth pope, succeeded him.

In the year 1062, Wulstan, a venerable man, was appointed bishop of Worcester. Beloved by God, he was a native of the province of Warwick in the kingdom of Mercia, and sprung of pious parents, Eastan being the name of his father, and Wulfgiva of his mother; he was trained in literature and the ecclesiastical duties, at the noble monastery which is called Burgh; indeed, both his parents were so extremely zealous in the cause of piety, that long before the end of their lives, making a vow of chastity, they separated from each other, and rejoiced to end their days in the holy garb of the monastic order. The young man, led by their example, his mother in especial persuading him to it, left the world, and in the same monastery at Worcester, in which his father before him had served God, received the monastic habit and ordination from the venerable Brithege, bishop of that church, by whom he was ordained both deacon and priest. Immediately, therefore, at the very onset, he embraced a life of severe discipline and entirely devoted to the practice of piety, and speedily became a wonderful example in watching, fasting, praying, and all kinds of virtues. In consequence of this, by reason of the rigidness of his morals, he was first chosen for some time master and guardian of the novices; after which, on account of his intimate acquaintance with ecclesiastical duties, he was, by the mandate of the seniors, appointed both chaunter and treasurer of the church.

Having now gained an opportunity of more freely serving God, by reason of the guardianship of the church being entrusted to him, he gave himself up wholly to a life of contemplation; both day and night he devoted himself either to prayer or to reading the Scriptures, and subdued his body by fasting two or three days together; he practised holy vigils to such an extent, that not only day and night, but even sometimes, a thing that we could hardly have credited, if we had not heard it from his own mouth, even four days and nights together

[18] Probably meaning that he had ravaged some of the lands belonging to the church of Saint Cuthbert, or the see of Durham.

he would pass without sleep, and thus incur danger through the brain being almost dried up, had he not hastened to satisfy nature by a hurried sleep. At length, when, by the power of nature he was compelled to sleep, he did not refresh his limbs in slumber by means of bed or bedclothes, but, upon a bench in the church, supporting his head with the book from which he was praying or reading, he would recline for a short time.

At length, on the death of Egelwin, prior of the monastery, this venerable man was chosen by bishop Aldred, prior and father of the fraternity. This office he discharged most laudably, far from relaxing the severity of his former life, but on the contrary increasing it in many ways, that he might thereby afford to the others an example of good living. Afterwards, in the course of some years, on the election of the abovenamed Aldred, bishop of Worcester, to the archbishopric of York, the unanimous consent both of the clergy and of the whole of the people fixed upon him, king Edward having given them leave to choose as their bishop whomsoever they pleased.

It so happened that, on this occasion, the legates of the Apostolic See were present at his election, namely, Armenfred, bishop of Sion, and another, who, having been sent by pope Alexander to Edward, king of the English, on ecclesiastical business, by the royal orders resided at Worcester throughout nearly the whole of Lent, waiting there for an answer to be given to their legateship, when a royal court was held at the ensuing Easter. These persons, while staying there, were witnesses of his laudable life, and not only gave their sanction to his election, but even encouraged in every way both the clergy and the people to that course, and by their authority confirmed the election.

He however, on the other hand, most obstinately refused, and exclaimed, that he was not worthy, and even affirmed with an oath that he would much more willingly assent to his decapitation than to the acceptance of so high an office.

When, therefore, he had been often attended by several religious men on this question, and could not by any means be persuaded to give his consent, he was at length severely rebuked for his disobedience and obstinacy, by Wulsy, a recluse, and a man of God, who was known then to have passed more than forty years of his life in solitude. Alarmed, also, by a Divine warning, with the greatest sorrow of heart he was compelled to give his consent, and having accepted the bishopric, was

consecrated on the Lord's day on which was celebrated the nativity of Saint Mary,[19] and by his life and virtues shone forth as an illustrious bishop of the see of Worcester. He was consecrated, however, by Aldred, the archbishop of York, as at this period the episcopal duties of Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, were suspended by our lord the pope, because he had presumed to accept the archbishopric while Robert, the archbishop, was still living; however, his canonical profession was made to Stigand, the abovenamed archbishop of Canterbury, and not to Aldred, who ordained him.

In addition to this, the archbishop of York, who ordained him, was by the agency of Stigand, and on account of the charges made by his followers, ordered to declare before the king and the nobles of the realm, that he from that time forward did not wish to claim any secular authority or ecclesiastical rights over him, either because he had been consecrated by him, or because before the consecration he had been a monk under him.[20] This ordination took place when he was more than fifty years of age, it being the twentieth year of the reign of king Edward, and the fifteenth of the indiction.

In the year 1063, Harold, the valiant duke of Wessex, by the command of king Edward, after the Nativity of our Lord, took with him a small body of horse, and set out from Gloucester, where the king was then staying, in great haste for Rhyddlan,[21] for the purpose of slaying Griffin, king of Wales, on account of the frequent ravages which he committed in the English territory, and the disgrace which he so frequently caused to his lord, Edward. But he, on learning beforehand the approach of Harold, embarked on board ship with his family, and with some difficulty made his escape. Harold, on finding that he had fled, set fire to his palace, and, burning his ships with their equipments, returned on the same day. But, about the Rogation Days, setting sail with a fleet from Bristol, he sailed round a great part of the coast of Wales, and was met by his brother, earl Tosti, with a body of horse, as the king had commanded, on which, joining their forces, they began to ravage those districts. The Welch being, consequently, compelled to do so, gave hostages, and made submission, and

[19] The 8th of September.

[20] When he was prior of the monastery of Worcester.

[21] In Flintshire.

promised that they would pay tribute, and outlawed their own king, Griffin.

In the year 1064, Griffin, king of the Welch, was slain by his people on the nones of August, and his head, and the head of his ship with its ornaments, was sent to duke Harold, who afterwards presented them to king Edward. After this, king Edward gave the country of the Welch to his brothers, Blethogent and Rithwalan; on which, to him, and to duke Harold, they took the oath of fealty, and that at their command they would be ready for them both by land and by sea, and would obediently render all things that had been rendered before from that land by its former kings.

In the year 1065, the venerable man, Egelwin, bishop of Durham, raised from his tomb the bones of Saint Oswin, formerly king of Bernicia, in the monastery which is near Tynemouth, four hundred and fifteen years after his burial, and with great honor enclosed them in a shrine.

Harold, the brave duke of Wessex, in the month of July, ordered a great building to be erected in the country of the Welch, at a place which is called Portaseith,[22] and many things for eating and drinking to be there collected, that his lord, king Edward, might be enabled to stay there some time, for the sake of hunting. But Caradoc, the son of Griffin, king of the South Welch, whom a few years previously Griffin, king of the North Welch, had slain on invading his kingdom, came thither on the day of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, with all he could muster, and slew nearly all the workmen together with those who inspected them, and carried off all the good things that were collected there.

After this, on the fifth day before the nones of October, being the second day of the week, the thanes of Northumberland, Dunstan, son of Agelnoth, and Gloniern, son of Eardulph, came from Gamelbarn to York, with two hundred soldiers; and, in revenge for the shameful death of the Northumbrian nobles, the thanes Cospatric (whom queen Egitha, for the sake of her brother Tosti, had ordered to be treacherously assassinated in the royal palace, on the fourth night of the Nativity of our Lord), and Gamel, the son of Orm, and Ulph, the son of Dolphin, whom, in the preceding year, earl Tosti had treacherously ordered to be slain at York, in his

[22] Portheswet, near Chepstow.

own chamber, while a treaty of peace existed between them, as also by reason of the exorbitant tribute which he had unjustly levied from the whole of Northumbria, on the same day, first slew his Danish household servants, Amund and Ravenswearc, whom they stopped in their flight outside of the walls of the city, and, on the following day, two hundred men of his court, on the northern side of the river Humber, and then broke open his treasury, and, carrying off all that was there, took their departure.

After this, almost all the people of that earldom, assembling together, met Harold, the duke of Wessex, and the other persons whom, at the request of Tosti, the king had sent to them for the purpose of making peace, at Northampton. First there, and afterwards at Oxford, on the day of the Apostles Saint Simon and Saint Jude, on Harold and many others attempting to reconcile them to earl Tosti, they all with one voice refused, and pronounced him an outlaw, together with all those who had encouraged him to enact unjust laws, and, after the feast of All Saints, with the aid of earl Edwin, expelled Tosti from England; on which, together with his wife, he forthwith repaired to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and passed the winter at Saint Omer. By the king's command, Morcar was appointed earl over the people of Northumbria.

After these things, king Edward began gradually to sicken, and, on the Nativity of our Lord, held his court at London, as well as he was able, and with great glory caused the church, which he himself had erected from the foundation, in honor of Saint Peter the chief of the Apostles, to be dedicated on the day of the Holy Innocents.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1066, king Edward the Peaceful, son of king Egelred, that honor to the English, departed this life at London, in the fourth year of the indiction, on the vigil of the Epiphany of our Lord, being the fifth day of the week, after having held the kingly authority over the Anglo-Saxons twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days; and, on the following day, he was buried with royal honors, and most bitter was the grief of all then present, and attended with plenteous tears.

After his burial, the viceroy Harold, son of earl Godwin, whom, before his decease, the king had appointed his successor, was elevated to the throne by all the chief men of Eng-

land, and was on the same day, with due honor, consecrated king by Aldred, the archbishop of York.

Respecting the miracles which God, who is ever wonderful and glorious in his Saints, deigned to work for Saint Edward, the king and confessor, during his life, a few words are here annexed. On a certain day, while the said king lay prostrate in prayer before the altar at Westminster, during the celebration of the mass, he saw in a vision, as though the king of the Danes had prepared a great ship, for the purpose of a hostile invasion of England; but, when he was about to enter from a boat into the larger ship, he slipped down between them and sank, immediately on which his ship went to pieces. On seeing this miracle, the blessed king Edward smiled, and gave exceeding thanks to God. On this, the bishop, who was celebrating the mass, was afraid that the king had seen something about him in the celebration thereof to cause his laughter. Consequently, after the mass was finished, the bishop, having called together earl Harold and others of the king's nobles who were then present, anxiously asked the king why he had smiled during the celebration of the mass; on which, the king related to him the vision he had seen; and the day and hour being marked, they sent messengers to Denmark, and found that it had happened to the king of the Danes just as king Edward had predicted.

Another story relative to the same king. One day, when the before-named Edward, king of the English, was on a journey, there met him John, the blessed Apostle and Evangelist, under the form of a poor man, and begged alms of him. As the king had no money at hand to give him, he took his ring from off his finger and gave it to him. Now, on the same day, the same blessed Evangelist appeared to a certain stranger, as he was going forth from the holy city of Jerusalem, and said to him, "Whence comest thou, and whither art thou going?" To which the stranger made answer, "I am from England, and I am desirous of returning thither." The Apostle then said to him, "Dost thou know Edward, the king of England?" On which he made answer, "My lord, I do know him." The Apostle then said to him, "Take this ring, and carry it to king Edward, and tell him that the Apostle John sends him back this ring, which he himself gave to him this day on the road as he was walking; and may the good angel of the Lord accompany

thee, and grant thee a prosperous journey, Amen." On this, taking the ring and bidding him farewell, he saw the Apostle no more.

Now, on the same day, under the guidance of the Lord, to whom nothing is impossible, this stranger arrived in England, and, delivering the ring to the king, told him everything that had happened to him on the road, and how, on that day, he had returned from Jerusalem. Although this seemed to be impossible, still, in consequence of the assertions of sojourners who had been with him at Jerusalem, and who, a long time after this, returned into England, it was found to be the truth.

On another occasion it befell the same king Edward, that, on a certain day, he was taken by the queen and earl Harold to his treasury, to see a large sum of money which the queen and earl Harold, without the knowledge of the king, had collected for his necessities (namely, four pennies from every hide of land throughout each province of England, in order that the king might, by the day of the Nativity of our Lord, purchase clothes for the necessities of the soldiers and his servants); having entered the treasury, the queen and earl Harold accompanying him, he beheld the devil seated upon the money; on which the king said to him, "What dost thou do here?" Whereto the devil made answer, "I am here keeping guard over my money." Upon this, the king said to him, "I conjure thee by the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, tell me how it is that this money is thine." To this the devil made answer, and said, "Because it has been unjustly obtained out of the substance of the poor." During all this, those who attended him were standing astonished at hearing them talk, but seeing no one except the king; who afterwards said to them, "Restore this money to those from whom it was taken;" and his commands were immediately complied with.

Another story relative to this king. On a certain day of state, when Edward, the above-named king of the English, had been crowned at London and was clothed in royal vestments, and was going from his palace towards the monastery,[23] accompanied by a crowd of nobles, archbishops, bishops, clergy, and people, there sat in the way by which the king was

[23] Probably of Westminster.

about to pass, a certain leprous man, full of running sores. Those who went before rebuked him, and, wishing to remove him thence, bade him hold his peace; on which, the king said to them, "Allow him to sit there." When the king had approached him, the leper thus addressed him, "I conjure thee, by the living God, to carry me on thy shoulders into the church;" upon which the king, bowing down his head, ordered the leper to be placed on his shoulders. And it came to pass, that, when the king moved on, and prayed to the Lord that He would restore the leper to health, his prayers were heard, and the leper was made whole from that hour, praising and blessing the Lord.[24]

Harold, as soon as he had begun to reign, proceeded to abolish all unjust laws and to enact just ones, to become the zealous patron of churches and monasteries, to venerate and encourage the bishops, abbats, monks, and clergy, to show himself pious, humble, and affable to all, and to hold evil-doers in detestation. For he gave general orders to the dukes, earls, sheriffs, and thanes, to seize all thieves, robbers, and disturbers of the realm, and himself used every exertion, for the defence of the country, both by sea and land.

In the same year, on the eighth day before the calends of May, there appeared a comet, not only in England, but even, it is said, throughout the whole world. It made its appearance during seven days, and shone with extreme brightness; whence the saying;

> In the year one thousand sixty-six
> A comet all England's gaze did fix.[24*]

Shortly after this, earl Tosti, returning from Flanders, landed in the Isle of Wight, and, having compelled the islanders to find him tribute and provisions, took his departure and collected plunder near the sea-shore, until he came to the port of Sandwich. On hearing this, king Harold, who was then staying at London, ordered a considerable fleet, and an

[24] With this king originated the supposed efficacy of the royal touch for king's evil; which was supposed to be possessed by the royal family of England till the reign of queen Anne, the last who practised it.

[24*] This translation is about as good as the rhyming verses in the original:—

> Anno milleno, sexageno, quoque seno
> Anglorum metæ crinem sensére cometæ.

army of horse, to be levied, and himself made preparations to set out for the port of Sandwich. When this was reported to earl Tosti, taking with him some of the mariners who were well inclined and some who were ill-wishers to him, he retreated, directing his course to Lindesey, where he burned a great number of towns, and put many men to death.

On learning this, Edwin, earl of Mercia, and Morcar, earl of Northumbria, flew to their rescue with an army, and drove him out of that country. On his departure thence, he repaired to Malcolm, king of the Scots, and remained with him all the summer. In the meantime, king Harold came to the port of Sandwich, and there waited for his fleet, which, when it had assembled, came to the Isle of Wight, and, as William, duke of the Normans, the cousin of king Edward, was making preparations to invade England with an army, all the summer and autumn he was awaiting his arrival, and, besides, kept a land force in suitable positions near the sea-shore. However, on the approach of the nativity of Saint Mary, their provisions failing, the fleet and the land force returned home.

After this, Harold Harfager, king of Norway, and brother of Saint Olaf, came with a very strong fleet, amounting to more than five hundred large ships, and anchored suddenly at Tynemouth; on which earl Tosti met him, as they had previously arranged, with his fleet, and, making all speed, they entered the mouth of the river Humber, and then, sailing against tide up the river Ouse, landed at a place which is called Richale. When this became known to king Harold, he speedily moved his troops towards Northumbria; but, before the king could come thither, the two brothers, earls Edwin and Morcar, with a large army, had had an engagement with the Norwegians on the northern bank of the river Ouse, near York, on the vigil of Saint Matthew the Apostle, being the fourth day of the week; and had at the first onset, manfully fighting, slain great numbers. But, after the battle had lasted a long time, the English, being unable to sustain the attack of the Norwegians, and having lost a great number of their men, turned their backs, and far more were drowned in the river than slain in the battle.

The Norwegians having gained the victory, and having taken one hundred and fifty hostages from the city of York,

returned to their ships, having left there a hundred and fifty of their own men as hostages. But, on the fifth day after this, that is to say, on the seventh day before the calends of October, being the second day of the week, Harold, king of the English, attended by many thousands of soldiers fully armed, arrived at York; and, meeting the Norwegians at a place called Stamford Bridge, slew king Harold Harfager and earl Tosti with the edge of the sword, together with the greater part of their army, and, although it was most keenly contested, gained a complete victory: but to his son Olaf, and to Paul, earl of the Isle of Orkney, who had been sent with part of the army to guard the ships, he gave liberty to return to their country with twenty ships and the remnant of their army, having first received from them hostages and oaths for their future good behaviour.

WILLIAM THE ELDER.

In the meantime, while these things were going on, and the king supposed that all his enemies were crushed, word was brought to him that William, duke of Normandy, had arrived with an innumerable multitude of horsemen, slingers, archers, and foot, and that he had levied strong bodies of auxiliaries from the whole of England, having landed at a place which is called Penvesca.[25] Upon this, the king with the greatest haste moved his army towards London; and although he was well aware that in the two battles above-mentioned the bravest men of the whole of England had fallen, and that the centre of his army had not yet come up, he did not hesitate to meet the enemy with all possible speed in Sussex; and, at the distance of nine miles from Hastings, where he had pitched his camp, on the eleventh day before the calends of November, being Saturday, and the day of Saint Calixtus the pope and Martyr, he engaged with them, before the third part of his army was drawn up; but, as the English had been drawn up in a confined spot, many withdrew from his ranks, and but very few remained with him with undaunted hearts.

Still, from the third hour of the day[26] until nightfall, he made a most determined resistance against the foe, and

[25] Pevensey. [26] Nine in the morning.

defended himself so bravely, and with such consummate valour, that the enemy could hardly get the better of him. But, alas! after very great numbers had fallen on both sides, at twilight he himself fell; the earls Girth and Leofwine, his brothers, also fell, and most of the nobles of England; on which duke William with his men returned with all speed to Hastings. The length of Harold's reign was nine months and as many days.

But in order that the origin may be known of the grounds on which William invaded England, the circumstances which had transpired a short time before this period shall be briefly related.

When the disagreement arose between king Edward and earl Godwin, as previously mentioned, the earl was driven into exile with his family from England. Afterwards, on his endeavouring to effect a reconciliation with the king, in order that he might be allowed to return to his own country, the king would by no means consent thereto, unless he first received hostages as a guarantee of his own security. In consequence of this, Wulnoth, son of Godwin himself, and Hacun, son of his son Sweyn, were given as hostages, and sent to Normandy in charge of duke William the Bastard, the son of Robert, son of Richard, his[27] mother's brother. Sometime after this, when earl Godwin was dead, his son, Harold, asked leave of the king to go to Normandy, and obtain the liberty of his brother and nephew, who were kept there as hostages, and to bring them back with him to their own country; on which the king made answer: "By me this shall not be done; but that I may not appear to wish to prevent you, I permit you to go wherever you like, and to try what you can effect: still I have a presentiment that your efforts will end in nothing but injury to the whole kingdom of England and disgrace to yourself; for I know that the duke is not so devoid of intelligence as to be willing on any account to entrust them to you, if he does not foresee some great profit to accrue therefrom to himself."

However, Harold embarked on board of a ship, which, with all on board of it, being driven by a violent tempest into a river of Ponthieu, which is called the Maia, according to the custom of the place he was claimed as a captive by the lord

[27] King Edward the Confessor.

of that district. Harold, on being thrown into prison, having, however, bribed one of the common people with the promise of a reward, secretly gave him directions to inform the duke of Normandy of what had befallen him. On hearing this, William immediately sent messengers in all haste, and told the lord of Ponthieu that Harold and his people must be sent to him immediately, free from all harm, if he wished to enjoy his future friendship in the same degree as hitherto; he, however, being unwilling to send him, once more received a command from William that he must send Harold, otherwise he would find most assuredly, that William, duke of Normandy, would instantly come armed to Ponthieu for the purpose of taking him away with all his property, even to the utmost farthing.

Alarmed by these threats, he sent Harold with his companions, on which he was most honorably received by duke William, who, on hearing why he had left his country, made answer that he would be successful if it rested with him.[28] He, therefore, kept Harold with him for some days, and showed himself very kind and courteous towards him, in order that by such conduct he might gain his feelings in support of his own objects. At length he disclosed to him what his designs were, and stated that king Edward once, when in his youthful days, he was staying in Normandy, with himself then a youth, promised him upon his oath, that if he should become king of England, he would grant to him, in succession to himself, the hereditary right to the kingdom; and, in addition to this, he said: "And if you will engage to aid me in this matter, and to procure for me the castle of Dover, with the well of water there, and will give your sister in marriage to one of my nobles, and promise to send her to me at the time that shall be agreed on by us, and also, to accept my daughter in marriage, then you shall both receive your nephew safe and sound immediately, and, your brother, when I come to reign in England; and if, by your aid, I am firmly established in that kingdom, I promise that every thing that in reason you shall ask of me, you shall obtain."

Harold was sensible of danger either way, and did not see how he was to escape if he did not acquiesce in the wishes of William in every respect: he, therefore, gave his as-

[28] "Si in ipso non remaneret," hardly seems to be a correct reading here.

sent. But in addition to this, William, in order that everything might be definitively settled, having brought some relics of saints, led Harold to attest, by taking an oath upon them, that he would in deed fulfil everything that had been agreed upon between them.

These matters being concluded, Harold received his nephew and returned to his country; but when, in answer to the king's enquiries, he informed him of what had happened and what he had done, he answered, "Did I not tell you that I knew duke William well, and that, in consequence of your journey, great evils might result to this kingdom? I foresee that, by this conduct of yours, great misfortunes will befall our country; and I only pray that Divine Providence will grant that they come not in my day."

Shortly after, king Edward departed this life, and, as he had appointed previously to his death, Harold succeeded him in the kingdom. On this, duke William sent him word, that although, violating his oath, he had not observed his promise in other respects, still, if he would marry his daughter he would put up with what he had done, but, if not, he would without doubt assert his right to the promised succession to the kingdom by force of arms.

But Harold would neither say that he was ready to comply with the one alternative, nor that he feared the other; at which, William being indignant, was inspired with great hopes of conquering England by reason of this unjust conduct of Harold. Having, therefore, prepared a considerable fleet, he sailed for England, and a severe engagement taking place, Harold was slain in battle, and William being victorious, obtained the kingdom.

Some of the Franks still give an account of[29] the circumstances of this battle who were there present. But although there were various chances of success on the one side and the other, still, there was such great slaughter and disorder caused by the Normans, that the victory which they gained must without doubt be ascribed to the judgment of God, who by punishing the crime of perjury shows that he is a God who abhors unrighteousness.

On hearing of the death of king Harold, the earls Edwin

[29] "Adhuc" can hardly mean "at the present day," in allusion to oral testimony; as our author lived nearly a hundred years after the time of William the Conqueror.

and Morcar, who with their men had withdrawn from the battle, came to London, and taking their sister, queen Aldgitha, sent her to the city of Chester. Aldred, archbishop of York, and these earls, together with the citizens of London, and the mariners, were desirous to make the Clito Edgar, grandson of king Edmund Ironside, king, and promised that they would fight for him. But while many were making preparations to go forth to battle, the earls withdrew their aid from them, and returned home with their forces.

In the meanwhile duke William laid waste the provinces of Sussex, Kent, Southampton, Surrey, Middlesex, and Hereford; and did not cease burning towns and slaying men, till he came to the city which is called Beorcham.[30] Here Aldred, the archbishop, Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, Walter, bishop of Hereford, the Clito Edgar, earls Edwin and Morcar, and five of the nobles of London, with many others came to him, and, giving hostages, made submission, and took the oaths of fealty to him. He also made a treaty with them, but, in spite of it, allowed his army to burn the towns, and plunder them.

On the approach of the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, he marched with all his army to London, that he might be crowned there; and because Stigand, the primate of the whole of England, was charged with not having canonically received the pall, on the day of the Nativity, which in that year fell on the second day of the week, he was consecrated with due honor at Westminster, by Aldred, the archbishop of York; but first, as the same archbishop requested him to do, before the altar of Saint Peter the Apostle, in the presence of the clergy and the people, he promised on oath, that he would be ready to defend the holy churches of God and their rulers, and that he would justly and with royal foresight rule over all the people subject to him, enact and observe just laws, and utterly discountenance rapine and unjust judgments.

In the year 1067, on the approach of Lent, king William returned to Normandy, taking with him Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Agelnoth, abbat of Glastonbury, the Clito Edgar, the earls Edwin and Morcar, Walter, a noble earl, son of earl Siward, Agelnoth, a native of Canterbury, and many

[30] Berkhampstead.

others of the chief men of England, also his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William FitzOsbern, whom he had made earl of the province of Hereford; and leaving garrisons in England, he ordered the fortresses throughout the country to be strengthened.

In this year, Wulsy, bishop of Dorchester, departed this life at Winchester, but was buried at Dorchester.

At this period, there was a certain very powerful thane, Edric surnamed "the Woodsman,"[31] son of Alfric, the brother of Edric Streona, whose lands, because he disdained to surrender to the king, the men of the castle at Hereford, and Richard the son of Scrob, frequently laid waste; but as often as they attacked him, they lost many of their knights and esquires. Therefore, having called to his aid the kings of the Welch, namely Bleothgent and Riward, about the time of the Assumption of Saint Mary, the said Edric laid waste the province of Hereford, as far as the bridge over the river Lug,[32] and carried off a great quantity of plunder.

Afterwards, on the approach of winter, king William returned to England from Normandy, and imposed on the English an intolerable tribute, and then, going into Devonshire, hostilely attacked the city of Exeter, which the citizens and some English thanes held against him; on which he laid siege to it, and speedily took it by storm. However, the countess Githa, the mother of Harold king of England, and sister of Sweyn king of Denmark, flying with many others from the city made her escape and went to Flanders; but the citizens with assurances of friendship submitted to the king.

In the year 1068, there were two popes at Rome, namely, the bishop of Parma, who was expelled, and the bishop of Lucca, who continued to be pope.

After Easter, the countess Matilda came from Normandy to England, and on the day of Pentecost, Aldred, archbishop of York, consecrated her queen. After this, Marleswein and Cospatric, and the other nobles of Northumbria, in order to avoid the king's severity, and fearing lest like some others they might be placed in confinement, taking with them the Clito Edgar, his mother Agatha, and his two sisters Margaret and Christiana, went by ship to Scotland; and, with the per-

[31] "Silvaticus:" probably corresponding to our surname "Atwood." He is more generally called Edric the Outlaw.

[32] The Avon.

mission of king Malcolm, passed the winter there. On this, king William came with his army to Nottingham, and having strengthened the castle, proceeded to York, and fortifying the two castles there, placed in them five hundred soldiers, giving orders for the castles to be strengthened in the city of Lincoln and other places.

While these things were going on, the sons of king Harold, Godwin and Edmund the Great, returning from Ireland landed in Somersetshire; where being met by Eadnoth, who had been master of the stables[33] to king Harold, with some troops, a battle was fought, in which he, with many others, was slain. Having gained the day, they collected considerable spoil in Devonshire and Cornwall, and then returned to Ireland.

In the year 1069, being the third year of his reign, king William sent earl Robert Cummin against the Northumbrians of the country north of the Tyne; for they had all united in one determination, not to submit to the rule of a foreigner, and had resolved either to slay him, or else, all of them, to fall by the edge of the sword. On his approach, Egelwin, bishop of Durham, met him, and warned him to be on his guard against treachery; but he, thinking that no one dared this, despised the warning, and, entering Durham with a large body of soldiers, allowed his men to act with hostility in all quarters, even to slaying some peasants belonging to the church; still, he was received by the bishop with all kindness and honor. But the Northumbrians hastening onward all night, at daybreak broke through the gates with the greatest violence, and slew the followers of the earl in every direction, they being quite unprepared for the attack. The contest was waged most fiercely, the soldiers being struck down in the houses and streets, and the combatants attacked the house of the bishop in which the earl was entertained; but finding that they could not endure the darts of those who defended it, they burned the house together with those who were therein. So great was the multitude of the slain, that nearly every spot in the city was filled with blood, and out of seven hundred men only one escaped. This slaughter took place on the fifth day before the calends of February, being the fourth day of the week.

[33] "Stallarius." There is some doubt as to the correct meaning of this word

In this year, shortly before the nativity of Saint Mary, the sons of Sweyn, king of Denmark, Harold, Canute, and their uncle earl Osborn, came from Denmark with two hundred and forty ships, and landed at the mouth of the river Humber. Here they were met by the Clito Edgar, earls Alde and Marleswein, and many others, with a fleet which they had assembled; earl Cospatric also came with all the forces of the Northumbrians, and with one accord they determined to oppose the Normans. Being greatly distressed at their approach, Aldred, archbishop of York, was attacked with a severe illness and ended his life, as he had requested of God, in the tenth year of his archiepiscopate, on the third day before the ides of September, being the sixth day of the week; he was buried in the church of Saint Peter, on the eighth day after, being Saturday, the thirteenth day before the calends of October.

The Normans, who garrisoned the castles, fearing lest the houses which were in their vicinity, might be used by the Danes for the purpose of filling up the fosse, began to set them on fire; and the flames, increasing, raged throughout all the city, and together with it, burned the monastery of Saint Peter. But the Divine vengeance most speedily exacted a heavy retribution at their hands; for, before the whole city was destroyed, a Danish fleet came on the second day of the week to the aid of the besiegers, and the Danes making an attack upon the castles on the one side, and the Northumbrians on the other, stormed them on the same day; more than three thousand of the Normans being slain, the Danes sparing the lives of William de Malet, who was then sheriff of the province, with his wife and two children, and of Gilbert de Ghent with a few others, repaired to their ships with their innumerable forces, and the Northumbrians returned home.

When king William was informed of this, being greatly enraged, he swore that he would pierce the whole of the Northumbrians with a single spear, and shortly afterwards, having assembled an army hastened with feelings of extreme irritation to Northumbria, and did not cease throughout the whole winter to ravage it, slay the inhabitants, and commit many other acts of devastation.

In the meantime, sending a message to Osborn, the Danish earl, he promised that he would privately present him

with no small sum of money, and give his army free licence to seize provisions in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore, upon condition that, after the close of winter, they should depart, without any further hostilities. To these propositions Osborn, being greedy for gold and silver, to his great disgrace, assented. While the Normans, in the preceding year, were laying waste England, throughout Northumbria and some other provinces, but in the present and succeeding year, throughout almost the whole of England, but especially Northumbria and the provinces adjoining to it, a famine prevailed to such a degree, that, compelled by hunger, men ate human flesh, and that of horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever was repulsive to notions of civilization; some persons went so far as to sell themselves into perpetual slavery, provided only they could in some way or other support a miserable existence; some departing from their native country into exile, breathed forth their exhausted spirits in the midst of the journey.

It was dreadful to behold human corpses rotting in the houses, streets, and high roads, and as they reeked with putrefaction, swarming with worms, and sending forth a horrid stench; for all the people having been cut off, either with the sword or famine, or else having through hunger left their native country, there were not sufficient left to inter them. Thus, during a period of nine years, did the land, deprived of its cultivators, extend far and wide a mere dreary waste. Between York and Durham there was not one inhabited town; the dens of wild beasts and robbers, to the great terror of the traveller, were alone to be seen.

While the king was doing these things in the neighbourhood of York, Egelwin, bishop of Durham, and the chiefs of the people, being fearful that, on account of the death of the earl[35] at Durham and the slaughter of the Normans at York, the sword of the king would involve both innocent and guilty in a like destruction, unanimously disinterred the holy and incorruptible body of the blessed father Cuthbert and took to flight, on the third day before the ides of December, being the sixth day of the week. They first rested at Girwine,[36] next at Bethlingtun,[37] the third time at Tughale,[38] and the fourth at

[35] Robert Cummin.
[36] Jarrow, in Durham.
[37] Bedlington, in Northumberland.
[38] Tughall, in Northumberland.

Ealande. Here, towards nightfall, their further progress was impeded by the sea being at high water, when lo! suddenly withdrawing, it left them free access, so that when they hastened on, the waves of the ocean followed in the rear, at a similar pace, and when they sometimes moved more slowly, the waves did not overtake them by speeding on at a faster pace, but, as soon as they had touched the shore, behold! the sea flowed back again and covered all the sands as before.

In the meantime, the king's army, dispersing in all directions, between the rivers Tees and Tyne, found nothing but deserted houses, and a dreary solitude on every side; the inhabitants having either sought safety in flight, or concealed themselves in the woods and among the precipices of the hills. At this period also, the church of Saint Paul the Apostle, at Girwine, was destroyed by fire. The church of Durham was deprived of all its guardians and all ecclesiastical care, and had become like a desert, as the Scripture says, a refuge for the poor, the sick, and the feeble. Those who were unable to take to flight, turning aside thither, sank there under the influence of famine and disease. The resemblance of the cross, which was the only one of the church ornaments remaining there, (as on account of its large size it could not be easily removed by them in their haste) was robbed of its gold and silver, which were torn off by the Normans.

On this, the king, who was not far off, hearing of the deserted state of the church, and the spoliation of the crucifix, was very indignant, and gave orders for those to be sought for who had been guilty of it. Shortly after, he happened to meet these very persons, and on seeing them turn out of the public road, immediately felt convinced that these men were conscious of having committed some misdeed; whereon, being seized, they immediately made discovery of the gold and silver which they had taken from off the crucifix. On this, he immediately sent them for judgment to the bishop and those who were with him, who were now returning from their flight; but they, acquitting them of the charge, let them escape with impunity. For, upon the approach of spring, the king having returned to the country south of the Humber, bishop Egelwin, after having, with all his people, passed three months and some days at Ealande, returned to the church of Durham, with the treasure of the holy body of Saint Cuthbert.

In the year 1070, at the season of Lent, by the advice of William, earl of Hereford, and some others, king William ordered his followers to search the monasteries throughout the whole of England; and the money which, on account of his severity and extortion, the wealthier English had deposited there, he ordered to be taken from them.

Bishop Egelwin, having returned from flight, as already mentioned, now meditated in his mind a perpetual exile. For, seeing the affairs of the English in a state of confusion on every side, and fearing that the sway of a foreign nation, to whose language and manners he was a stranger, would press with severity upon himself, he determined to resign his bishopric, and to provide for himself, as he best might, in a foreign land. Having, therefore, provided a ship, and put all necessaries on board, he was waiting for a fair wind in the harbour of Wearmouth.

At the same time there were some other ships there; on board of which were the Clito Edgar with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christiana, Siward Barn, Marleswein, and Elfwin, son of Norman, and many besides; who, after the attack on the castles at York, on the return home of the Danes, dreading the vengeance of the king for having aided them, were preparing to fly to Scotland and waiting for a fair passage thither.

At this period, a countless multitude of Scots, under the command of king Malcolm, passing through Cumberland, and making their way towards the east, fiercely laid waste the whole of Teesdale[39] and its neighbourhood, far and wide. Having come to a place which, in the English language, is called Hundredesfelde, and in the Latin "Centum Fontes" (*the hundred springs*), and having slain there some of the English nobles, the king, retaining with him part of his army, sent home the other part, with an infinite amount of spoil, by the road by which they had come. In doing this, his crafty design was, that the wretched inhabitants who, in their fear of the enemy, had for safety concealed themselves and their property in whatever hiding-places they could find, might suppose that the whole of the enemy's forces had departed, and that he might suddenly come upon them after they had, with a feeling of security, returned to their towns and homes;

[39] The vicinity of the river Tees.

which, accordingly, happened to be the case. For, having laid waste part of Cleveland, he suddenly ravaged Heorternisse, and thence making a fierce incursion upon the lands of Saint Cuthbert,[40] deprived all of the whole of their property, and some even of their lives.

In addition to this, he consumed the church of Saint Peter the Apostle, at Wearmouth, with flames which were kindled by his men in his own presence; other churches also he burned to the ground, together with those who had taken refuge in them. While riding near the banks of the river, and from an elevated spot looking down upon the cruelties inflicted by his men upon the wretched English, and satiating his mind and his eyes with this sight of horror, word was brought to him that the Clito Edgar and his sisters, comely young women of royal blood, with many others, very wealthy fugitives from their country, had taken refuge in that harbour. On this, after interchanging courtesies with them, he kindly addressed them when they came, and gave to them and all their attendants, with the strongest assurances of peace, an asylum in his dominions for as long a period as they should think fit. Amid these depredations inflicted by the Scots, earl Cospatric, who, as already mentioned, had purchased the earldom of Northumbria of king William for a sum of money, having obtained the aid of some active allies, ravaged Cumberland with dreadful havoc; and then, having laid waste the country with fire and sword, returned with a large quantity of spoil, and shut himself and his followers within the strong fortifications of Bebbanburgh;[41] whence frequently sallying forth, he greatly weakened the enemy's strength. At this period Cumberland was subject to king Malcolm; not by rightful possession, but in consequence of having been subjugated by force.

Malcolm, on hearing what Cospatric had done (while he was still looking at the church of Saint Peter burning amid the flames kindled by his own men), could hardly contain himself for anger, and commanded his men no longer to spare any individual of the English nation, but either to strike them to the earth and slay them, or, making them prisoners, carry them off, doomed to the yoke of perpetual slavery. The troops having received this sanction, it was dreadful even to

[40] In the north of Northumberland. [41] Bamborough.

witness the cruelties they were guilty of towards the English. Some aged men and women were decapitated with the sword; others, like swine intended for food, were pierced through and through with lances; infants were torn from the breasts of their mothers, thrown aloft into the air, and on falling, received upon the points of lances, sharp weapons being thickly planted in the ground.

The Scots, more savage than wild beasts, took delight in these cruelties, as though a spectacle of games; and thus did the age of innocence, destined to attain heaven, breathe its last, suspended between heaven and earth. But the young men and young women, and whoever besides seemed adapted for toil and labour, were driven away in fetters in front of the enemy, to endure a perpetual exile in captivity as servants and handmaids. Some of these, while running before those who drove them on, became fatigued to a degree beyond what their strength could endure, and, as they sank to the ground on the spot, the same was the place of their fall and of their death. While beholding these scenes, Malcolm was moved to compassion by no tears, no groans of the wretched creatures; but, on the contrary, gave orders that they should be perseveringly driven onward in their course.

In consequence of this, Scotland became filled with men-servants and maid-servants of English parentage; so much so, that even at the present day not only not even the smallest village, but not even the humblest house is to be found without them.

After the return of Malcolm to Scotland, bishop Egelwin having set sail with the view of proceeding to Cologne, a contrary wind arose and drove him back upon the coast of Scotland, which also, after a speedy passage, brought thither the Clito Edgar with his above-named companions. On this, king Malcolm, with the full consent of his relations, married Margaret, the sister of Edgar, a woman ennobled by her royal birth, but much more ennobled by her wisdom and piety, through whose zeal and untiring efforts the king himself, laying aside his barbarian manners, became more virtuous and more civilized. By her he had six sons—Edward, Edmund, king Edgar, Ethelred, king Alexander, king David, and two daughters, Matilda, queen of the English, and Mary, who became the wife of Eustace, earl of Boulogne.

In the same year, a great synod was held at Winchester, on the octave of Easter, by command of king William, who was there present; it was also sanctioned by our lord Alexander, the pope, who gave the authority of the Apostolic See thereto, through his legates, Hermenfred, bishop of Sion, and the cardinal priests, John and Peter. At this synod Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of his archbishopric on three grounds, namely; because he had wrongfully held the bishopric of Winchester together with the archbishopric; because, in the lifetime of archbishop Robert, he had not only held the archbishopric, but even for some time, at the celebration of the mass, had made use of his pall which remained at Canterbury, when he himself had been violently and unjustly expelled from England; and because he had received the pall from Benedict, who had been excommunicated by the holy Church of Rome, for having gained the papacy by means of bribery. His brother Agelmar, the bishop of East Anglia,[42] was also deprived there, as were also some abbats; all which was done by the agency of the king, in order that as many of the English as possible might be deprived of their honors; in whose place he might appoint persons of his own nation, for the purpose of strengthening his possession of the kingdom which he had recently acquired.

For this reason, also, he deprived of their honors certain bishops and abbats, whom, as no evident reason existed, neither synods nor secular laws condemned; and, placing them in confinement, kept them there to the end of their lives, being merely influenced, as already mentioned, by suspicion on account of the kingdom he had newly acquired.

At this synod, also, while the rest, being sensible of the king's feelings, were afraid lest they should be deprived of their dignities, the venerable man, Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, resolutely demanded restoration of a considerable quantity of property belonging to his see which had been retained in his possession by archbishop Aldred, when he was removed from the see of Worcester to that of York, and which, after his death, had come into the king's hands; and both asked for justice to be done by those who presided over the synod, and demanded it of the king. But the church of York, as it then had no pastor to speak for it, was dumb; judgment was

[42] Bishop of Helmham, in Norfolk.

therefore given that the claim should remain in its present state until an archbishop was appointed, who might defend his church, and there would be a person to make answer to his charge; so that, after the charges and answers had been considered, judgment might be given with more fairness and certainty. Accordingly, on the present occasion, the claim stood over for a time.

On the day of Pentecost, in this year, the king, being then at Windsor, gave the archbishopric of the church of York to Thomas, a venerable canon of Bayeux, and the bishopric of Winchester to Valceline, his own chaplain: and, by his command, on the following day, Armenfred, the above-named bishop of Sion, held a synod, John and Peter, the cardinals before-mentioned, having returned to Rome.

At this synod Agelric, bishop of the South Saxons,[43] was degraded in an uncanonical manner; and shortly after, for no fault on his part, the king placed him in confinement at Mearlesberge.[44] A considerable number of abbats were also deposed; after whose deposition, the king gave to his chaplains Arfract, the bishopric of East Anglia,[45] and to Stigand, that of the South Saxons; to some of the Norman monks he also gave abbeys; and, as the archbishop of Canterbury had been deposed, and the archbishop of York had recently died, by the king's command Valceline was ordained on the eighth day after Pentecost by the same Armenfred, bishop of Sion, the legate of the Apostolic See.

On the approach of the feast of Saint John the Baptist, earl Osborn departed for Denmark with the fleet that had lain in the river Humber during the winter, but his brother, Sweyn, outlawed him on account of the money, which, contrary to the wishes of the Danes, he had received from king William. At this period the most valiant man, Edric, surnamed the Woodsman,[46] was reconciled to king William. After this, the king summoned from Normandy Lanfranc, the abbat of Caen, a Lombard by birth, a man of the greatest learning in every respect, well skilled in all the liberal arts and in the knowledge of both divine and secular literature, and most prudent in counsel and in the management of temporal matters, and, on the day of the Assumption of Saint

[43] Bishop of Selsey.
[44] Marlborough.
[45] Of Helmham.
[46] Silvaticus.

Mary, appointed him archbishop of Canterbury, and, at the feast of Saint John the Baptist, being the Lord's Day, had him consecrated at Canterbury. His consecration was performed by Giso, bishop of Wells, and Walter, bishop of Hereford, who had both been ordained at Rome by pope Nicolas, at the time when Aldred, archbishop of York, received his pall. For these bishops had avoided receiving ordination from Stigand, who then held the see of Canterbury, as they knew that he had received the pall in an uncanonical manner. Herman, bishop of Salisbury, with some others, was also present at his consecration, shortly after which, Lanfranc consecrated Thomas, archbishop of York.

These matters completed, the claim of the venerable Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, was again considered, Thomas having been now consecrated archbishop, to speak for the church of York; and, a synod being held at a place which is called Pedreda,[47] before the king and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops, abbats, earls, and principal men of England, by the aid of the grace of God, the matter was there concluded, although Thomas, the archbishop of York, and his supporters, used every possible device, though far from being based upon the truth, to lower the church of Worcester, and to subject her to the church of York, and strove in every way to make her a dependant thereof. However, by the just judgment of God, and the most positive evidence of writings much defaced and almost worn to pieces, Wulstan, the man of God, not only regained the possessions that he had claimed and demanded, but, also, by the gift of God and the concession of the king, obtained that extent of liberty which had been bestowed upon her by the first founders king Ethelred and Saint Hosher, earl of the Wiccii, and by Cenred, Ethelbald, Offa, Saint Kenulph the father of Kenelm the Martyr, and their successors after them, and those who reigned over the whole kingdom of England, namely, Edward the Elder, Ethelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edgar father of king Edward the Martyr, and those who had succeeded them.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord, 1071, Lanfranc and Thomas went to Rome, and received the pall from pope Alexander. The earls Edwin and Morcar, finding that king William wished to place them in confinement, secretly fled

[47] Petherton, in Somersetshire.

from his court, and for some time remained in open rebellion against him. However, on finding that their attempts were not crowned with success, Edwin determined to go to Malcolm, king of the Scots, but, being treacherously attacked on the road by his own people, was slain. Morcar and Hereward, however, a man of the greatest bravery, with many others, repaired by ship to the Isle of Ely, intending to winter there; whither Egelwin, bishop of Durham, and Siward, surnamed Barn, returning by sea from Scotland, also came. But, when the king heard of this, with the help of his sailors, he cut them off from all exit on the eastern side of the island, and, on the western side, ordered a bridge to be constructed two miles in length. On seeing that they were thus enclosed, they ceased making resistance, and all, with the exception of Hereward and a few who made their escape through the fens, surrendered to the king: who shortly afterwards placed bishop Egelwin in confinement at Abingdon, where the same winter he ended his life: but as to Earl Morcar and the rest, he distributed a part of them in various places of confinement throughout England, and having first deprived them of their hands or their eyes, let go the rest. The king then appointed Walcher, a member of the church of Liege, to the bishopric of Durham, and he was accordingly consecrated at Winchester. He had come to this country on the king's invitation, being a person of illustrious family, graceful manners, and endowed with the recommendations of divine and secular knowledge. Eilaf, one of the king's household servants, very high in office, together with other men of rank, escorted him to York, where earl Cospatric met him by the king's command, and escorted the bishop as far as Durham; he arrived at the church of his see at the period of Mid-Lent.

In the year 1072, after the Assumption of Saint Mary, king William, having in his train Edric, surnamed the Woodsman,[48] set out for Scotland with a fleet and an army of horse, for the purpose of subjugating it; for Malcolm, king of the Scots, had greatly offended him in having, as already mentioned, so dreadfully ravaged his territories the year before. But when the king of the English had entered Scotland, king Malcolm met him at a place which is called Abernithic, and did homage to him.[48] On his return thence, king William deprived earl Cospatric of his dignity, making it a charge against him that

[48] He is also called in history the Outlaw, and the Forester.

he had counselled and aided those who had slain the earl[49] at Durham, and had taken part with the enemy when the Normans were slain at York. After his deprivation, Waltheof was raised to the earldom, to which he was entitled both on his father's and his mother's side, being the son of earl Siward, by Elfrida, the daughter of Ealdred, who was formerly earl.

At this period, that is to say, when the king was returning from Scotland, he built a castle at Durham, where the bishop and his people might enjoy security from the incursions of the enemy; and, as some of the Normans disbelieved that the blessed Cuthbert either was a Saint, or that his body was kept there, at the feast of All Saints, while the bishop was celebrating the mass, the king ordered his two chaplains to enter the sanctuary, and to open the tomb and examine, both by seeing and touching, whether the holy body was deposited there. For the king had previously declared that, if it was not there, all the elders should be put to death. Upon this, all being in great consternation, the chaplains were just about to perform his commands. Now at this period, the cold weather was very severe; but, in the meantime, the king began to feel overpowered by an intolerable heat, and to perspire most copiously, and to be attacked with an excessive trembling; so, at once sending to his chaplains, he ordered them not to presume to touch the tomb.

Immediately after this he mounted his horse, and ceased not to ride at its utmost speed till he reached the river Tees. From that time forward he held this Saint in the highest esteem, and confirmed the more favored laws and customs of that church, which it had received in time past, for perpetual observance, and in addition thereto, gave and granted, and by charter confirmed to God and Saint Cuthbert, and the prior and monks there serving God, for a pure and perpetual almsgiving, his royal manor consisting of the vill of Hemingburgh, with all the lands, of Brakenholm, with all the lands thereto adjoining, together with the church of the vill aforesaid, and all things thereto pertaining in wood and plain, in moor and meadow, in forest and marsh, together with the water-mills and ponds, with merc[50] and mere,[51] and sac,[52] and

[49] Robert Cummin.

[50] The right of holding markets.

[51] Probably right of piscary.

[52] The lord's right of trying litigated causes among his vassals, and levying fines.

soke,[53] and tol,[54] and them,[55] and infangtheof,[56] and all the right boundaries thereof, together with all their rights and customs, as fully, quietly, and freely, as ever Saint Cuthbert fully and quietly held his other lands, together with all the royal customs and liberties which the king himself held therein, when, after the conquest of England, he held the same in his own hands, and with the same boundaries, with which he himself, or Tosti before him, or Siward, had held the said manor.

Bishop Walcher and earl Waltheof were afterwards on the most friendly and cordial terms, insomuch that, sitting together with the bishop, at the synod of the priesthood, he humbly and obediently would carry out whatever was enjoined by the bishop in his earldom, for the correction of Christian manners.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1073, all points agreed, as to the course of the sun and moon, with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, in which our Lord was baptized, that is to say, the day of the Baptism was on the eighth day before the ides of January, being the Lord's day and Epiphany; the second day of the week was the commencement of His Fast for forty days; and thus, from the time of the Baptism of our Lord in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, there had been a revolution of two great cycles, that is to say, of one thousand and sixty-four years.

In this year, William, king of the English, with the especial assistance of the English whom he had brought with him from England, subjugated the city which is called Mans, and the province[57] belonging thereto. The Clito Edgar came to Normandy from Scotland by way of England, and was reconciled to king William. Earl Waltheof, sending a strong body of Northumbrians, took a bloody revenge for the death of his grandfather earl Aldred; for the swords of some men whom he had placed in ambush cut off the sons of Carl who had slain him, while they were at a banquet at Seteringetun.

In the year 1074, Hildebrand, who was also called Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, was elected pope, and consecrated. The

[53] A somewhat similar right to the last. In the text it is erroneously printed "soschene," for "socam."

[54] The right to levy import duties.

[55] The right of a lord to follow his servants on the lands of another.

[56] The right of apprehending malefactors. [57] Of Maine.

pope holding a council, according to the decrees of Saint Peter the Apostle, and of Saint Clement and other holy fathers, by edict forbade the clergy, and especially those consecrated to the divine mysteries,[58] to have wives, or to cohabit with women, except such as the Nicene synod or other canons excepted. He also decreed that, in conformity with the sentence of Simon Peter, not only the buyer and seller of any office, such for instance as that of bishop, abbat, prior, dean, or titheman of a church, but whoever abetted them, should receive the condemnation of Simon Magus.[59] For the Lord hath said, "Freely have ye received, freely give."

Three poor monks being sent by the Divine Spirit from the province of the Mercians, that is to say, from Evesham, came to York, in the province of the Northumbrians, and requested Hugh FitzBaldric, who at that time held the shrievalty, to provide them with a guide on their journey, as far as the place which is called Munkeceastre,[60] that is to say, the "city of the monks," which place is now called Newcastle. Being escorted thither, and having staid there for some time, on finding there no ancient vestige of the servants of Christ they removed to Jarrow, where, the ruins hardly disclosing what it had been in ancient times, there were to be seen many monastic edifices with half-ruined churches; here they were received with the greatest kindness by bishop Walcher, who supplied them with all necessaries.

Aldwin was the chief of them, both by reason of age and his exemplary manners, while Elfwine was the second, and Remifrid the third: by these three persons, three monasteries were refounded in the province of the Northumbrians; one at Durham, near the hallowed and incorruptible body of the father Cuthbert, in honor of the holy Virgin Mary; another at York, in honor of the same Mary, the mother of God, where this noble monastery, on its foundation, had for its first abbat Stephen, its second Richard, its third Geoffrey, the fourth being the present dignitary, Severinus. The third of these monasteries was restored at a place which was formerly called Streinschalh, that is to say, "the bay of the sea," and is now called Withebi;[61] of which Benedict is the present abbat.

Of late years, after the most dreadful devastations of the

[58] Those in priests' orders. [59] As being guilty of simony
[60] The Saxon name of Newcastle-on-Tyne. [61] Whitby, in Yorkshire.

pagans had with fire and sword reduced the churches and monasteries to ashes, Christianity being almost extinguished, there were scarcely any churches left, and those few covered with twigs and thatch; but no monasteries had been anywhere rebuilt for two hundred years. Thus did belief in religion wax faint, and all religious observances entirely die away; the name of a monk was a thing unheard-of by the people in the provinces, who were struck with amazement when by chance they beheld any one devoted to the monastic life, and clothed in the garb of a monk. But on the above-named three persons coming to dwell among them, they themselves also began to change their brutish mode of living for the better, to give them all possible assistance in restoring the sacred places, rebuilding the half-ruined churches, and even building new ones in the spots where they had previously existed. Many persons also abandoned a secular life, and assumed the monastic habit; few, however, of these were provincials; they were mostly persons from the remote districts of England, who, being allured by the report of their character, repaired thither, and zealously attached themselves to them.

Of these, Turgot, afterwards bishop of the Scots, was one. He, being sprung from a family by no means among the lowest ranks of the English, was one among a number of hostages, who, when England was totally subjected to the Normans, had been placed in confinement in Lincoln castle, which was the place of safe keeping for the whole of Lindesey. Having bribed the keepers with a sum of money, he secretly, to the hazard of his friends, fled to certain Norwegians, who were then at Grimsby, loading a merchant-ship for Norway, on board which the ambassadors of king William, who were about to proceed to Norway, had procured a passage.

When the ship, speeding on at full sail, had lost sight of land, behold! the run-away hostage of the king came forth from the lower part of the ship, where the Norwegians had concealed him, in the sight of all, and caused astonishment among the ambassadors and their attendants. For he had been sought in every spot, and the king's tax-gatherers had made their search in that very ship; but the cunning of those who concealed him had contrived to deceive the eyes of the searchers. Upon this, the ambassadors insisted upon their furling their sails, and by all means steering back the ship towards the

English shore, in order to take back the run-away hostage of the king. This was stoutly resisted by the Norwegians, whose wish it was that they should steer onward in the course they had so prosperously begun; upon which a division arose, and prevailed to such a degree that each party took up arms against the other. But as the force of the Norwegians was superior, the boldness of the ambassadors very speedily subsided, and the nearer they approached to land, the more did they humble themselves to the others.

Upon their arrival there, the runaway youth behaved himself becomingly and modestly, showed himself grateful to the nobles and principal men, and came under the notice of king Olaf, who being of a very pious turn of mind, was in the habit of reading holy books, and giving his attention to literature amid the cares of state. He would also frequently stand by the priest at the altar, and assist him in putting on the holy vestments, pouring the water upon his hands, and with great devotion performing other duties of a similar nature. Accordingly, on hearing that a clerk had come over from England, a thing that seemed somewhat unusual at that period, he employed him as his own master in learning the Psalms; in consequence of which he lived in extreme affluence, the bounty of the king and nobles flowing in upon him apace. His mind, however, was often smitten, in a spirit of compunction, with contempt for the world, and, whenever he was able, he would withdraw himself from the banquets of the revellers, and take delight in solitude, praying to God with tears that he would direct him in the paths of salvation. But, inasmuch as religious aspirations, when subjected to delay, frequently change, his mind by degrees fell away from this state, and in consequence of the success which attended his pursuits, the pleasures of this world had too great attractions for him.

But he, who, when invited, was unwilling to come of his own accord, at a future time, by compulsion, entered the house of his heavenly Father. For some years after, he was returning home by ship with a large sum of money; but when out at sea, the vessel was wrecked in a most violent storm, and his companions perishing, he lost the whole of his property, having, with some five or six others, with the greatest difficulty saved his life. Coming to Durham for the purpose of offering up his prayers, he informed bishop Walcher of every thing

that had happened to him, and stated to him that it was his fixed purpose to assume the monastic habit. On this the bishop received him with all humility, and, sending him to Aldwin, of whom mention has been made above, said: "It is my prayer and my command, that you will receive this my son, and, clothing him in the monastic habit, will teach him to observe the monastic rule of life." Aldwin on receiving him, submitted him to the regular probation, and when he had passed through that state conferred upon him the monastic habit, and so trained him by precept and example, that after his own decease, by order of bishop William, he succeeded him as prior of the church of Durham, which for twenty years, less twelve days, he zealously governed. But in the year when Ranulph was made bishop, who succeeded William, Alexander the Eighth, king of the Scots, having asked the assent of Henry, king of the English, thereto, he was chosen bishop of the church of Saint Andrew.

In the same year in which pope Hildebrand held the above-named council, Roger, earl of Hereford, son of William, earl of the East Angles, contrary to the command of king William, gave his sister in marriage to earl Rodulph. The nuptials being celebrated with the utmost magnificence, amid a large concourse of nobles at a place in the province of Grantebridge,[62] which is called Ixning, a great number there entered into a conspiracy against king William, and compelled earl Waltheof, who had been intercepted by them by stratagem, to join the conspiracy. He, however, as soon as he possibly could, went to Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, and received absolution from him at the holy sacrament, for the crime that he had, although not spontaneously, committed; by whose advice, he also went to king William, who was at the time staying in Norway, and disclosing to him the whole matter from beginning to end, threw himself entirely upon his mercy.

In the meantime, the chiefs above-mentioned, being determined to promote the success of this conspiracy, repaired to their castles, and began, with their supporters, to use all possible endeavours in encouraging the rebellion. But the venerable Wulstan, the bishop of Worcester, with a great body of soldiers, prevented the earl of Hereford from fording the river Severn and meeting earl Rodulph, with his army, at the place

[62] Cambridge.

appointed. Wulstan was also joined by Egelwin, the abbat of Evesham, with all his people who had been summoned to his assistance, together with Urso, the sheriff of Worcester, and Walter de Lacy, with his troops, and a considerable multitude of the lower classes. But earl Rodulph having pitched his camp near Grantebridge, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's brother, and Geoffrey, bishop of Constance, having collected a great body both of English and Normans and prepared for battle, opposed him.

On seeing that his attempts were thus thwarted by the multitude that opposed him, he secretly fled to Norwich, and entrusting the castle to his wife and his knights, embarked on board ship, and fled from England into Brittany; on which, being pursued by his adversaries, all of his men whom they could overtake they either put to death, or else inflicted upon them various kinds of punishments. After this, the nobles besieged the castle of Norwich, until, peace being made by the king's sanction, the countess, with her people, was allowed to leave England. These events having happened, in the autumn the king returned from Normandy, and placed earl Roger in confinement, and in like manner threw earl Waltheof into prison, although he had besought his mercy.

Edgitha, the former queen of the English, died this year at Winchester, in the month of December, on which her body was, by the royal command, conveyed to London, and honorably buried at Westminster, near that of her lord, king Edmund. Here, at the ensuing Nativity of our Lord, the king held his court, and some of those who had uplifted their necks against him he banished from England, and others he mangled, by putting out their eyes, or cutting off their hands; earls Waltheof and Roger, condemned by a judicial sentence, he committed to closer custody.

In the year 1075, earl Waltheof, by command of king William, was unrighteously led outside of the city of Winchester, and there cruelly decapitated with an axe, and buried in the ground on the spot; but in course of time, God so ordaining it, his body was raised from the earth, and carried with great honor to Croyland, and with great pomp buried in the church there. While he was still in possession of life in this world, on being placed in close confinement, he unceasingly bewailed what he had done amiss, and most zealously endea-

voured to make his peace with God by means of watchings and prayers and fastings and almsgiving; his memory men have tried to bury in the earth, but we are to believe that in truth he rejoices with the Saints in heaven, the above-named archbishop Lanfranc, of pious memory, having faithfully attested it, from whom, on making confession, he had received absolution. He asserted that he was innocent of the charge on which he was accused, namely, that of joining in the aforesaid conspiracy, and that what he had been guilty of in other respects, he had, like a true Christian, bewailed with the tears of repentance; and Lanfranc declared that he himself should be blessed, if, after the end of his life, he should be able to enjoy his happy repose. After him, the care of the earldom of Northumbria was entrusted to Walcher, bishop of Durham.

After these transactions, the king led his army into Brittany, and besieged the castle of earl Rodulph, which is called Dol, until Philip, king of France, forced him to retire.

At this period, as the secular clergy chose rather to submit to be excommunicated, than to put aside their wives, pope Hildebrand, in order that he might, if possible, chastise them by means of others, ordered in the following words that no person should hear mass performed by a married priest:

"Gregory, the pope, who is also called Hildebrand, the servant of the servants of God, to all throughout the realms of Italy and Germany, who show due obedience to Saint Peter, the Apostolic benediction. If there are any priests, deacons, or sub-deacons, who are guilty of the crime of fornication, we do on behalf of Almighty God, and by the authority of Saint Peter, forbid them entrance into the church, until such time as they shall amend and be repentant. But if any shall prefer to persist in their sinful course, no one of you is to presume to listen to them while officiating; inasmuch as their blessing is changed into a curse, and their prayers into sinfulness, as the Lord beareth witness by his prophet, saying, 'Your blessings I will curse,'" &c.[62]

In the year 1076, Sweyn, king of the Danes, a man greatly devoted to literature, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son, Harold.

In the year 1077, Robert, the eldest son of king William, because he was not allowed to take possession of Normandy, which, before his arrival in England his father had given to

[62] Mal. ii. 2.

him in the presence of Philip, king of the Franks, fled to France, and, with the aid of king Philip, frequently committed great depredations in Normandy, burning towns and slaying men, and thus caused no little trouble and anxiety to his father.

In the year 1078, after the Assumption of Saint Mary, Malcolm, king of the Scots, laid waste Northumbria, as far as the great river Tyne; and having slain many persons and captured more, returned home with a large amount of spoil.

In the year 1079, king William, while attacking his son Robert before the castle of Gerbohtret, which king Philip had given to him, being wounded by him in the arm, was thrown from his charger, but immediately, on Robert recognizing his voice, he dismounted, and bade him mount his own horse, and so let him depart; on which, many of his men having been slain, and some taken prisoners, and his son William and many others wounded, he took to flight. The venerable man Robert, who had received priests' orders, at the hands of the most reverend Wulstan, the bishop of Worcester, was ordained bishop of Hereford, at Canterbury, by Lanfranc, the archbishop. This took place on the fourth day before the calends of January, being the Lord's day.

In the year 1080,[63] Walcher, bishop of Durham, a native of Lorraine, and a man distinguished for his virtues, was, without reason, murdered by the Northumbrians, at a place which is called Gatesheued,[64] that is to say, the "goat's head," on the day before the ides of May, being the fifth day of the week; which act was done in revenge for Liulph, a man of noble birth and high rank.

This person, by hereditary right, was entitled to many possessions throughout England; but, because in those times the Normans were incessantly giving loose in every direction to their savage propensities, he betook himself with all his family to Durham, as he was sincerely attached to the memory of Saint Cuthbert. His wife was Adgitha, daughter of earl Aldred, by whom he had two sons, Uethred and Morcar. The sister of this Adgitha was Elfleda, the mother of earl Waltheof; for which reason that earl entrusted his little cousin, Morcar, to

[63] This event is placed by Roger of Wendover in the year 1075. He gives a very different account of the circumstances attending it.

[64] Gateshead.

the monks of Jarrow, to be nurtured by them in the love of God. At this time earl Waltheof himself was at Tynemouth; which place, together with the little child, he placed at the disposal of the monks. Liulph, the child's father, was greatly beloved by the bishop; so much so, that without his advice he would by no means transact or dispose of the more weighty questions of his secular business. For this reason his chaplain, Leofwine,[65] whom he had raised to such a pitch of favour that hardly anything in the bishopric and earldom[66] was done without his opinion being first consulted, was inflamed by the stings of envy, and being, in consequence of his elevation, greatly inflated with excessive pride, arrogantly set himself in competition with the above-named Liulph.

In consequence of this, he treated some of his judgments and opinions with the utmost contempt, and used every possible endeavour to render them of no effect; in addition to which, he would frequently wrangle with him before the bishop, even using threats, and often provoke him to anger by the use of contemptuous expressions. On a certain day, when Liulph had been invited by the bishop to take part in his counsels, and had given his opinion as to what was legal and just, Leofwine obstinately opposed him, and exasperated him by the use of contumelious language. Because Liulph on this occasion answered him more sharply than usual, Leofwine withdrew himself hastily from the court of justice, and, calling aside Gilbert (to whom, being his relative, the bishop had entrusted the earldom of Northumbria to manage as his deputy), earnestly entreated him to avenge his wrongs and put Liulph to death as soon as he possibly could effect it.

Gilbert immediately yielded to his iniquitous requests, and, having assembled together his own men at arms, together with those of the bishop and the said Leofwine, proceeded on a certain night to the house where Liulph was then staying, and most

[65] The name of this person, who is called Leobin by William of Malmesbury, affords a singular illustration of the extreme incorrectness of the text. In the same page it is written "Leodwinus," "Leothwinus," "Leolwinus," "Leofwinus," and "Leolfwinus." This faultiness, however, is far from being confined to proper names.

[66] It has been already stated that, after the unfortunate end of earl Waltheof, the earldom of Northumberland was given in charge to the bishop of Durham. Bracton informs us that the bishop of Durham had as full power in the county of Durham as the king had in his own palace.

iniquitously slew him and nearly all his household, in his own house. On hearing of this, the bishop heaved a sigh from the inmost recesses of his heart; and, taking his hood from off his head, and throwing it on the ground, immediately said in mournful accents, to Leofwine, who was then present, "By your factious designs, and most short-sighted contrivances, Leofwine, these things have been brought about. Therefore, I would have you know for certain, that both myself, and yourself, and all my household, you have cut off by means of the sword of your tongue."

On saying this, he instantly betook himself to the castle, and immediately sending messengers throughout all Northumbria, commanded all to be informed that he was not an accomplice in the death of Liulph, but that, on the contrary, he had banished Gilbert, his murderer, and all his associates, from Northumbria, and would be prepared to exculpate himself before a court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. After this, having interchanged messages, he and the relatives of those who were slain, having mutually given and received assurances of peace, appointed a place and day on which to meet and come to a better understanding. On the appointed day they met at the place named, but as the bishop declined to plead his cause in the open air, he entered the church there, together with his clergy and those of his knights who were of higher rank, and while a council was being held, several times sent out of the church such of his own followers as he thought fit, for the purpose of making peace with them. The people, however, would by no means accede to his requests, for they believed it to be a matter beyond a doubt that Liulph had been slain by his command; for, the night after the death of his relative,[68] Leofwine had not only entertained Gilbert and his associates at his house, in a friendly and hospitable manner, but even the bishop himself had shown him favour and hospitality just as before.

In consequence of this, all those of the bishop's party who were found outside of the church were first slain, only a few escaping by flight; on seeing which, the bishop ordered his relative, the

[68] "Propinqui sui." This is probably an incorrect reading. We have been previously informed that Gilbert was a relative of the bishop; but it does not appear that Liulph was related to the bishop or to Gilbert. It may, however, mean "of his neighbour."

above-named Gilbert, whose life was sought, to go out of the church, in order that his death might satisfy the fury of the enemy. On going out, some knights followed him close for the purpose of defending him, but being instantly attacked by the enemy on all sides with swords and lances, they were killed in an instant; however, they spared two English thanes, in consequence of their being of the same blood with themselves. They also slew Leofwine, who had so often given the bishop advice to their disparagement, with some others of the clergy, directly they came out.

For when the bishop understood that their fury could by no means be appeased, unless Leofwine, the head and author of all this calamity, was slain, he begged him to go out of the church; and when he could by no means prevail upon him to do so, the bishop himself went to the door of the church, and begged that his own life might be spared, and on their refusal, covered his head with the border of his garment and went out of the door, and instantly fell dead, pierced by the swords of the enemy. After him they ordered Leofwine to come forth, and, upon his refusal, set fire to the roof and walls of the church; on which, preferring to finish his life rather by being burnt than being slain with the sword, he endured the flames for some time; but, after he had been half roasted alive, he sallied forth, and, being cut to pieces, paid the penalty for his wickedness and died a shocking death.

To avenge the horrible deaths of these persons, king William, in the same year, ravaged Northumbria, sending thither Odo, bishop of Bayeux, with a large body of soldiers. In the autumn of the same year, the same king William sent his son, Robert, against Malcolm, king of the Scots; but after he had proceeded as far as Egelbcreth, he returned without completing his object, and founded Newcastle upon the river Tyne.

William succeeded to the bishopric of Durham on the fifth day before the ides of November, and on the fourth day before the nones of January, was consecrated at Gloucester, by Thomas, the archbishop of York.

At Pentecost, in this year, the emperor Henry, being at Mentz, determined upon the deposition of pope Hildebrand. and, on the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, appointed Wibert, bishop of the city of Ravenna, pope in his stead.

In the year 1081, the emperor Henry marched with an

army to Rome against the pope, but, having laid siege to the city, was unable to effect an entrance.

In the year 1082, after much slaughter and rapine had ensued between the emperor Henry and pope Hildebrand, on the night of Palm Sunday, a great number of persons were slain. King William placed in confinement in Normandy his brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux.

In the year 1083, the emperor Henry stormed the city of Rome, and having taken it, established Wibert in the Apostolic See; on which, Hildebrand retired to Benevento, and lived there till the day of his death, and Henry returned to Germany.

A disgraceful quarrel took place between the monks, and Turstin, the abbat, of Glastonbury, a man unworthy to be named, and possessed of no prudence, whom king William, taking from the monastery of Caen, had appointed abbat of that place. Among other doings, in his folly, he treated the Gregorian chaunt with contempt, and attempted to compel the monks to leave it off, and learn the chaunt of one William, of Feschamp, and sing it; this they took to heart, because they had, both in this particular and in the other offices of the church, grown used to the practices of the Roman Church. Upon a certain day, when they did not expect it, he rushed into the chapter-house, with an armed body of soldiers, and pursued the monks, who in their extreme terror had fled into the church, even to the altar; and there the soldiers, piercing the crosses, and images, and shrines of the Saints with darts and arrows, even went so far as to slay one monk while embracing the holy altar, who fell dead pierced with a spear; another also fell at the verge of the altar, transfixed with arrows; on which, being compelled by necessity, the monks stoutly defended themselves with the benches and candlesticks belonging to the church, and, though grievously wounded, succeeded in driving all the soldiers beyond the choir. The result was, that two of the monks were killed and fourteen wounded; some of the soldiers were also wounded.

Upon this, an inquisition was held, and as the principal fault lay clearly on the abbat's side, the king removed him, and replaced him in his monastery in Normandy. A number of the monks were also, by the king's command, dispersed

among the bishoprics and abbacies, and there kept in confinement. After the king's death, the same abbat repurchased the abbey from his son, king William, for a sum of five hundred pounds of silver, and wandering about for some years among the possessions of that church, at a distance from the monastery itself, just as was befitting a homicide, died in misery. The monks assembled[69] at Durham, by command of king William the Younger, on the seventh day before the calends of June, being the sixth day of the week.

On the fourth day before the nones of November, being the fifth day of the week, queen Matilda departed this life in Normandy, and was buried at Caen.

"Thomas,[70] by the grace of God archbishop of York, to the bishops and abbats, both those who now hold the said offices in England also as those who shall succeed them hereafter, and to all the archbishops, his successors for ever in the see of York, greeting: Inasmuch as it is our office to perform the duties of religion to all, so in especial are we bound to pay pious respect to those Saints of God, from whose bounty it is manifest that we have received especial benefits. Therefore, we having been chastened with the scourge of God, and having been parched in an incredible manner during a period of two years with weakness from the attacks of fever; and whereas all the physicians declared that it was evident that death alone would be the termination of our sufferings, and that there were no means by which they might counteract the evil effects of this prolonged weakness. Wherefore, being warned in a vision, groaning and weeping I passed a night at the tomb of Saint Cuthbert, where, being wearied out with disease and fatigue, I was overcome with sleep; upon which Saint Cuthbert appeared to me in a vision, and touching each of my limbs with his hands, rendered me, when I awoke, whole from all infirmity; and whereas, at the same time, he commanded me to be duteous to him in all respects, and requested that all things whatsoever in my diocese he or his should possess, should be free and discharged from all burdens whatso-

[69] This seems to allude to the monks of Glastonbury, who had been driven from the abbey by William the First, and placed in confinement; otherwise, the event is not inserted in its proper place.

[70] There is probably an omission here, nothing being stated by way of introduction to this letter.

ever; and inasmuch as, having been aided by the mercies of the blessed confessor, I have been the more duteous to him, as it was more especially my bounden duty to pay him the greatest homage.—And whereas William, bishop of Durham, has brought a letter of pope Gregory the Seventh, from the Apostolic See, to the council of king William sitting at Westminster, and, with the consent of all, has obtained leave to remove the secular clergy from his church and substitute monks therein. Wherefore, greatly rejoicing at all these things, according to the precept of the abovenamed pope, and according to the command of our lord king William, and out of the love I am bound to owe to Saint Cuthbert, with the consent and permission of the chapter of York, and with the confirmation of the whole synod, I have given and granted, and by this present deed confirmed, and have afterwards, with my own hand, presented at the altar unto Saint Cuthbert, the letter underwritten, which is addressed to Saint Cuthbert and his bishop, and all the monks his servants—Know then, all persons, both present and to come, that I, Thomas, archbishop of York, in obedience to the precept of pope Gregory the Seventh, and with the ratification of our lord king William, and with the attestation thereto of the whole council of England, and with the consent of the chapter of York, do give and do grant unto God and Saint Cuthbert, and to all his bishops in succession, and to all the monks who shall be there in time to come, that all churches whatsoever, which at the present time they may happen to possess in my diocese, or which hereafter they shall canonically obtain by royal grant or gift of the faithful, or which they shall build upon their own lands, they shall hold free and entirely acquitted for ever by me and all my successors, of all claims which belong to me or to my successors. Wherefore, I will and command that they shall hold all their churches in their own hands, and possess them without molestation, and freely place in them their own vicars, who shall only consult me and my successors as to the faithful cure of souls, but them as to all other alms-deeds and benefits;—and further, I do grant, confirm, and command, that they, as well as their vicars, shall be for ever free and acquitted from all synodals,[71] and from all aids, imposi-

[71] Payments made to the bishop by his clergy at the time of his visitation.

tions, rents, exactions, or hospices,[72] both as regards myself and my deans and archdeacons, as well as the vicars and servants of us all. I do also forbid, under penalty of excommunication, that any person shall annoy them or their clergy, upon any pretence whatever, or compel them to go to synods or chapters, unless they shall be willing so to do of their own accord. But if any one shall have any complaint against them or theirs, let him repair to the court of Saint Cuthbert at Durham, that he may there receive such redress as he is entitled to. For, all the liberties and dignities which I or my successors shall be entitled to in our own churches or in our lands, we do freely grant for ever unto them and Saint Cuthbert in all their churches and lands, and without any deceit or gainsaying, I do, on behalf of myself and my successors, confirm the free and quiet possession thereof."

In the year 1084, pope Hildebrand, who was also called Gregory, departed this life. William, king of the English, levied upon every hide of land throughout England the sum of six shillings.

In the year 1085, Edmund, abbat of Pershore, a man of remarkable virtue, departed this life on the seventeenth day before the calends of July, being the Lord's day. In the same year, Canute, son of Sweyn, king of the Danes, prepared, with a strong fleet and the aid of his father-in-law, Robert, earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married, to invade England; whereupon, king William, having levied many thousand soldiers throughout the whole of Gaul, foot and archers, and taking some from Normandy, in the autumn returned to England, and dispersing them throughout the whole kingdom, commanded the bishops, abbats, earls, barons, sheriffs, and royal bailiffs to supply them with provisions. But when he learned that his enemies were checked,[73] he sent back part of his army, and part he retained with himself throughout the whole of the winter, and held his court at Gloucester during the Nativity of our Lord; in which place he gave bishoprics to his three chaplains, namely, that of London to Maurice, that of Thetford to William, and that of Chester to Robert.

[72] "Hospitio." A right on the part of certain persons to demand entertainment in religious houses.

[73] Because there was a mutiny in the Danish fleet, which ended in the king being slain by his soldiers.

In the year 1086, king William caused the whole of England to be described, of how much land each of his barons was possessed, how many knights' fees, how many carrucates, how many villains, how many animals, and even how much ready money, each person possessed, throughout the whole of his kingdom, beginning from the highest down to the lowest, and how much rent each property could return:[74] the whole of the country being in a state of disturbance in consequence of the numerous murders occasioned thereby. After this, in the week of Pentecost, at Westminster, where he was holding his court, he knighted his son Henry, and shortly after ordered the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, barons, and sheriffs, with their soldiers, to meet him at Salisbury, on the calends of August; and on their coming thither, he compelled their knights to swear fealty to him against all men.

At this period, the Clito Edgar, having obtained leave of the king, passed over the sea with two hundred soldiers, and went to Apulia. His sister, Christiana, entered a monastery which has the name of Romsey, and assumed the habit of a nun. In the same year there was a murrain among animals, and a great pestilence in the air.

In the year 1087, the relics of Saint Nicolas were transferred from Myra to the city of Bar. In this year, Aldwin, prior of Durham, departed this life. A raging fire consumed many cities, and the church of Saint Paul, together with the largest and best part of London.

On Saturday, the sixth day before the ides of July, the Danes, in a certain church, conferred the honor of martyrdom on their king, Canute. In this year, Stigand, bishop of Chichester, Scolland, abbat of Saint Augustine's, Alfy, abbat of Bath, and Turstine, abbat of Pershore, departed this life. In the same year, before the Assumption of Saint Mary, king William entered France with an army, and burned with fire a city which is called Mantes, and all the churches therein, and two recluses, and then returned into Normandy. But, upon his return, a dreadful pain in the intestines attacked him; and, becoming weaker and weaker every day, when, as his illness increased, he saw that the day of his death was approaching, he released from confinement his brother, Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, earls Morcar and Roger, Siward, surnamed

[74] These returns were entered in what is called Doomsday-Book.

Barn, and Wulnoth, the brother of king Harold, whom he had kept in confinement from his childhood, and all besides whom he had imprisoned, either in Normandy or England. After this, he gave the kingdom of England to his son William, and, to his eldest son, Robert, who was then in exile in France, he left the dukedom of Normandy. And then, being fortified with the heavenly viaticum,[75] after having reigned over the English nation twenty years, ten months, and twenty-eight days, he parted with his kingdom and his life, on the fifth day before the ides of September, and, having been there interred, rests at Caen, in the church of Saint Stephen the Proto-martyr, which he had built from the foundation, and amply endowed.

WILLIAM THE YOUNGER.

On this, his son, William, repaired to England with all haste, taking with him Morcar and Wulnoth, but, shortly after his arrival at Winchester, he consigned them to the same strict confinement as before; after which, on the sixth day before the calends of October, being the Lord's day, he was consecrated king at Westminster, by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Then, returning to Winchester, he distributed the treasures of his father, as he himself had commanded, throughout England; that is to say, to some of the principal churches ten golden marks, to some six, and to some less. To each of the churches situate in country places[76] he ordered five shillings to be given, and crosses, altars, shrines, text-books,[77] candlesticks, chalices, pipes,[78] and various ornaments, embellished with gold, silver,

[75] The consecrated wafer, administered to the dying, "in articulo mortis."

[76] The words are "in villis sitis." The allusion is to the parish churches throughout the country.

[77] This seems the best translation for "textos," which means the book of the Gospels, which was generally adorned with gold and jewels, and kept in the treasury of the monastery, and laid on the altar on Saints'-days and Sundays.

[78] "Fistulas." Allusion is made to the pipes which (in the early centuries of the church, when the Holy Eucharist was administered to the laity in both kinds,) were used by the communicants for the purpose of sucking the wine out of the cup. The object of this seems to have been that, by the use of several pipes, more than one might partake of it at the same time.

and precious stones, to be distributed among the most deserving churches and the monasteries.

His brother Robert, also, on his return to Normandy, bounteously divided among the monasteries, churches, and the poor the treasures which he found, in behalf of the soul of his father; and, after having knighted them, allowed Dunecald,[79] the son of Malcolm, king of the Scots, and Ulph, the son of Harold, the former king of the English, whom he had released from confinement, to depart.

In the year 1088, a great dissension arose among the nobles of England. For a portion of the Norman nobility was in favour of king William; but the other, and larger part espoused the cause of Robert duke of Normandy, and desired to invite him to govern the kingdom, and either deliver up William alive to his brother, or, putting him to death, deprive him of his kingdom. The chiefs in this execrable affair were Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who was also earl of Kent, Geoffrey, bishop of Constance, Robert, earl of Mortaigne,[80] Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and the chief men of eminence throughout the whole kingdom, with the exception of archbishop Lanfranc. This abominable deed they privately discussed during Lent, and, immediately after Easter, began to ravage the country each in his own neighbourhood, and plunder and pillage it, at the same time providing their castles with fortifications and provisions. Geoffrey, bishop of Constance, and Robert de Mowbray repaired to Bristol, where they had a very strong castle, and laid waste all the country as far as the place which is called Bathan.[81]

The nobles also of Hereford and Shrewsbury, with a multitude of people from Wales, proceeded as far as Worcester, laying waste and destroying with fire everything before them. They intended, also, to have taken the church and the castle, which latter was at that period entrusted to the charge of the venerable bishop Wulstan. When the bishop heard of this he was greatly distressed, and, considering what plan he should adopt, had recourse to his God, and entreated Him to look down upon His church and His people, thus oppressed by their enemies. While he was meditating upon these things, his household sallied forth from the castle, and took and slew five hundred of them, and put the rest to flight.

[79] V. r. Duncan. [80] Half-brother of William the First. [81] Bath.

Roger Bigot entered the castle of Norwich, and spread devastation throughout the country.[82] Bishop Odo, through whom these evils had arisen, proceeded into Kent, and laid waste the royal vills, and ravaged the lands of all those who preserved their fealty to the king and gained possession of the castle of Rochester.

On hearing of these things, the king caused the English to be assembled together, and, pointing out to them the treachery of the Normans, entreated them to give him their assistance, on condition that, if they should prove faithful to him in this emergency, he would grant them better laws, such as they should make choice of; he also forbade all unjust taxes, and returned to all their woods and right of venison; but, whatever he promised, he soon withdrew. The English however, then assisted him faithfully. Accordingly, the king assembled his army for marching on Rochester, where he supposed his uncle, bishop Odo, was; but, when they came to Tunbridge, they found the castle closely shut against the king. However, the English, boldly storming it, destroyed the whole castle, and those who were in it surrendered to the king. After this, the king with his army directed his course towards the castle of Pevensey; for bishop Odo had withdrawn from Rochester and fled to that castle, whither the king, with a large army, followed him, and besieged the castle for six entire weeks.

While these things were going on in England, Robert, duke of Normandy, had assembled a considerable force, and was preparing to send it to England, intending shortly to follow, as though making sure of England through the agency of bishop Odo and the others, who were his partisans there. But William the Younger had now taken measures of defence by sea with his cruisers, which slew many of them on their passage to England, and sank others at sea; so much so, that no man can tell the number of those who perished.

During the period of these transactions at sea, bishop Odo, and those who were with him, being compelled by hunger, surrendered the castle of Pevensey, and promised, on oath, that they would leave England and not enter it again, except

[82] The words after "Norwich" here are adopted from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; as the text has "et omnes vicit in malum," words which admit of no sense whatever, and are clearly erroneous.

with the leave of king William; they also engaged that they would first deliver up the castle of Rochester. But, when Odo had come to Rochester with the king's men, who, on the king's behalf, were to receive possession of the castle, he was immediately placed in confinement together with them, by those who were in the castle. Some persons assert that this was done by the cunning contrivance of the bishop. However, in this castle there were some valiant knights, and almost all the nobility of Normandy. There was also there, Eustace the Younger, earl of Boulogne, and many of the nobles of Flanders. When the king heard of this, he came with his army to Rochester, and laid siege to the city; upon which, after a short time, those who were in it surrendered; and thus the bishop, who was almost a second king of England, irrecoverably lost his dignity. But, on arriving in Normandy, he immediately received charge of the whole province[83] from duke Robert. William, bishop of Durham, and many others also, took their departure from England.

In the year 1089, Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, on the ninth day before the calends of July, being the fifth day of the week. In the same year, on the third day before the ides of August, being Saturday, about the third hour of the day, there was a very great earthquake throughout England.

In the year 1090, William the Younger, king of England, with the intention of taking Normandy from his brother Robert and subjecting it to his own dominions, first took the castle of Walter de Saint Valery, and the castle which has the name of Albemarle, and, afterwards, several other castles, and placed knights in them, who committed ravages throughout Normandy. On seeing this, and discovering the faithlessness of his own people, duke Robert sent ambassadors to Philip, king of the Franks, his liege lord, who thereupon came into Normandy, and the king and the duke laid siege to one of the castles which was garrisoned by his brother's troops. On this being told to king William, he secretly sent a considerable sum of money to king Philip, and, entreating him to desist from besieging it, succeeded in his object.

[83] These words are succeeded by the following detached sentence, "cujus ordinem causæ libellus in hoc descriptus ostendit." It is evidently corrupt, and capable of no exact translation; though it probably means, "the reasons for which will appear from what is previously stated."

In the year 1091, king William the Younger went over to Normandy in the month of February, with the design of taking it from his brother Robert; but, while he was there, peace was made between them by treaty, on condition that the duke should with good faith deliver up to the king the earldom of Eu,[84] Feschamp, the abbey of Mount Saint Michael, and Keresburg,[85] with the castles which had revolted from him, and that the king should reduce to subjection to the duke the province of Maine and the castles of Normandy, which were then making resistance to him. It was also agreed that the king should restore their lands in England to all the Normans who had lost them by reason of their fidelity to the duke, and should also give to the duke as much land in England as was then arranged between them. In addition to this, they came to an understanding that if the duke should die without a son lawfully born in wedlock, the king should be his heir; and, in like manner, if the king should happen to die, the duke should be his heir. Twelve barons on the king's side and twelve on the duke's guaranteed this treaty by oath.

In the meantime, while these matters were being treated of, their brother Henry,[86] having raised all the troops he could, with the aid of some of the monks in the place, took possession of Mount Saint Michael, laid waste the king's lands, and took prisoners some of his men, and spoiled others. In consequence of this, the king and the duke, assembling an army, besieged the Mount during the whole of Lent, and had frequent skirmishes, and lost some men and horses. But the king, growing wearied of the protracted siege, retired without coming to terms, and, shortly after, dispossessed the Clito Edgar of all the honors which the duke had conferred upon him, and banished him from Normandy.

In the meantime, in the month of May, Malcolm, king of the Scots, invaded Northumbria with a large army. If he could only find provisions, his object was to make further inroads and commit acts of violence upon the people of England. But God ordained it otherwise; and, therefore, he was impeded in his designs. The king, on hearing of this, re-

[84] Called "Owe" in the text. [85] Cherbourg.

[86] Of course he would naturally be displeased at the little regard paid to his interests in the compact then being made.

turned to England with his brother Robert in the month of August, and shortly after, set out for Scotland with a considerable fleet and an army of horse, with the object of waging war against Malcolm; on coming to Durham, he restored bishop William to his see, three years on that very day after he had left it; that is to say, on the third day before the ides of September.

But before the king had reached Scotland, a short time previous to the feast of Saint Michael, nearly the whole of his fleet was lost, and many of his horse perished through hunger and cold; after which, king Malcolm met him with his army in the province of Loidis.[87] On seeing this, duke Robert sent for the Clito Edgar, whom the king had banished from Normandy, and who was then staying with the king of the Scots, and, by his assistance, made peace between the two kings, upon the understanding that Malcolm should pay homage to him, as he had paid homage to his father, and that king William should restore to Malcolm the twelve towns which he had possessed in England under his father, and pay yearly twelve golden marks. But the peace that was made between them lasted only a short time. The duke also reconciled the king to Edgar.

On the ides of October, being the fourth day of the week, a violent flash of lightning struck the tower of the church of Winchelcomb, and made a wide opening in the wall, close to the roof; it split asunder one of the beams, and giving a severe blow to the image of Christ,[88] hurled the head to the ground, and broke the right thigh. The image, also, of Saint Mary, which stood near the cross, was struck by the flash, and fell to the ground; after which, there followed a great smoke, with an excessive stench, which filled the whole church and lasted until the monks of the place, chaunting psalms, had gone round the buildings of the monastery with holy water and incense, and relics of the Saints.

In addition to this, on the sixteenth day before the calends of November, being the sixth day of the week, a violent whirlwind, coming from the south, blew down more than six hundred houses in London, and a considerable number of churches. It attacked the church which is called Saint Mary at Arches, and killing two men there, lifted the roof with the rafters aloft, and after carrying it to and fro in the air, at length fixed six of

[87] Leeds. [88] On a crucifix.

the rafters in the same order in which they had been originally inserted in the roof, so deep in the ground, that of some of them only the seventh, of some the eighth part, was visible; and yet they were seven or eight and twenty feet in length.

After this, the king returned from Northumbria through Mercia into Wessex, and kept the duke with him till nearly the Nativity of our Lord, but was not willing to fulfil the treaty that had been made between them. The duke being greatly annoyed at this, on the tenth day before the calends of January, returned to Normandy with the Clito Edgar.

At this period, according to the reports in England, there were two so-called popes of Rome, who, disagreeing as to their right to the title, divided the church of God into two parties; these were Urban, who was formerly called Odo, bishop of Ostia, and Clement, whose former name was Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna; this matter, not to speak of other parts of the world, had so greatly occupied the attention of the church of England for many years, that from the time that Gregory, also called Hildebrand, departed this life, up to the present period, it had refused to pay obedience or make submission to any pope; Italy and France, however, acknowledged Urban as the vicar of Saint Peter.

In the year 1092, the greater part of the city of London was destroyed by fire. On the nones of April, being the second day of the week, Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, with the assistance of Valcelline, bishop of Winchester, and of John, bishop of Bath, dedicated the church which he had built within the castle of Salisbury. Bishop Remigius also, who, with the sanction of king William the Elder, had changed the seat of his bishopric from Dorchester[91] to Lincoln, wished to dedicate the church which he had built there, and which was well worthy of the bishop's chair, as he perceived that the day of his death was close at hand. But Thomas, the archbishop of York, firmly opposed him, and asserted that the church was built in his province. King William the Younger, however, in consideration of a sum of money which Remigius gave him, gave orders to the bishops of nearly the whole of England to meet together on the seventh day before the ides of May and consecrate the church; but, two days before the time appointed,

[91] In Oxfordshire.

by the secret dispensation of God, bishop Remigius departed from this world, and the dedication of the church stood over for the present. After this, the king set out for the province of Northumbria, and rebuilt the city which in the British language is called Carleil,[92] and in Latin, Lugubalia, and erected a castle there; for this city, with some others in those parts, had been destroyed two hundred years before, by the pagan Danes, and had remained desolate from that time until the present period.

In the year 1093, king William the Younger was attacked by a severe illness at a royal town which is called Alvestan, on which he repaired with all haste to Gloucester, and there lay ill throughout the whole of Lent. Thinking that he should shortly die, at the suggestion of the barons, he promised the Almighty to correct his mode of living, no longer to sell churches or put them up for sale, but to protect them with his kingly power, to destroy unrighteous laws, and to enact righteous ones. The archbishopric of Canterbury, which he had kept in his own hands, he gave to Anselm, the abbat of Bec, who was then in England, and the bishopric of Lincoln to his chancellor, Robert, surnamed Bloet.

A new church was commenced to be built at Durham, on the third day before the calends of August, being the fifth day of the week, bishop William, and Malcolm, the king of the Scots, and the prior Turgot, on that day laying the first stone of the foundation. On the day of the feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle,[93] Malcolm, the king of the Scots, came to Gloucester, to meet king William the Younger, as had been previously arranged between their ambassadors, in order that, according

[92] Carlisle. Holinshed has the following remark upon a passage in Matthew of Westminster, "Here have I thought good to advertise you of an error in Matthew of Westminster, crept in either through misplacing the matter by means of some exemplifier, either else by the author's mistaking his account of years, as 1072 for 1092, referring the repairing of Carlisle unto William the Conqueror, at what time he made a journey against the Scots in the said year 1072. And yet not thus contented; to bewray the error more manifestly, he affirmeth that the king exchanged the earldom of Chester with Rafe or Ranulf de Micenis, alias Meschines, for the earldom of Carlisle, which the said Meschines held before, and had begun then to build and fortify that town; whereas it is certain that Ranulf de Meschines came to enjoy the earldom of Chester by way of inheritance."

[93] V. r. The ides.

to the wish of some of the chief men of England, peace might be renewed and there might exist a lasting friendship between them; they separated, however, without coming to terms. For William, in his excessive haughtiness and pride, contemptuously refused to see Malcolm or to treat with him. In addition to this, he also wished to force him to make redress in his own court solely according to the judgment of his own barons, but Malcolm utterly declined to do so, unless the conference were held upon the confines of the two kingdoms, where the kings of the Scots had been in the habit of making redress to the kings of England, and in conformity with the opinion of the nobles of both kingdoms. Shortly after these events, a very wonderful sign appeared in the sun.

In the same year, Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, Guido, abbat of Saint Augustine's, and Paulinus, abbat of the church of Saint Alban, departed this life. This Paulinus, having by means of the violent conduct of earl Robert,[94] effected an entrance into the church of Tynemouth, in spite of the prohibition of the monks of Durham, who had been the possessors of it, was there attacked with an illness, and died on his way home at Seteringtun.[94*] On the day of the feast of Saint Brice,[95] Malcolm king of the Scots, and Edward, his eldest son, were slain in Northumbria with their men, by the soldiers of Robert earl of Northumbria; in whose death the judgment of God is distinctly visible, from the fact that he and his men perished in the same province which he had been in the habit, at the dictation of avarice, of laying waste.

For, on five occasions he had afflicted it with dreadful ravages, and had carried off its wretched inhabitants in slavery; the first time in the reign of king Edward, when Egelwin was bishop of Durham, at the period when Tosti, the earl of Northumbria, had gone to Rome; the second time in the reign of king William, the above-named Egelwin being still bishop, on which occasion, Cleveland was laid waste; the third time, in the reign of the same king William, when Walcher was bishop of Durham, at which period he proceeded as far as the river Tyne, and after having slaughtered multitudes of men and burned many places, returned with a large amount of booty;

[94] De Mowbray.

[94*] Called Colewich by Roger of Wendover, who calls the abbat Paul.

[95] Thirteenth of November.

the fourth time, in the reign of king William the Younger, when William was bishop of Durham, on which occasion, with an innumerable army, he came as far as Chester,[96] with the full intention of proceeding further; but a small body of troops uniting against him, he returned with all speed from very fear.

The fifth time, having collected all the troops he possibly could, he invaded Northumbria, with the intention of reducing it to utter desolation, but was slain near the river Alne,[97] by Morell,[98] a most valiant knight, together with his eldest son, Edward, whom he had appointed his successor in the kingdom. A portion of his army died by the sword of the enemy, and those who escaped the sword were drowned in the inundations of the rivers, which were at that time unusually swollen by the winter rains. The body of this king and most blood-thirsty butcher, there being none of his own people to cover it with earth, two of the country-people placed in a cart, and buried it at Tynemouth; and thus it came to pass that in the very place where he had deprived multitudes of life, liberty, and possessions, by the judgment of God, he himself lost his life and possessions.

On hearing of his death, Margaret, queen of the Scots, was affected with such violent grief, that she suddenly fell extremely ill; immediately upon which, sending for the priests, she entered a church, and having confessed to them her sins, caused herself to be anointed with oil, and to be provided with the heavenly viaticum, entreating the Lord with most urgent and repeated prayers, that he would not allow her any longer to remain in this world of misery. Her prayers were heard, for on the third day after the king's death, she was released from the bonds of the flesh, and, as we have reason to believe, passed to the joys of everlasting salvation. For, during her life, she shewed herself a most devoted follower of piety, justice, peace, and charity; assiduous in her prayers, she mortified her body by watching and fasting, enriched churches and monasteries, and loved and honored the servants and handmaids of God; she broke bread to the hungry, clothed the naked, gave lodging,

[96] Chester-le-street, in Durham.

[97] In the vicinity of Alnwick, in Northumberland.

[98] V. r. Merkell. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that he was steward to earl Robert.

food, and raiment to all strangers who came to her, and loved God with all her heart.

After her death, the Scots chose[99] as their king, Dufenald, the brother of king Malcolm, and expelled from Scotland all the English who belonged to the royal court. On hearing of this, Duncan, the son of king Malcolm, who was at that time in the service[1] of king William, requested him to give him his father's kingdom; and, on his prayer being granted, swore fealty to him, and immediately repaired with all haste to Scotland, accompanied by a multitude of English and Normans, and, expelling his uncle, Dufenald,[2] from the kingdom, reigned in his stead. Shortly after, some of the Scots meeting together, cut off nearly the whole of his men; on which, with a few others, he made his escape. However, they afterwards allowed him to reign over them, on condition that he should no more introduce Englishmen or Normans into Scotland, or allow them to serve under him.

At this period, a meeting was held of nearly all the bishops of England, among whom Thomas, the archbishop of York, held the chief place; and on the second day before the nones of December they consecrated Anselm, abbat of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury. In the same year, William, earl of Eu, being overcome by his inordinate greediness for money, and allured by the magnitude of the honors promised him, revolted from his natural lord, Robert, duke of Normandy, to whom he had sworn fealty, and, coming to England, after acting the part of a guilty seducer,[3] acknowledged himself a subject of king William.

In the year 1094, Robert, duke of Normandy, by ambassadors, informed king William that he should renounce the treaty

[99] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also mentions this election. Upon the passage, Mr. Ingram, the Translator, observes, "From this expression, it is evident that, though preference was naturally and properly given to hereditary claims, the monarchy of Scotland, as well as of England, was in principle elective. The doctrine of hereditary, of divine, of indefeasible right, is of modern growth."

[1] "Militabat." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that he had been given by his father as a hostage to king William.

[2] The name which we call "Donald."

[3] "Ut seductor maximus." He had probably seduced others from their loyalty to duke Robert; if, indeed, the reading here is correct, which is very doubtful.

which they had made; he also called him a perjured and perfidious man, if he should refuse to observe the compact which had been made between them in Normandy. In consequence of this, about the calends of February, the king went to Hastings, and while staying there, caused the church of Battle[4] to be dedicated in honor of Saint Martin; there he also deprived Herebert,[5] bishop of Thetford, of his pastoral staff; for he had secretly intended to go to pope Urban, to seek absolution from him, on account of the bishopric which he had purchased for himself, and the abbey he had bought for his father, Robert,[5*] from king William, for a thousand pounds. After this, at mid-Lent, the king went over to Normandy, and, a truce being agreed on, held a conference with his brother, but parted from him without coming to terms.

After this, they again met in the field of Mars; when those who, on oath, were to effect a reconciliation between them, laid all the blame on the king; on which he would neither admit his fault, nor observe the treaty. Being greatly enraged in consequence, they separated without coming to terms. The duke took his departure for Rouen, but the king returned to Eu, and there took up his quarters, and levied soldiers on every side; to some of the Norman nobles he gave gold, silver, and lands, and to some he promised them, in order that they might revolt from his brother Robert, and subject themselves, together with their castles, to his sway. Having accomplished all these matters to his wish, he distributed his soldiers among the castles which he had either previously held, or had then gained possession of.

In the meantime, he took the castle which is called Bures, and of the duke's knights which he found therein, some he sent in captivity to England, and some he kept in confinement in Nor-

[4] Battle Abbey, which had been commenced by William the Conqueror.

[5] This was Herbert de Losinga; whose letters, which were supposed to be lost, have recently been discovered. Roger of Wendover gives a different version of this story; he says, "In 1094, Herebert, surnamed Losinga, was abbot of Ramsey, but he now by purchase procured himself to be made bishop of Thetford; but afterwards, in penitence for his crime he went to Rome, where he resigned his simoniacal staff and ring into the hands of the pope; but by the indulgence of the Holy See, he received the same back again, and returning home, transferred his see to Norwich, where he established a congregation of monks."

[5*] His father was, probably, one of the secular clergy.

mandy; and, harassing his brother in every way, used his utmost exertions to deprive him of his patrimony. Accordingly, Robert, being compelled by necessity, brought his liege lord, Philip, king of the Franks, into Normandy with an army; on which the king laid siege to the castle of Argenton, and on the very same day, without any bloodshed, took seven hundred of the king's knights, together with twice as many esquires,[6] together with all the garrison of the castle, and ordered them to be kept in close confinement, until each should ransom himself, after which, he returned to France.

Duke Robert, however, besieged a castle which is called Holm, until William Peverel and eight hundred men who defended it surrendered to him. When this became known to the king, he sent messengers to England, and ordered twenty thousand foot soldiers to be sent to Normandy to his assistance; who being assembled at Hastings, for the purpose of crossing the sea, by the king's orders, Ranulph took from them the money that had been given them to purchase provisions, namely, ten shillings from each man, and, ordering them to return home, sent the money to the king. In the meantime, the whole of England was afflicted with oppressive and unceasing taxes, and a great mortality of the people both in this and the following year.

In addition to this, first the people of North Wales, and then those of South Wales, throwing off the yoke of servitude by which they had been long oppressed, and lifting up their necks, struggled to regain their liberty. Accordingly, a great multitude having assembled together, they stormed the castles that had been founded in West Wales, and, in the provinces of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, burned the towns on every side, carried off plunder, and slew multitudes of English and Normans. They also stormed the castle in the Isle of Anglesey, and reduced it to subjection.

In the meantime, the Scots treacherously slew their king, Duncan, and some other persons, by the advice and entreaty of Dufenald, and then chose him again for their king. Shortly after, king William returned to England, on the fourth day before the calends of January, to wage war against the Welch, and immediately proceeded with his army into Wales, where he lost many men and horses.

[6] "Scutariis."

In the year 1095, at the middle of the seventh hour, on the night of Saturday, the eighteenth day of the month of January, Wulstan, the bishop of Worcester, was removed from this world; a venerable man, and one of most exemplary life, who from his youth had entirely devoted himself to his religious duties, and who, bent upon gaining the glory of the heavenly kingdom, with great devotion and humility of mind had carefully served God with the utmost zeal, and departed after many struggles of pious agony. This took place in the year, from the first day of the world, according to the assured account contained in the Holy Scriptures, five thousand two hundred and ninety-nine,[7] in the four hundred and seventy-sixth year of the present great year[8] from the beginning of the world, in the one thousand and eighty-fourth from the Passion of our Lord according to the Gospels, in the one thousand and sixty-sixth year according to the Chronicle of Bede, in the thousand and sixty-first year according to Dionysius,[9] in the year from the arrival of the Angles in Britain seven hundred and forty-five, from the arrival of Saint Augustine four hundred and ninety-eight, from the death of Saint Oswald the archbishop, one hundred and three, in the thirty-second year of the eleventh great Paschal cycle, in the five hundred and tenth year of the tenth from the beginning[10] of the world, in the fourth year of the second Solar cycle,[11] in the third year of the Bissextile cycle, in the third year of the second Nineteen year cycle, in the tenth year of the second Lunar cycle,[12] in the fifth year of the Hendecad,[13] in the third year of the cycle of Indiction, in the eighteenth lustrum of his age, and in the third year of the seventh lustrum[14] of his pontificate.

In a wondrous manner, at the very hour of his departure, he appeared in a vision to his friend, Robert, the bishop of Hereford, to whom he was especially attached, at a town

[7] According to the computation mostly used in the middle ages, our Saviour was born A.M. 4204.

[8] This seems to be a cycle of nearly eleven years.

[9] Dionysius, the Areiopagite; whose supposed writings were much read in the middle ages.

[10] This is, probably, a cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years.

[11] The cycle of the sun, or of Sundays, is a period of twenty-eight years.

[12] This would almost appear to be really the same cycle as the last; as the cycle of the moon, or of nineteen years, or of the golden number, is the same thing. Possibly the figures are incorrectly stated.

[13] A cycle of eleven years.

[14] These lustra consist of five years each.

called Cricklade, and ordered him to make haste to Worcester, to bury him. The ring, also, with which he had received the pontifical benediction, God would allow no one to draw from off his finger, lest, after his death, the holy man should appear to have deceived his friends, to whom he had frequently foretold that he would not part with it, either in his lifetime or at the day of his burial.

On the day before the nones of April, it seemed at night as though stars were falling from heaven. Walter, bishop of Albano, legate from the Holy Church of Rome, being sent by pope Urban, came to England before Easter, to bring the pall to king William, for which he had sent the year before; which, according to order, was, on the Lord's day, being the fourth day before the ides of June, taken by him to Canterbury, and laid upon the altar of our Saviour, and then assumed by Anselm, and suppliantly kissed by all, as a mark of reverence to Saint Peter.

On the sixth day before the calends of July, being the third day of the week, Robert, bishop of Hereford, a man of extreme piety, departed this life. The above-named Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, appeared to him in a vision, on the thirty-second day after he had departed from this world, and sharply rebuked him for his negligence and heedlessness, admonishing him to use his best endeavours to amend both his own life and those of his flock, with the utmost vigilance: if he did this, he affirmed that he would soon obtain pardon of God for all his sins, and added, that he would not long retain his seat in the chair in which he then sat, but that, if he should choose to be more vigilant, he would be enabled to rejoice with himself in the presence of God. For both of these fathers had been most zealous in their love of God, and most attached to each other; therefore we have reason to believe that he who was the first to take his departure from this world unto God, felt an anxiety for his most beloved friend, whom he had left in this world, and used his best endeavours that he might, as soon as possible, together with himself, rejoice in the presence of God.

At this period, Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumbria, and William de Eu, with many others, attempted to deprive king William of his kingdom and life, and to make Stephen de Albemarle, his aunt's son, king, but were disappointed. For, on learning this, the king levied an army

throughout the whole of England, and, during two months, besieged the castle of the above-named earl Robert, at Tynemouth; and, having in the mean time taken a certain small fortress, he captured almost all the earl's bravest soldiers, and placed them in confinement, and then, laying siege to the castle, took it, and placed in custody the earl's brother, and the knights whom he found there. After this, over against Bebbanbirg,[14]* that is to say, the city of Bebba, whither the earl had fled, he erected a castle, and called it "Malvoisin,"[15] and, having placed soldiers therein, returned to the country south of the Humber.

After the king's departure, the garrison of Newcastle[16] promised earl Robert that they would allow him to enter it if he came secretly. Being overjoyed at this, he went forth on a certain night for that purpose, with thirty knights; on learning which, the knights who garrisoned the castle followed him, and, through messengers, made known his departure to the garrison of Newcastle. Not aware of this, on a certain Sunday, he made the attempt to carry out his plans, but failed, having been thus detected; on which, he fled to the monastery of Saint Oswin, the king and martyr;[17] where, on the sixth day of the siege, he was severely wounded in the thigh, while fighting with his adversaries, many of whom were also wounded, and many slain. Some of his men were also wounded, but all were captured, and he himself took refuge in the church; from which, being dragged forth, he was placed in confinement.

In the meantime the Welch stormed the castle of Montgomery, and slew there some of the men of Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury; at which the king being exasperated, he immediately commanded an expedition to be directed against it; and, after the feast of Saint Michael, led an army into Wales, and there lost many men and horses. On his return thence, he ordered earl Robert to be taken to Bamborough, and his eyes to be put out, unless his wife and his neighbour, Morel,[18] would surrender the castle. Compelled by this necessity, they forth-

[14]* Bamborough. [15] "Bad neighbour."

[16] "Novi castelli" must mean the fortress of Newcastle, which had been lately erected, and not the new castle of Malvoisin, although Holinshed seems so to understand it; the present passage will not, however, admit of that construction being put upon it. [17] At Tynemouth.

[18] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that this Morel was his steward. "Propinquus" may possibly mean "relative" here.

with surrendered the castle. The earl, being placed in close confinement, was led to Windsor; on which, Morell disclosed to the king the causes of the conspiracy taking place.

In the year 1096, William, bishop of Durham, died at Windsor, the royal palace, on the fourth day before the nones of January, being the second day of the week, but was buried at Durham, in the chapter-house there, on the northern side, having on the south the body of bishop Walcher; in the middle rests the body of Turgot, formerly bishop of the Scots, and prior of that church.

On the octave of the Epiphany, a council was held at Salisbury, and the king ordered William de Eu, who had been conquered in single combat, to be deprived of his eyes and his virility, and William Deandri, his sewer, his aunt's son, who had been privy to his treason, he ordered to be hanged; earl Odo of Champagne, who was the father of the above-named Stephen, and Philip, son of Roger earl of Shrewsbury, and some others, who had a guilty knowledge of the plot, he placed in confinement.

In this year, pope Urban came into France, and a synod was held at Clermont,[19] during Lent. He exhorted the Christians to set out for Jerusalem, for the purpose of waging war against the Turks, Saracens, Turcopoles,[19*] Persians, and other pagans, who at that period had overrun Jerusalem, and, having expelled the Christians, were in possession of Judæa. Immediately after his exhortation, at the same synod, Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, and many others with him, assuming the emblem of the cross of Christ, engaged to undertake this pilgrimage in the cause of God, and to do what he had invited them to do: on hearing of which, other Christians in Italy, Germany, France and England, vying with each other, made preparations for the same expedition. The chiefs and leaders of these were Adimar, bishop of Puy, with a great number of other prelates, Peter the Hermit, Hugh the Great, brother to Philip, king of the Franks, Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, Stephen, count of Chartres, Robert, duke of Normandy, Robert, earl of Flanders, the two brothers of duke Godfrey,

[19] This council at Clermont, in Auvergne, continued from the 18th to the 28th of November, A.D. 1095, and not in 1096.

[19*] Turcopoles are supposed to have been the children of Christian mothers and Turkish fathers.

namely, Eustace, earl of Boulogne, and Baldwin, Raymond, the above-named earl, and Boamond, the son of Robert Guiscard; and with these followed an immense multitude of people of all languages.

On the seventeenth day before the calends of July, being the Lord's day, Sampson was consecrated bishop of Worcester, in the church of St. Paul, at London, by Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury. After this, Robert, duke of Normandy, having determined to set out for Jerusalem with the rest, sent ambassadors to England, and requested his brother William to renew the treaty of peace between them, and to lend him ten thousand marks of silver and receive from him the dukedom of Normandy as a security; upon which, the king, being desirous to comply with his request, gave orders to the nobles of England that each one should, to the best of his ability, supply him with money with all possible haste. Accordingly, the bishops, abbats, and abbesses, broke up the golden and other ornaments of the churches; the earls, barons, and sheriffs stripped their soldiers and villains, and supplied the king with no small amount of gold and silver. In the month of September the king crossed the sea and made peace with his brother, giving him six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds of silver, and receiving from him Normandy in pledge.

In the year 1097, William, king of the English, returned to England at the season of Lent, and, after Easter, set out a second time[20] for Wales, with an army of horse and foot, with the intention of destroying all persons of the male sex. However, he was unable to take or slay hardly any of them, but lost some of his own men, and a great number of horses. After this, he sent the Clito Edgar to Scotland, with an army, in order that, after expelling his uncle, Dufenald, who had usurped the throne, he might make his cousin Edgar, the son of king Malcolm, king in his stead.

On the thirteenth day before the calends of July, being Saturday, the Christians took the city of Nice. On the third day before the calends of October, and the fifteen days following, a comet appeared. Some persons at this period affirmed that they had seen in the heavens a wonderful sign, like a fire burning in the shape of a cross.

[20] This was his third expedition. See under the years 1094 and 1095.

Shortly after this, a misunderstanding arose between the king and Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, because, from the time he was made archbishop, he had not been allowed to hold a synod and correct the evils which had sprung up throughout England; on which he crossed the sea, and remaining for a time in France, afterwards proceeded to pope Urban at Rome. About the time of the feast of Saint Andrew, the king set out from England for Normandy. On the second day before the calends of January, Baldwin, abbat of the monastery of Saint Edmund, a man of exemplary piety and of French extraction, departed this life.

In the year 1098, on the third day before the nones of January, being Sunday, Valcelline, the bishop of Winchester, departed this life. In the spring of this year, William the Younger, king of the English, subdued the city which is called Le Mans, and by force reduced a great part of that province to subjection. In the meantime, Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, and with him Hugh, earl of Chester, made a descent upon the island of Mevania, which is usually called Anglesey, with a body of troops, and slew many of the Welch whom they there captured, and of others they cut off the hands or feet, and then, depriving them of their virility, put out their eyes. A certain priest also, named Kenred, a man of advanced age, from whom the Welch had received advice in their affairs, they dragged out of his church, and, having deprived him of his virility and put out one of his eyes, cut out his tongue; but, on the third day after, by the Divine mercy, his speech was restored to him.

At this period, Magnus, king of Norway, son of king Olaf, the son of king Harold Harfager, wishing to add the islands of Orkney and Anglesey to his realms, came thither,[21] with a few ships; but, on his making an attempt to land, Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, accompanied by a great number of armed knights, met him on the sea-shore; and, according to general report, being struck by an arrow from the king's own hand, was slain on the seventh day after he had exercised his cruelty on the above-named priest.

On the third day before the nones of July, being the fourth day of the week, the city of Antioch was taken by the Christians; a few days after which, the spear with which, while

[21] To the isle of Anglesey.

suspended on the cross, the Saviour of the world was pierced, was, through the revelation of the Apostle Andrew, the most meek of the Saints, discovered in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle. Being encouraged on finding this, on the fourth day before the calends of July, being the second day of the week, the Christians, carrying it with them, marched forth from the city, and, engaging with the pagans, put to flight Corbaran, the commander of the soldiers of Soldan, the king of Persia, and the Turks, Arabs, Saracens, and many other nations, at the edge of the sword, and, after slaying many thousands, by the aid of God gained a complete victory.

Throughout the whole of the night of the fifth day before the calends of October in this year, there was an extraordinary brightness. In the same year, the bones of Canute, the king and martyr, were raised from the tomb, and, with due honor, placed in a shrine. Roger, the duke of Apulia, having assembled a great army, laid siege to the city of Capua, which had revolted against his authority. Pope Urban, attended, according to his command, by Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, set out for the council which he had appointed to be held at Bar, on the calends of October. At this council, many points of the Catholic faith were discoursed upon by the successor of the Apostles, with great eloquence. Here also, a question being mooted on the part of the Greeks, who wished to prove, on the authority of the Evangelists, that the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father, the above-named Anselm treated and discoursed and explained so admirably on the subject, that there was no one at the meeting who did not pronounce himself satisfied thereby.

In the year 1099, in the third week after Easter, pope Urban held a great council at Rome, at which he excommunicated all laymen who gave investiture to churches, and all who received investiture from the hands of laymen, as well as all those who consecrated persons for the duties of the office so bestowed. He also excommunicated those who, to gain ecclesiastical honors, did homage to laymen; affirming that it seemed most shocking that hands which had attained a distinction so high that it was granted to none of the angels, namely, by their touch,[22] to create the God who created all

[22] "Signaculo;" probably in allusion to marking with the sign of the cross.

things, and in the presence of God the Father, to offer up his own self for the salvation of the whole world, should be reduced to such a pitch of disgracefulness or folly as to become the handmaids of those hands which by day and night are defiled by obscene contact, or, used to rapine and the unrighteous shedding of blood, are stained thereby; upon which, all shouted with one consent, "So be it! So be it!" and thereupon the council was concluded. After this, the archbishop[24] proceeded to Lyons.

William the Younger, king of the English, returned to England from Normandy, and, at Pentecost, held his court at London, and gave the bishopric of Durham to Ranulph, whom he had appointed manager of the affairs of the whole kingdom; and, shortly afterwards, he was consecrated there by Thomas, archbishop of York.

On the ides of July, being the sixth day of the week, Jerusalem was taken by the Christians; and, soon after, on the eleventh day before the calends of August, Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, was elected king by the whole army. On the fourth day before the calends of August, being the fifth day of the week, pope Urban departed this life. On the second day before the ides of August, being the same day of the week, the Christians fought a very great battle before the city of Ascalon, with Lavedal,[25] the commander of the army and second in rank in the whole kingdom of Babylon,[26] and, by the exceeding bounty of Christ, gained a wondrous victory. Paschal, a venerable man, who had been ordained priest by pope Hildebrand, having been elected pope by the Roman people, was consecrated on the following day. On the third day before the nones of November, the sea overflowed the land, and swept away a great number of towns and men, and oxen and sheep innumerable.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1100, pope Clement, who was also named Wibert, departed this life.

William the Younger, king of the English, while engaged in hunting in the New Forest, which in the English language is called Itene,[27] was struck by an arrow incautiously aimed by Walter, a Frank, surnamed Tyrell, and died, in conse-

[24] Probably Anselm. [25] Roger of Wendover says that his baptismal name was Emyreius, and that he was an Armenian, the son of Christian parents; and that on his apostatizing, he changed his name for that of Elafdal. [26] Persia. [27] More properly Utine.

quence, on the fourth day before the nones of August, being the fifth day of the week, in the eighth year of the indiction. The body was carried to Winchester, and buried at the old monastery there, in the church of Saint Peter. And not undeservedly did this befall him, for, as popular rumour affirmed, this was undoubtedly the great might of God and his vengeance. For, in ancient times, that is to say, in the days of king Edward and the other kings of England, his predecessors, that same district flourished most abundantly in inhabitants, and worshippers of God, and churches, but, by the command of king William the Elder, the people being driven away, the houses half destroyed, and the churches pulled down, the land was rendered fit only for the habitation of wild beasts; and this, according to general belief, was the cause of the mishap; for it was the fact that, some time before, Richard, the brother of this same king William the Younger, lost his life in the same forest; and a short time previously, his cousin Richard, son of Robert duke of Normandy, while hunting there, was pierced by an arrow discharged by one of his knights, of which wound he died. In the place, also, where the king fell, in former times a church had been built, but, as previously stated, in his father's time, it was levelled with the ground.

In the days of this king, as in part already mentioned, there were many portentous signs beheld in the sun, moon, and stars; the sea, also, frequently flowed beyond its usual limits on the shore, and swept away men and animals, towns, and a vast number of houses. In a village which is called Berkshire,[28] just before the king's death, blood flowed from a spring during a period of three weeks.[29] The devil, also, showed himself frequently, in a frightful shape, to many Normans in the woods, and made many communications to them respecting the king and Ranulph and some other persons. Nor is this to be wondered at, for in their time almost all equity on part of the laws was silent, and all grounds for justice being suppressed, money alone held sway with the men in power. In fine, at this period, some persons paid more obedience to the royal wishes than to justice; so much so, that Ranulph, con-

[28] Some words are evidently omitted in the text. William of Malmesbury says that this took place at the village of Finchampstead, in the county of Berks.

[29] William of Malmesbury says fifteen days.

trary to ecclesiastical law and the prescribed rules of his order (for he was a priest), first put up to sale abbacies, and then bishoprics, the holders of which were dead, having lately received the presentations from the king, to whom he paid yearly no small sum of money. The influence of this man became so extensive, and so greatly did his power increase in a short space of time, that the king appointed him judge and general manager of the whole kingdom.

Having secured this extent of power, in every quarter throughout England he mulcted some of the richest and most wealthy by taking from them their property and lands. The poorer classes he unceasingly oppressed by heavy and unjust taxes, and, in many ways, both before he received his bishopric and after, persecuted both great and small in common, and ceased not to do so up to the period of the king's death. For on the very day on which the king met with his death, he held in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury and the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury.

HENRY THE FIRST.

King William reigned fourteen years all but twenty-eight days, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Henry. Shortly after, on the nones of August, he was consecrated king at Westminster, by Maurice, the bishop of London; and, on the day of his consecration, he set free the holy church of God, which had been sold and let to farm in his brother's time; he did away with all bad customs and iniquitous exactions by which the kingdom of England was unrighteously oppressed; he also established unbroken peace in his kingdom, and commanded that it should be maintained. To all in common he restored the laws of king Edward, together with those amendments to them which his father had made: but the forests, which he had made and held, he retained in his own hands.

Not long after this, on the seventh day before the ides of September, he placed Ranulph, the bishop of Durham, in confinement in the Tower of London, and recalled Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, from Gaul.

In the meantime, Robert, earl of Flanders, and Eustace, earl of Boulogne, returned home first, and after them Robert, duke of

Normandy, with the wife whom he had married in Sicily. Shortly after this, Henry, king of the English, assembled the elders of England[30] at London, and took to wife Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, king of the Scots, and of queen Margaret, and sister of the kings Edgar, Alexander, and David; on which she was consecrated queen, and crowned by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, on the Lord's day, being the day of the feast of Saint Martin.

Thomas, archbishop of York, a man whose memory was revered, and of exemplary piety, affable, and beloved by all, departed this life at York, on the Lord's day, being the fourteenth day before the calends of December, and was succeeded by Gerard, the bishop of Hereford.

In the year 1101, Louis, king of the Franks, visited the court of king Henry at London, at the time of the Nativity of our Lord. On the calends of February, Ranulph, the bishop of Durham, escaped from confinement, by means of extreme artfulness, and, crossing the sea, went to Robert, duke of Normandy, and persuaded him to make a hostile invasion of England. In addition to this, many of the powerful men in this country sent ambassadors to him, and begged him to come with all haste, offering him the crown and the kingdom. On the eighth day before the ides of June, the city of Gloucester, together with the principal monastery there and many others, was destroyed by fire.

In consequence of the above representations, Robert, duke of Normandy, having collected a vast number of knights, archers, and foot, assembled his ships at a place which, in the Norman language, is called Treport;[31] on learning which, king William gave orders to his sailors to watch the seas, that no one might approach the English territory from the country of Normandy, and, having collected an innumerable army throughout the whole of England, he himself pitched his camp not far from Hastings, in Sussex; for he considered it a matter of certainty that his brother would land in that neighbourhood.

But duke Robert, acting on the advice of bishop Ranulph, so wrought upon some of the king's sailors, by making them promises of different kinds, that, forsaking the fealty which they owed the king, they went over to him, and acted as his guides to England. All things, therefore, being in readi-

[30] The Witenagemote. [31] V. r. Ultreport.

ness, together with his army, he embarked, and, about the time of the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, landed at a place called Portesmudh,[32] and immediately moving on his army towards Winchester, encamped in a suitable spot. On learning his arrival, some of the chief men of England at once, as they had previously arranged, went over to him, while others, concealing their sentiments, remained with the king. But the bishops, the common soldiers, and the English, with resolute determination, sided with him, and were unanimously prepared to go forth to battle in his cause.

However, the more prudent men on both sides, having held a discreet conference among themselves, made peace between the brothers on the following terms:—that the king was to pay yearly to the duke three thousand marks of silver and restore gratuitously to all the ancient dignities in England which they had lost in consequence of their fidelity to the duke; and in like manner, the duke was to restore them to those, who, for the king's cause, had lost their dignities in Normandy, without any recompense. On these terms being made, the king's army returned home, and part of the duke's returned to Normandy, while part remained with him in England.

In this year, Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, son of Eustace the elder, earl of Boulogne, who had been previously the most powerful duke of Lorraine, departed this life, and rests entombed in the church of Golgotha. After his death, the Christians unanimously elected his brother, Baldwin, their king. At this period, Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, the son of earl Roger, commenced (with the view of opposing king Henry, as the event proved,) to repair with a broad and high wall the castle which Agelfleda, lady of the Mercians, in the reign of her brother Edward the Elder, had formerly built on the western side of the river Severn, at a place called Bridge;[33] he also began to build another in Wales, at a place which is called Carrocove.

In the year 1102, the above-named earl Robert de Belesme, who also at that time ruled over the earldom of Ponthieu, and was possessed of a considerable number of castles in Normandy, strongly fortified the city of Shrewsbury and the castle there, as also the castles of Arundel and of Titchil,[34] with

[32] Portsmouth. V. r. Moresmuth.
[33] Now Bridgenorth.
[34] Tickhill, in Yorkshire.

provisions, engines of war, arms, knights, and foot-soldiers, against king Henry. He also hastened, by every possible method, working day and night, to complete the walls and towers of the castles of Bridge and Carrocove; the Welch also, and his own men, he encouraged by gifts of honors, lands, horses, and arms, and by various other presents, to become more zealous and faithful to himself, and more ready to do what he wished.

These attempts, however, and his efforts were very soon stopped short. For his plots and intentions being, by means of certain information, discovered, the king pronounced him a public enemy. On this, at once assembling all the Welch and the Normans he possibly could at that moment, he and his brother Arnold laid waste part of the borough of Stafford, and carried away thence into Wales many beasts of burden and animals, together with some of the people. The king, however, without delay, laid siege first to his castle of Arundel, and, having erected castles around it, retired. He then ordered Robert, bishop of Lincoln, to lay siege to the castle of Tickill; while he himself, with an army levied throughout the whole of England, besieged the castle of Bridge, and ordered his people to construct engines of war and erect a castle there. In the meantime, by some trifling presents, he easily prevailed upon the Welch, in whom earl Robert placed great confidence, to disregard the oaths they had sworn to him, and entirely forsake him, and join in the attack against him. The consequence was, that, within thirty days, the city and all the castles were surrendered; and, having now subdued his enemy, Robert the king, ignominiously expelled him from England, and, shortly after, condemned his brother Arnold to a like fate, as a reward for his perfidious conduct.

After these events, king Henry being at London, with all the chief men of his kingdom, both ecclesiastics and those of the secular order, at Westminster he invested two of his clergy with bishoprics, appointing Roger, his chancellor, bishop of Salisbury, and Roger, his chief of the larder, bishop of Hereford. Here, also, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, held a great synod, upon matters relating to the Christian religion, the following prelates sitting there with him:—Gerard, archbishop of York, Maurice, bishop of London, William, bishop elect of Winchester, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Samson,

bishop of Worcester, Robert, bishop of Chester, John, bishop of Bath, Herbert, bishop of Norwich, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, and the two who had lately received investiture, Roger and the second Roger. Osborn,[35] bishop of Exeter, being kept away by his infirmities, was unable to take part in the synod. At this synod, many abbats of French extraction, and some English, were deposed and deprived of their dignities, which they had unrighteously acquired, or had led a disgraceful life while enjoying them; namely, Guido, abbat of Pershore, Aldwin, abbat of Ramsey, the abbat of Middleton, Bodric, abbat of Burgh, Richard, abbat of Ely, and Robert, abbat of Saint Edmund's.

The above-named Roger, bishop elect of Hereford, was attacked with a malady, at London, and died; upon which, the queen's chancellor, Reinelm by name, was, with a similar investiture, substituted in his place. Henry, the king of the English, this year, gave Mary, the sister of queen Matilda, in marriage to Eustace, earl of Boulogne.

In the year 1103, a great disagreement arose between king Henry and archbishop Anselm, because the archbishop would not consent to the king conferring the investiture of churches, nor hold communion with those to whom the king had previously presented churches, as the successor of the Apostles had forbidden him and all others to do so. For this reason, the king ordered Gerard, the archbishop of York, to consecrate the bishops on whom the king himself had conferred investiture;[37] namely, William Giffard, and Roger, who had been his chaplain,[38] and to whom he had lately given the bishopric of Salisbury. Accordingly, Gerard obeyed the king's command; but, in the cause of justice, William Giffard disregarded it, and rejected the benediction of archbishop Gerard. In consequence of this, by the king's sentence, he was stripped of everything, and banished from the kingdom; the others, however, remained unconsecrated.

Shortly before this, Reinelm had returned to the king the bishopric of Hereford, because he was sensible that he had offended God, in having received the investiture of a church from the hand of any layman. After this, at Easter, the king

[35] V. r. Osbert. [36] In Dorsetshire. [37] By the ring and crozier.
[38] He has previously said that he was the king's chancellor.

held his court at Winchester; where, after receiving many injuries and divers affronts which he put up with, archbishop Anselm, at the king's request, set out for Rome on the fifth day before the calends of May, as had been arranged between him and the king, having in his company William, the bishop elect of Winchester, and some abbats who had been deprived of their abbeys, namely, Richard, abbat of Ely, and Aldwin, abbat of Ramsey.

Robert, duke of Normandy, came over to England to confer with the king, his brother; and, before he left England, gave up to him the three thousand marks of silver which the king, according to treaty, was to pay him each year. In the province which is called Berkshire, at a place the name of which is Hamstede, blood was seen[39] by many to spring out of the earth.

In the same year, on the third day before the ides of August, there was a violent storm of wind, which did such great mischief to the fruits of the earth throughout England that those who were then living had never seen the like at any previous time.

In the year 1104, the venerable men, Walter, abbat of Evesham, and Serlo, abbat of Gloucester, departed this life; the former on the thirteenth day before the calends of February, the latter on the third day before the nones of March. At Pentecost, king Henry held his court at Westminster. In the same year, on the seventh day before the ides of June, being the third day of the week, four circles of a white color were seen around the sun, at about the sixth hour, one circle within another, just as though they had been painted there. All were astonished who saw this, as they had never before seen the like. In this year William, earl of Mortaigne, was deprived of all the lands he possessed in England. It is not easy to describe the misery which at this period the land of England endured, by reason of the king's exactions.

In consequence of the unbelief of certain abbats, in the pontificate of bishop Ranulph, the body of Saint Cuthbert the bishop was shown, and was, by Ralph, abbat of Seez,[41] after-

[39] This seems to be a repetition of the remarks mentioned under the year 1100, the name of the place being added. The Saxon Chronicle mentions it under this year; William of Malmesbury, as taking place in the reign of king William.

[41] A town in Normandy.

wards bishop of Rochester, and after that, archbishop of Canterbury, and the brethren of the church of Durham, by clear proofs, found uncorrupted, together with the head of Saint Oswald, the king and martyr, and the relics of Saint Bede, and many others of the Saints, in the presence of earl Alexander, the brother of Edgar, king of the Scots, and afterwards king. This disinterment took place four hundred and eighteen years five months and twelve days after his burial; being the sixth year of the reign of king Henry, and the sixth of the bishopric of Ranulph, and being from the beginning of the world, according to Bede and the Hebrew version, in the year five thousand three hundred and eight,[42] and according to the Seventy[43] interpreters, in the year six thousand three hundred and eight.

In the year 1105, Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea; and nearly all the chief men among the Normans, on his arrival, disregarding the duke, their liege lord, to whom they had sworn fealty, ran after the king's gold and silver, which he had brought from England, and delivered up to him the castles and fortified cities. He burned Bayeux, together with the church of Saint Mary there, and took Caen from his brother; after which, he returned to England, as he was unable to reduce the whole of Normandy to subjection, and in order that, supported by a large sum of money, he might return in the following year, and deprive his brother thereof, and render subject to himself the part that remained. However, William de Mortaigne, wherever he had the power, did injury to the king's property and men, on account of his own estates which he had lost in England.

In the year 1106, Robert, duke of Normandy, came to England, for the purpose of conferring with his brother, king Henry, whom he met at Northampton. On this occasion the duke begged him to restore the places he had taken from him in Normandy; with which request the king refusing to comply, the duke, being greatly enraged, crossed the sea to Normandy.

In the first week of Lent, on the evening of the calends of March, being the sixth day of the week, a star of unusual appearance became visible, and, during twenty-five days, in

[42] According to the computation now used, A.M. 5108.
[43] The Septuagint.

the same manner, and at the same hour, was seen to shine between the south and the west. It seemed itself to be of small size and dim, but the brightness which was produced by it was very brilliant, and a train of light, just like a large beam, darted from the east and north into the star. Some affirmed that, at this period, they had seen more stars of unusual appearance. On the day of our Lord's Supper were seen two moons, shortly before daybreak, one in the east, the other in the west, both of them full; the same day being the fourteenth day of the moon.

In this year there was a shocking quarrel between Henry, emperor of Germany, and his son Henry; so much so, that they met in battle, and the father was slain by the son, after having reigned fifty years; upon which he was succeeded by his son the above-named Henry. Before the month of August, Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea and went to Normandy, on which nearly all the chief men of the Normans made submission to him, with the exception of Robert de Belesme and William de Mortaigne, and a few others, who adhered to duke Robert. At the Assumption of Saint Mary, Henry, king of the English, came to Bec, where he and archbishop Anselm holding a conference, became reconciled; and not long after, by the command and request of the king, the said archbishop returned to England. After this, the king assembled his army, and proceeding to a certain castle of the earl of Mortaigne, which is called Tenchebrai, laid siege to it. In the meantime, while the king was thus engaged, his brother Robert came upon him with his army, on the vigil of Saint Michael,[44] and with him Robert de Belesme and William, earl of Mortaigne. A battle then taking place, king Henry gained the victory. On this occasion Robert, duke of Normandy, William, earl of Mortaigne, and Robert de Stuteville, with William Crispin and many others, were taken prisoners, while Robert de Belesme escaped by flight. In consequence of this success, king Henry subdued the whole of Normandy, and rendered it subject to his will, informing archbishop Anselm thereof by letter.

In the year 1108, Edgar, king of the Scots, departed this life, on the sixth day before the ides of January, and was succeeded by his brother Alexander. Normandy having now

[44] Michaelmas eve.

been reduced to subjection by the king, Robert, duke of Normandy, and William, earl of Mortaigne, being first sent over to England as prisoners, the king himself returned to his kingdom before Easter. On the calends of August there was a meeting held at London of all the bishops, abbats, and nobles of the kingdom; and, during three days, in the absence of archbishop Anselm, there was a full discussion held between the king and the bishops upon the investitures of churches. Some of them urged, that the king ought to make them after the example of his father and brother, and not according to the precepts of and in obedience to the successor of the Apostles. But pope Paschal, standing firm in the opinion which had been promulgated from the papal chair, had conceded everything [45] which pope Urban had forbidden to be received as investitures, and by these means had made the king agree in his view on the subject of investiture.

After this, in the presence of Anselm, a great multitude being present, the king asserted and decreed that, from that time forward, no person should ever be invested in a bishopric or abbey by the king, or by any lay hand, in England, by the gift of the pastoral staff or of the ring; while Anselm conceded, that no person elected to a prelacy should be refused consecration to the dignity so received by reason of the homage which he should perform to the king. Gerard, archbishop of

[45] This passage, which might seem somewhat obscure, is probably explained by the more full account given by Roger of Wendover of what passed when Anselm and the deposed abbats appeared before the pope. "Pope Paschal received Anselm kindly; and, on a day appointed, William de Warewast, clerk and proctor for the king of England, brought forward his cause, and, amongst other things, firmly asserted that he would never resign the investiture of churches, even if he were to lose his kingdom, and confirmed this assertion with words of threatening import. To this the pope replied, 'If, as you say, your king would not give up the donation of churches to save his kingdom, neither would I, to save my life let him keep it.' Thus the king's business terminated, and archbishop Anselm began to intercede with the pope for the degraded bishops and abbats, that he would give them a dispensation to recover their lost dignities. Then the Holy See, which is never wanting to any one, if anything of a white or red colour passes between the parties, manfully restored the aforesaid bishops and abbats to their former dignities, and sent them back with joy to their own habitations." The allusion to the white or red colour refers to the power of silver or gold at the papal court, which was then open to great corruption.

York, placing his hand in the hand of Anselm, as he himself desired, promised, upon his faith, that he would pay the same obedience and be in the same subjection to him and his successors in the archbishopric, as he had promised to him when about to be consecrated by him to the see of Hereford.

Walter Giffard, bishop elect of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, Reinelm of Hereford, William of Exeter, and Urban of Glamorgan, in Wales, came to Canterbury at the same time, and were consecrated together by Anselm, on the third day before the ides of August, being the Lord's day, the following suffragans of his province assisting him in his duties: Gerard, archbishop of York, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, John, bishop of Bath, Herbert, bishop of Norwich, Robert, bishop of Chester, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Ranulph, bishop of Durham. There was no one then living, who could remember in past times so many pastors being elected and consecrated at one time in England, except in the days of Edward the Elder, when archbishop Plegmund consecrated seven bishops to seven churches in one day.

In the same year, Maurice, bishop of London, Richard, abbat of Ely, Robert, abbat of Saint Edmund's, Milo Crispin, Robert Fitz-Haimon, Roger Bigot, and Richard de Rivers departed this life.

In the year 1108, Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, died on the nones of March. Henry, king of the English, for the purpose of protection, enacted a law that, if any one should be detected in the act of theft or larceny, he should be hanged. He also enacted that base and spurious coin should be guarded against with such strictness, that whosoever should be detected coining spurious money, should lose his eyes and the lower part of his body without any ransom; and, inasmuch as, very frequently, while pennies were being coined,[46] they were bent, or broken, and then rejected, he ordered that no penny or obol,[47] which he also ordered to be made of a round form, or even farthing, if it was a good one, should be rejected. From this provision much good resulted to the whole king-

[46] "Eligebantur" is the word used here, probably by mistake for "elidebantur," which may allude to the process of coining by hammering out.

[47] Probably a small silver coin of three carats in weight.

dom, because the king thus exerted himself in secular matters to retrieve the troubles of the land.

In this year, Gerard, archbishop of York, departed this life, in whose place was elected Thomas, the cousin of Thomas, his predecessor. Philip, king of the Franks, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Louis. Archbishop Anselm, at the king's request, consecrated Richard, the bishop of London elect, in his chapel at Paggaham, being assisted in the performance of this duty by William, bishop of Winchester, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and William, bishop of Exeter, having first received from him the usual profession of obedience and subjection. After this, coming to Canterbury on the third day before the ides of August, he consecrated Ralph, abbat of Seez, a religious man, bishop of Rochester, in succession to Gundulph, William, bishop of Winchester, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Richard, bishop of London, assisting him in the performance of that duty; which same Richard, after the custom of his predecessors, on the same day presented a handsome gift to his mother church of Canterbury.

These are the provisions relative to archdeacons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and secular clergy of whatever degree, which, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1108, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, archbishop elect of York, and all the other bishops of England, in the presence of the glorious king Henry, with the assent of his earls and barons, enacted:—"It is hereby decreed, that priests, deacons, and subdeacons, shall live in chastity, and shall have no women in their houses save only those who are connected with them by close relationship, according to the rule which the holy Synod of Nice has laid down. But those priests, deacons, and subdeacons who have, since the prohibition pronounced by the synod held in London, either retained their wives or married others, if they wish any longer to celebrate the mass, let them so entirely put them away from themselves as not to let them enter their houses; nor are they themselves to go into the houses of such women, or knowingly to meet them in any house; nor are any women of this description to live upon lands belonging to the church. But if for any proper reason it is necessary for either party to communicate with the other, having two lawful witnesses, let them converse

together outside of the house. And if, upon the testimony of two or three lawful witnesses, or by the public report of the people of the parish, any one of them shall be accused of having violated this enactment, he shall clear himself, if he is a priest, by bringing six proper witnesses of his own order; if a deacon, four; if a subdeacon, two. But as for him, who shall not thus clear himself, he shall be deemed to be a transgressor of this holy enactment. And as for those priests who, despising the divine altar and the holy canons, have preferred to live with women, let them be removed from the holy office, deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, and placed without the choir, being pronounced infamous; and he who, being a rebel and contumacious, shall not leave the woman, and shall presume to celebrate the mass, if, when called upon to make satisfaction, he shall neglect to do so, is to be excommunicated. The same sentence embraces the archdeacons and all the secular clergy, both as to leaving these women and avoiding cohabitation with them, and the severity of the punishment if they shall transgress these statutes. All archdeacons shall also swear that they will not receive money for tolerating the transgression of this enactment, nor suffer priests whom they know to be keeping women to chaunt the mass, or to have substitutes;[48] deans also shall swear to the same effect. The archdeacon, or deacon, or dean, who shall refuse to take oath to this effect, is to lose his archdeaconry or deanery. As to those priests, who, leaving the women, shall make choice to serve God and the holy altars, let them cease during forty days from the performance of their duties, and in the meantime employ substitutes in their places, such penance being imposed on them as to their bishops shall seem fit."

In the year 1109, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life at Canterbury, on the eleventh day before the calends of May, being the fourth day of the week, and on the following day, which was the Supper of the Lord, was buried with great honor. About the time of the Rogation Days, Henry, king of the English, returned to England, and at Pentecost held his court at Westminster; where Thomas, archbishop elect of York, was consecrated at London,[48*] on the fifth day before the calends of July, by Richard, bishop of

[48] "Vicaros." equivalent to "curates." [48*] Westminster is generally considered by these writers as forming part of London.

London, and afterwards on the calends of August, being Sunday, received, at York, from the hands of Cardinal Ulric, the pall which the pope had sent him, and on the same day consecrated Turgot, prior of Durham, to the bishopric of Saint Andrew's in Scotland, which is called Cenrimunt. In the same year, king Henry changed the abbacy of Ely into an episcopal see, and made Hervey, bishop of Bangor, bishop of that see. In the month of December a comet was seen, near the milky circle, making its way with its train towards the southern part of the heavens.

In the year 1110, Henry, king of the English, gave his daughter in marriage to Henry, king of Germany. In the same year, different prodigies appeared throughout England. A very great earthquake took place at Shrewsbury. The river at Nottingham, which is called the Trent, was dried up for the space of a mile from morning until the third hour of the day, so much so, that men walked with dry feet upon its bed. On the sixth day before the ides of July, a comet appeared, and was seen to shine for a period of three weeks.

In the year 1111, Henry, king of Germany, came to Rome, and taking pope Paschal prisoner, placed him in confinement, but shortly after, when they were celebrating the festival of Easter on the Campus Martius at the bridge on the Salarian road,[49] was reconciled to him. In this year died Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and was succeeded by his son Baldwin. Henry, king of the English, removed the people of Flanders who inhabited Northumbria, with all their chattels into Wales, and gave them orders to colonize the district which bears the name of Ros.[50]

The new monastery which had been built within the walls of Winchester, through the influence of William, bishop of Winchester the king ordered to be rebuilt without the walls, and shortly after crossed the sea.

In the same year there was a most severe winter, a dreadful famine, a plague among men, and a murrain among animals, both wild and domestic; there was also a very great mortality among birds.

[49] A road near Rome, so called from having been used by the Sabines, when fetching salt from the sea.

[50] The town of Denbigh. Henry either feared that these Flemings would coalesce against him with the Scots, or placed them there for the purpose of acting as a check upon the Welch.

In the year 1112, on the third day before the nones of May, being Sunday, Samson, the twenty-fifth bishop[51] of Worcester, departed this life. In October, Henry, king of the English, placed earl Robert de Belesme in confinement at Cherburg.

In the year 1113, the city of Worcester was, on the calends of July, destroyed by fire, with the principal church and all the others, and the castle. One of the monks, a person of the greatest utility to the monastery, together with two servants and fifteen citizens, perished in the flames. In the month of July, Henry, king of the English, returned to England, and bringing with him earl Robert de Belesme from Normandy, placed him in close custody at Wareham. On the fourth day before the nones of October, two men of exemplary virtue departed this life; Thomas, the prior, and Coleman, a monk, of the venerable church of Saint Mary at Worcester, men of noble extraction. On the fifth day before the calends of January, being the Lord's day, Teulph, the king's chaplain, received the bishopric of Worcester at Windsor.

In the year 1114, on the eighth day before the ides of January, Matilda, daughter of Henry, king of the English, was married to Henry, the emperor of the Romans, at Mentz, and consecrated empress. On the sixth day before the calends of March, being the third day of the week, Thomas the Younger, archbishop of York, departed this life. When he was first taken ill, his medical men told him that he could not recover, except by means of carnal knowledge of a woman; on which he made answer, "Shame upon a malady which requires sensuality for its cure!" and being thus chosen by the Lord while of virgin purity closed his temporal life. On the sixth day before the calends of May, being the Lord's day, Ralph, bishop of Rochester, was elected at Windsor archbishop of Canterbury. On the third day before the nones of May, being the third day of the week, the city of Chichester, together with the principal monastery, was, through culpable carelessness, destroyed by fire.

On the day of the Assumption of Saint Mary, Turstin, the king's chaplain, was, at Winchester, elected to the archbishopric of York, and Arnulph, abbat of Burgh, was chosen bishop of Hereford. Henry, king of the English, after leading an army into Wales, before the feast of Saint Michael crossed the

[51] He is by mistake called "Archiepiscopus," "archbishop."

sea. In this year, the river which bears the name of Medway, for a distance of some miles, receded so far from its bed, on the sixth day before the ides of October, that in the very middle of it not even the smallest vessel could make the slightest way. On the same day, the river Thames was also sensible of a similar decrease; for between the bridge and the royal tower,[52] and even under the bridge, so greatly was the water of the river diminished, that an innumerable multitude of men and boys forded it on foot, the water scarcely reaching to their knees. This ebb of the tide continued from the middle of the preceding night until dark on the following night. We have heard also on good authority that on the same day a similar low tide happened at Girvemuthe[53] and other places throughout England.

In the year 1115, there was a most severe winter, so much so, that nearly all the bridges throughout England were broken by the ice. The emperor Henry, after besieging the city of Cologne and losing many of his men in a pitched battle, made peace, which he ratified by oath at the city of Neuss.[54] On the fifth day before the calends of July, being the Lord's day, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, received the pall from Anselm,[55] the legate of the holy Roman Church, at Canterbury, and on the same day was consecrated with great honor; at which place, also, were assembled the bishops of the whole of England. Teulph, bishop of Worcester, departed this life, and was succeeded by Wilfrid, bishop of Saint David's, in Wales; up to this time, the bishops of that see had been Welchmen, but he was succeeded by Barnard, the queen's chancellor. On the octave of the Apostles Saint Peter and Paul, a great council was held at Chalons, by Conon, a cardinal of the Roman church, at which he excommunicated those bishops who were not present at the council, and degraded some; some abbats also he deprived of their staffs and removed from their offices, forbidding them the performance of ecclesiastical duties.

In the month of July, Henry, king of the English, returned to England. Turgot, formerly prior of the church of Durham,

[52] The Tower of London.

[53] He probably means the vicinity of Jarrow; in allusion to the large inlet of shoaly water, now called Jarrow Slake.

[54] A town or city of Germany, not far from Cologne.

[55] He was nephew to archbishop Anselm, then lately deceased.

and afterwards bishop of the Scots,[55] having returned to Durham, there departed this life. About the period of the feast of All Saints, Reinelm, bishop of Hereford, died, and was succeeded by Gosfrid, the king's chaplain. On the day of Saint Stephen the Martyr, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, ordained at that place Arnulph, abbat of Burgh, bishop of Rochester, and Gosfrid, the king's chaplain, bishop of Hereford.

In the year 1116, during the spring, Griffin, the son of Rees,[56*] carried off considerable booty into Wales, and burned some castles, in consequence of which, Henry, king of England, was unwilling to allow him to possess a particle of the lands of his father. On the fourteenth day before the calends of April, the earls and barons of the whole of England met at Salisbury. Here a trial took place relative to a dispute which had continued during a whole year, between Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and Turstin, archbishop elect of York. The latter, on being requested by the archbishop to do what was his duty to the church of Canterbury, and after the ecclesiastical usage, receive his benediction, made answer that he would willingly receive the benediction, but would on no account make the profession[58] which he required. On this, king Henry, perceiving that Turstin persisted in his obstinacy, openly protested that he must act after the manner of his predecessors, both as to making the profession, as also in other matters pertaining to the dignity of the church of Canterbury of ancient right, or else give up the archbishopric of York altogether, as well as the benediction; on hearing which, without previous consideration, Turstin renounced the archbishopric, and promised the king and the archbishop that he would not claim it again as long as he lived, nor would make any charge relative thereto, whoever might be substituted in his place.

At this time, Owen, king of the Welch, was slain. Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea, attended by Turstin, the archbishop elect of York, who hoped to obtain re-instalment into the see, and by the king's command receive the benediction from the archbishop, without the profession being exacted of him. The above-named Anselm, the legate of the Roman church who had brought the pall from Rome to the archbishop of Canterbury, returned from Rome about the month

[55] Of Saint Andrews. [56*] In Welch, Griffin ap Rice. [58] Of subjection to the see of Canterbury.

of August, and came to Normandy to king Henry, bringing letters from the successor of the Apostles, which directed him to act in England on behalf of the Apostolic see. This being soon spread abroad throughout the whole of England, by the advice of the queen and some of the nobles, Ralph, the archbishop of Canterbury, after the nativity of Saint Mary, crossed the sea, and went to the king whom he found staying at Rouen, and after having carefully conferred with him on the business on which he had come, taking each matter in its proper order, by the king's advice set out on his way to Rome.

In the year 1117, by the command of king Henry, the new works at Cirencester were begun. In Lombardy, a great earthquake took place, and, according to the testimony of those who knew the fact, lasted for a period of forty days, during which time many buildings fell to the ground; and, a thing marvellous to be seen and spoken of, a certain town, of very considerable magnitude, was suddenly moved from its original site, and is at the present day to be seen by all at a place far distant. While some men of patrician rank at Milan were discoursing on matters of state, sitting beneath a certain tower, a voice from outside resounded in the ears of all, calling one of them by name, and begging him to come out immediately; on his delaying, a person appeared, and with entreaties, begged the man who had been called, to come forth; on doing which, the tower was suddenly overthrown, and in its dreadful fall buried all who were there.

On the calends of December, there was great thunder and lightning, which was followed by a vast deluge of rain and hail; on the third day before the ides of the same month, the moon appeared at first of the colour of blood, after which it became overshadowed. Robert, bishop of Chester, died.

In the year 1118, pope Paschal of holy memory departed this life, on the fourteenth day before the calends of February; and in his place was appointed one John, a native of Gaeta, who, changing his name, was called Gelasius. From his infancy he had been brought up as a monk, at the monastery of Monte Casino, and after he had grown up had assiduously fulfilled the duties of chancellor, during the ministration of the venerable successors of the Apostles, Desiderius, Urban, and Paschal.

Henry, king of Germany, who was also emperor of Rome,

on hearing that the pope was dead, flew to Rome, and nominated the bishop of Braga, who had been excommunicated at Beneventum by the same pope the previous year, to be pope, changing his name from Bourdin to Gregory; on which Gelasius retired from the city. On the day before the calends of May, Matilda, queen of the English, departed this life at Westminster, and was becomingly buried at the monastery there. At this period, many of the Normans, forsaking the fealty which they had sworn to king Henry, and having no fear of retribution, betook themselves to Louis, king of the Franks and his principal men, who were the enemies of their natural lord. In this year died Robert, earl of Mellent.

The above-named pope Gelasius came by sea to Burgundy, and his arrival soon became known throughout Gaul. On the seventeenth day before the calends of February, he sent a letter throughout Gaul to the archbishops, bishops, abbats, secular clergy, and principal men, complaining that he had been expelled with violence by the emperor from Rome, and that the bishop of Braga, an excommunicated person, had been thrust into the Apostolic See; at the same time, exhorting them to prepare themselves by their assistance in common to avenge the cause of the mother Church. These letters having been circulated throughout the provinces, all the men of influence were aroused, together with the middle classes, to go to meet the successor of the Apostles, and prepared with every possible effort to be present at the council, which he declared he would hold at Rheims at the time of Mid-Lent.

In this year, a certain church having been dedicated at a town in England, called Momerfield, by Geoffrey, bishop of Hereford, as the people were returning home who had attended the dedication, after the serenity of the weather which had previously prevailed, on a sudden a most violent tempest arose, attended with thunder; some persons were struck with lightning and perished, while unable to get away from a place in which they had taken shelter. They were five in number, namely, three men and two women, one of which last was struck by a thunderbolt and killed, while the other woman was shockingly smitten from the navel down to the soles of her feet, and perished, enveloped in flames; the men alone with difficulty escaped with their lives, while their five horses were destroyed by the lightning.

In the year 1119, pope Gelasius died at Clugny, and was buried there; and in his place the cardinals and other Romans who had followed him, elected Guido, archbishop of Vienna, and gave him the name of Calixtus. While these transactions were going on in Burgundy, the Apostolate of the Roman Church was administered by the above-named Gregory. In consequence of the elevation of these two to the papacy, the world was shaken and divided into two factions, some giving their adhesion to the one, and some to the other; by reason whereof, the church was stricken with great scandal. On the fourth day before the nones of February, Geoffrey, bishop of Hereford, and, on the tenth day before the calends of September, Herbert, bishop of Norwich, departed this life. On the fourth day before the calends of October, being the Lord's day, at about the third hour of the day, a great earthquake took place at many places throughout England.

On the thirteenth day before the calends of November, pope Calixtus held a general council at Rheims; at this council there was a vast concourse of archbishops, bishops, abbats, and chief men of the various provinces, together with an immense multitude of the clergy and common people. There were counted there four hundred and twenty-four staffs of persons with pastoral honors; among whom was Turstin, the archbishop elect of York, who having with difficulty obtained the king's permission, had come thither in reference to his own business. But the king had previously sent his ambassador to the successor of the Apostles, for the purpose of telling him, among other things, not to consecrate the archbishop elect of York, or command or allow him to be consecrated by any other person than the archbishop of Canterbury, as used to be the custom. In answer to which, the successor of the Apostles replied: "Let not the king imagine that I would act in relation to the matter upon which he treats in any other way than he wishes, even though his request should be an unreasonable one: nor, indeed, has my inclination ever led me to wish to debase the ancient dignity of the church of Canterbury."

Moreover, on the morning of the Lord's day preceding the day of the appointed council, Turstin, having made preparations for his consecration to the archbishopric, the deputies of the archbishop of Canterbury charged that his

consecration ought to be performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, according as the ancient usage and that observed up to the present time required; in answer to which, the successor of the Apostles replied: "It is our wish to do no injustice to the church of Canterbury, but maintaining its dignity, we will do that which we purpose." Nevertheless, Turstin was consecrated by the successor of the Apostles, Ranulph, the bishop of Durham, who had been sent by the king to prevent his consecration, not having yet arrived; he, however, arrived some time after.

On the following day the council was held, and all persons taking their seats in the order of their ecclesiastical rank, and Louis, king of the Franks, and many other men of the highest station being there seated, by the consent of all the fathers, the statutes of enactment and of prohibition[59] were renewed, of which these are the five heads. "The laws which, by the sanction of the holy fathers, have been established in relation to simoniacal sin, we do also, by the judgment of the Holy Ghost and the authority of the Apostolic See, confirm. If any one therefore, shall, either by himself or by any person suborned thereto, buy or sell any bishopric, abbacy, priory, archdeaconry, presbytery, provostship, prebend, altar, or any ecclesiastical benefices, dignities, ordinations, consecrations, dedications of churches, clerical tonsure, seat in the choir, or any ecclesiastical duties, let both seller and buyer be subject to the peril of losing their dignities, offices, and benefices; and, unless he shall repent, let him be pierced by the point of anathema, and in every way cut off from the church of God, which he has injured. The investiture of bishoprics, abbacies, or any ecclesiactical possessions whatsoever, we do utterly forbid to be performed by lay hands; whoever, therefore, of the laity shall henceforth presume to give investiture, let him be subject to the penalties of anathema: and further, let him who has received such investiture be utterly, without hope of recovery thereof, deprived of the honor with which he has been invested. The universal possessions of the churches we do decree to be unshaken and inviolate for everlasting. But if any one shall take them away, or seize them, or by tyrannical power withhold the same, let him be smitten everlastingly with anathema, according to that decree of Saint Symmachus, which

[59] "Statuta de statuendis, et rescidenda de rescidendis."

begins, 'Let no bishop, no priest, no member of the clergy whatsoever, part with ecclesiastical dignities or benefices to any one, as though of hereditary right.' This, also, we do enjoin in addition thereto, that no payment shall be demanded for receiving baptism, chrism, holy oil, and burial. To priests, deacons, and subdeacons, we do utterly forbid the society of wives and concubines. And if any persons of this character shall be found, let them be deprived both of their ecclesiastical offices and benefices; and if they do not even then correct their uncleanness, let them be deprived of all communion with Christians."[60]

These decrees were sent to the emperor Henry, as he was not far distant, first from the council by persons of rank, and then by the successor of the Apostles himself, in order that, before the breaking up of the council, it might be ascertained whether, in the churches throughout his kingdom and each province subject to him, he would consent to canonical elections, that is to say, bishops and abbats being chosen by the church; and whether, to free consecrations, as is the case where those who are elected are consecrated where and by whom it is befitting;[61] and whether he would also consent that no lay person whatsoever should claim a right to the investiture in ecclesiastical matters, so that those elected might, through investiture with the pastoral staff and ring, enter through the door, that is, through Christ.

To these requests he made answer, that he would give up none of these particulars that belonged to him of right, and which the ancient customs of his ancestors had conferred upon him. At length, however, being prevailed upon by the authority of the general council, he conceded the first three points; but the last, namely, the right of investiture in ecclesiastical matters, he would not concede; in consequence of which, on the pope returning to the council, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him. Some who were present at the council being indignant at this, the successor of the Apostles gave his commands that those who were offended thereat, should go forth and separate themselves from the society of their brethren, quoting the example of those seventy who, being offended as to eating the flesh of our Lord and

[60] Under the penalties of anathema.

[61] According to the rules of the church.

drinking his blood,[62] returned home, and no longer walked with him; and "inasmuch as," he said, "he who gathereth not with the Lord, scattereth; and he who is not with him, is against him, and that tunic which is not sewn together but woven, namely, the Holy Church, those who think with us are unwilling to have rent asunder, while those who differ from us are striving to rend it asunder." The successor of the Apostles having spoken to this effect, forthwith all were brought round to the same opinion, and sentence of excommunication was fulminated against the emperor Henry.

At length, some days after the council had broken up, Henry, king of the English, being offended at archbishop Turstin, because he had caused himself to be consecrated without his consent, and not in the way that ancient usage required, forbade him to return to any place in his dominions. After this, pope Calixtus came to Gisors, where the king of the English came to meet him, for the purpose of holding a conference. Many things were treated of between them, on account of which it was right that such great personages should meet; and, among the rest, the king obtained the pope's consent that he would grant him all the liberties his father had possessed in England and Normandy, and especially that he would allow no one to fill the office of legate at any time in England, unless he himself (on any important difference arising which could not be put an end to by the bishops of his kingdom) requested this to be done by the pope. All these points being settled for the present, the pope requested the king to become reconciled to Turstin, and in consideration of his love towards himself, his restoration to the archbishopric to which he himself had consecrated him. But the king confessed that he had vowed upon his faith that he would not do so, as long as he lived; to which the pope made reply: "I am the successor of the Apostles, and, if you do what I ask, will release you from the stringency of this oath." "I will discuss the matter," said the king, "and notify to you the result of my determination." Upon this, the pope withdrew, and the king, by messengers, gave him this answer upon the subject: "I will admit Turstin to the archbishopric upon condition, that he pay that obedience to the church of Canterbury which his predecessors did, otherwise, so long as I reign,

[62] In allusion to St. John, vi. 66.

he shall not preside over the see of York." Matters being thus concluded, the successor of the Apostles took his departure, and Turstin remained in France.

William, the son of king Henry and queen Matilda, a youth seventeen years of age, this year took to wife the daughter of the earl of Anjou. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, died of the effects of a wound which he had received at Eu.

In the year 1120, Henry, king of the English, and Louis, king of the Franks, after many losses on both sides, on a day appointed, held a conference; at which, peace having been made by mutual consent, by the command of king Henry, his son, William, did homage to the king of the Franks, and received under him the principality of Normandy; and thus, the kings departing in peace, the whole of the seditions which had raged throughout Normandy were suppressed, and those who had raised their arms against their lord, king Henry, having bowed their necks to his dominion, returned to obedience. And, inasmuch as archbishop Turstin had shown himself both vigilant and active in effecting a reconciliation between the kings, in consequence of his usefulness, he rendered the king's feelings more inclined to sanction his return. In addition to this, as the king was preparing to return to England, a letter came directed to him from the successor of the Apostles, enjoining him to receive archbishop Turstin, and, all other pretexts and excuses set aside, to restore him to his see. But in reply to this precept, the king deferred until his return to England what answer to give, in order that, having assembled his council there, he might consider with more mature deliberation what was to be done.

By the king's command, the chief men of Normandy did homage to his son William, a youth then just eighteen years of age; they also swore fealty to him, confirming it by oath. After this, all who had rebelled against him being either conquered or reconciled, and every thing prosperously concluded according to his wish, the fifth year after he had gone thither being not yet completed, the king returned to England by ship in better spirits than usual. To his son and all his retinue he had given a ship, a better one than which there did not seem to be in all the fleet, but as the event proved, there was not one more unfortunate; for while his father preceded him, the son followed somewhat more tardily, but with a still more unhappy

result. For the ship, when not far from land, while in full sail, was driven upon the rocks which are called Chaterase, and being wrecked, the king's son, with all who were with him, perished on the sixth day before the calends of December, being the fifth day of the week, at nightfall, near Barbeflet.[63] In the morning, the king's treasures which were on board the ship, were found on the sands, but none of the bodies of those lost.

There perished with the king's son, his illegitimate brother, earl Richard, together with the king's daughter,[64] the wife of Rotrou; Richard, earl of Chester, with his wife, the king's niece, and sister of earl Tedbald, the king's nephew. There also perished Othoel, the governor of the king's son, Geoffrey Riddell, Robert Maldint,[65] William Bigot, and many other men of rank; also several noble women with no small number of the king's children; besides one hundred and forty soldiers, with fifty sailors and three pilots. A certain butcher was the only person who made his escape, by clinging to a plank of the wrecked vessel. The king having had a fair voyage, on reaching England, thought that his son had entered some other port; but on the third day he was afflicted with the sad tidings of his death, and at first, from the suddenness of the calamity, fainted away, as though a person of weak mind; but afterwards, concealing his grief, in contempt of fortune he resumed his kingly spirits For this son being the only one left him by lawful wedlock, he had named him heir to the kingdom in succession to himself.

In the year 1121, at the Purification of Saint Mary, having assembled the council of the whole of England at Windsor, Henry, king of the English, took in marriage Adeline, the daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine. Richard, the king's chaplain, was elected bishop of Hereford, and Robert Peche,[66] another royal chaplain, bishop of Coventry. Herbert, almoner of Saint Peter's at Westminster, was chosen abbat of that place. Edwin, a monk of the church of Canterbury, having been elected in the preceding year bishop of Saint Andrew's in Scotland, gave up his intention of ruling that see and re-

[63] Harfleur.

[64] Mary, the wife of Rotrou, earl of Perche.

[65] A misprint for Mauduit.

[66] V. r. Peccator—in English, "sinner;" a curious name for a king's chaplain.

turned to his former place. William Deschapelles, bishop of Chalons, departed this life on the fifteenth day before the calends of February, having assumed the monastic habit eight days before his death.

There came a letter from pope Calixtus, relative to Turstin, directed to king Henry and Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, in which he interdicted the latter from all sacerdotal and episcopal duties; and both in the mother church of Canterbury, and in the principal church at York, together with its provinces, forbade the celebration of all divine offices together with the burial of the dead, except the baptism of infants and the absolution of the dying,[67] unless within one month after the receipt of that letter, Turstin should be, without exacting the profession of obedience, restored to his archbishopric.

In the same year, after Easter, pope Calixtus departed from the city with a large body of men, and besieged the city of Sutri, until he took both Bourdin the anti-pope and the place itself, as the subjoined letter will more plainly show.

"Calixtus the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved brethren and sons, the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and others, both clergy and laity, the faithful servants of Saint Peter throughout the Gauls, health, and the apostolic benediction. Because the people have forsaken the law of the Lord, and walk not in his judgments, the Lord visits their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes. But retaining the bowels of paternal affection, those who put trust in his mercy he does not repel; though for a long time, their sins so requiring, the faithful of the church have been disturbed by Bourdin, that idol of the king of Germany; some indeed have been taken captives, and others through starvation in prison have been afflicted unto death. Lately, however, after celebrating the feast of Easter, when we could no longer passively endure the complaints of the pilgrims and of the poor, we left the city with the faithful servants of the church, and laid siege to Sutri, until the Divine power delivered the before-named Bourdin, the enemy of the church, who had there made a nest for the devil, as well as the place itself, entirely into our hands. We beg your brotherly love therefore, with us to return thanks to the King of kings for benefits so great, and

[67] The original is "pœnitentias morientium;" in allusion to the administration of the "viaticum."

that you will remain most firmly in your obedience to the Catholic church, and in your duty to God, as you will receive from Almighty God, through His grace, the recompense for so doing, both here and hereafter. We beg also, that this our letter be sent from one to the other, all negligence laid aside. Done at Sutri, on the fifth day before the calends of May."

In this year, the daughter of Fulk, earl of Anjou, formerly the wife of William the son of king Henry, who had been drowned, was, at the request of her father, sent back by the king to her own country. The sons of the king of the Welch, on hearing of the death of Richard earl of Chester, burning two castles and slaying many men, laid waste, with great ravages, some places in that earldom. King Henry, being indignant at this, having levied an innumerable army throughout all England, marched for the purpose of ravaging Wales; but, on his arrival at Snawedun,[68] the king of the Welch was reconciled to the king, appeasing him by presents and hostages, and, shortly after, the army returned home. At this period, king Henry having, by digging, made a long trench from Torkesey as far as Lincoln, by turning into it the river Trent made a passage for shipping. Ranulph, bishop of Durham, also began a castle at Norham, on the banks of the river Tweed. On the vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, an unusual wind blew down not only houses, but even towers built of stone.

In the year 1122, king Henry was at Windsor during the festival of the Nativity, at Easter, at Northampton, and during Pentecost, at Windsor; whence he proceeded to London and Kent, and afterwards to Durham, in Northumbria. In the same year, died Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and John, bishop of Bath.

In the year 1123, during the festival of the Nativity, king Henry was at Dunstable, and thence proceeded to Berkhampstead. Here, a certain chancellor of the king, Ranulph by name, who had been afflicted with a malady for twenty years, but who had always gloried at court in his wickedness, being ready for all crimes, oppressing the innocent, and plundering the lands of many, while escorting the king to entertain him at his house, on coming to the top of a hill whence his castle could be seen, was so elated in spirits that he fell off

[68] The mountain of Snowdon.

his horse, and a monk galloped over him;[69] in consequence of which he was so crushed that he ended his life in a few days. The king went thence attended by Robert, bishop of Lincoln, on his road to Woodstock; where the bishop being attacked by a sudden malady, lost his speech, and, being carried to an inn, soon afterwards breathed forth his spirit.[70] This happened on the tenth day of the month of January.

In the year 1124, at the feast of the Purification, the king gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to William de Curbuil, prior of the canons of Chiche.[71] After this, at Easter, king Henry, when at Winchester, gave the bishopric of Lincoln to Alexander, the nephew of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, justiciary of all England; he also gave the bishopric of Bath to Godfrey, the queen's chancellor, and about Pentecost, crossed the sea; on which a dispute arising, the earl of Mellent revolted from him; whereupon the king laid siege to his castle, the name of which is Pontaudemer, and took it.

In the year 1125, great success smiled on the king; for William de Tankerville, the king's chamberlain, fighting a pitched battle with him, took the above-named earl of Mellent prisoner, together with Hugh de Montfort, his brother-in-law, and Hugh FitzGervaise, and delivered them to the king; on which he placed them in confinement. In the same year died Teulph, bishop of Worcester, and Ernulph, bishop of Rochester.

In the year 1126, king Henry remained during the whole of the year in Normandy, and there gave the bishopric of Worcester to Simon, the queen's clerk, and that of Chichester to Sefrid, abbat of Glastonbury. William, archbishop of

[69] The corresponding passage in Roger of Wendover's account is:—"A monk of St. Alban's, whose lands he had unjustly seized on, involuntarily galloped over him."

[70] This circumstance is mentioned more fully in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. "It fell out on a Wednesday, being the fourth day before the ides of January, that the king rode in his deer-park, and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was on one side of him, and Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, on the other: and they rode there talking. Then the bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the king, 'My lord king, I am dying;' and the king alighted from his horse and took him between his arms, and bade them bear him to his inn, and he soon lay there dead."

[71] St. Osythe, in Essex. Ingram says that this priory was re-built A.D. 1118, for canons of the Augustine order, and that there are considerable remains of it.

Canterbury, also gave the bishopric of Rochester to John, his archdeacon. At Easter, John of Crema, a Roman cardinal, came over to England, and, after visiting the bishoprics and abbeys, not without great presents, at the nativity of Saint Mary held a solemn synod at London, where a great mishap befell him.

For, having at the synod spoken in the severest terms relative to the wives of the clergy, saying that it was the greatest wickedness to arise from the side of a harlot to make the body of Christ, while he himself had that same day made the body of Christ, he was, after nightfall, surprised in the company of a harlot. The thing being thus notorious throughout London, could not be denied; and thus the great honor in which he was held everywhere previously, was turned into the greatest disgrace. He returned home, therefore, by the judgment of God, in confusion and disgrace.

In the same year died Henry, emperor of the Romans, son-in-law of Henry, king of the English. But by some it is alleged that the same emperor, being led by a feeling of penitence for having killed his own father, after having gone on a certain night, according to his usual custom, to the bed of the empress Matilda, the daughter of Henry king of the English, the lights being put out and the servants having withdrawn, retired barefoot and dressed in woollen garments, leaving behind the imperial vestments, his wife, and his kingdom, and was never after seen, nor was it discovered what became of him. On this, the empress, taking with her the uncorrupted hand of Saint James the Apostle, and the imperial crown, returned to king Henry, her father. After the decease or departure of the emperor Henry, Lothaire succeeded to the throne. Henry, king of the English, being greatly rejoiced at gaining the hand of Saint James the Apostle, founded the noble abbey of Reddinges,[72] and enriched it with many valuables, and placed in it the hand of Saint James the Apostle; the imperial crown he placed in his own treasury.

The moneyers throughout almost the whole of England were, by king's order, seized for having secretly debased the coin, and, their right hands being first cut off, were then deprived of their virility. In this year there was a great famine, and so great was the dearness of provisions, that no one in our time

[72] Reading.

has seen the like, for a horse-load of corn was sold at the price of six shillings. In this year, also, William, archbishop of Canterbury, Turstin, archbishop of York, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, went to Rome.

In the year 1127, during the Nativity, and Easter, and Pentecost, king Henry remained in Normandy, and, having made an honorable peace with the king of France, before the feast of Saint Michael this most victorious king returned to England, and brought with him his daughter the empress, the widow of so great a man, as previously mentioned. In this year, also, Robert, bishop of Chester, died.

In the year 1128, at the Nativity, king Henry held his court at Windsor, and proceeded thence to London. During Lent and Easter he was at Woodstock, where word was brought to him that Charles, earl of Flanders, his most beloved friend, had been, by the basest treachery, slain by his nobles in a church at Brige,[73] and that the king of France had given Flanders to William, the son of Robert Curthose, his nephew and enemy, who, being now firmly established, had punished all the traitors to Charles with many torments. Accordingly, the king, being disturbed at these matters, held a council at London at the time of the Rogation Days; and, in similar manner, did archbishop William do the same at Westminster, in the same city.

About Pentecost, the king sent his daughter to Normandy, to be married to Geoffrey, son of the earl of Anjou, and afterwards, in August, the king himself followed. Richard, bishop of London, departed this life, and the king gave the bishopric to Gilbert, a man most learned in all subjects. At this time, also, died Richard, bishop of Hereford.

In the year 1129, king Henry, having remained a whole year in Normandy, marched in a hostile manner into France, because the king of the Franks was supporting his nephew and enemy; and encamping for eight days at Epernon, as securely as though he had been in his own kingdom, he compelled king Louis not to give aid to the earl of Flanders. While here, on enquiring into the origin and career of the kingdom of the Franks, king Henry was answered by a certain learned man to the following effect:—

"Most powerful among kings, like most of the nations of

[73] Bruges.

Europe, the Franks derive their origin from the Trojans. For Antenor, flying with his people on the fall of Troy, built a city in the territories of Pannonia, called Sycambria. After the death of Antenor, they appointed as their leaders Turgot and Francion, from whom the Franks derive their name. On their death, these were succeeded by Marcomer, who was the father of Pharamond, the first king of the Franks; Pharamond begat Clodius Crinitus,[74] from whom the kings of France have the name of 'Criniti;' and Clodius was succeeded by Meroveus, his kinsman, from whom the kings of France received the name of Merovingians. Meroveus begat Childeric, and he begat Clodovius,[75] who was baptized by Saint Remigius. Clodovius begat Clotaire, who begat Chilperic, and he Clotaire the Second. Clotaire begat Dagobert, that most famous king, who begat Clodovius; by Saint Batilda, his queen, Clodovius begat three sons, namely, Clotaire, Childeric, and Theoderic. King Theoderic begat Childebert, and he Dagobert, who begat Theoderic, the father of Clotaire, the last of this line. In succession to him reigned Hilderic, who afterwards received the tonsure, and retired to a monastery, Pepin being made king. In another genealogical line, by the daughter of king Clotaire Ansbert begat Arnold, and Saint Arnold Arnulph, afterwards bishop of Metz. Saint Arnulph begat Anchises, and he Pepin, the mayor of the palace; Pepin begat Charles Martel, and he king Pepin. King Pepin was father of the emperor, Charles the Great,[76] who shone like a constellation among his predecessors and successors. Charles begat the emperor Louis, and he the emperor Charles the Bald, and he king Louis, the father of Charles the Simple. Charles the Simple begat Louis, and he Lothaire, who begat Louis, the last king of that line. After his death, the Franks set over themselves duke Hugh,[77] the son of the great duke Hugh. King Hugh was the father of Robert, a most pious king, which king Robert begat three sons, Hugh, a most beloved duke, and Henry, a most amiable king, and Robert, duke of Burgundy. King Henry was the father of king Philip, who, at the close of his life, became a

[74] It need hardly be remarked that this genealogy is for the most part fabulous. Supposing that the Trojan war took place about B.C. 1000, the learned informant of king Henry omits about fourteen hundred years.

[75] More generally called Clovis.

[76] Charlemagne.

[77] Hugh Capet.

monk, and of Hugh the Great, who, with the great army of Christians and many of the chieftains of Europe, laid siege to Jerusalem, and rescued it from the hands of the pagans. In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1129,[78] king Philip begat Louis, who reigns at the present time; and if he only followed in the footsteps of his ancestors, you would not be remaining so securely in his kingdom." After these things were said and done, king Henry returned to Normandy.

About this time, a certain duke, Theoderic by name, came from the parts of Germany to make certain claims upon Flanders, and having with him certain noblemen of that country; and this he did at the persuasion of king Henry. William, earl of Flanders, having collected an army and set his forces in battle array, marched against him, and a fierce battle ensued. By his invincible prowess, earl William made up for the deficiency of his forces, which were few in number. All his arms being stained with the blood of the enemy, he cleared the ranks of the foe with his sword like lightning, and, in consequence, his enemies being unable to bear the terrible might of his youthful arm, in utter dismay, took to flight. Thus did the earl gain a complete victory; but, while he was besieging a castle[79] of the enemy, and was on the morrow to receive its surrender, the foe being now almost annihilated, by the will of God, receiving a slight wound in the hand, he died in consequence thereof. This most noble youth, during his short life, earned endless glory, and, in his praise, a poet has said: "Mars has died on earth, the deities bewail a deity their equal."

This year, also, Hugh de Pains, master of the knights of the Temple at Jerusalem, came to England, and brought many with him from Jerusalem; among whom was Fulk, the brother of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, who was destined to be king. Ranulph Flambard, bishop of Durham, and William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, departed this life.

In the year 1130, Louis, king of the Franks, caused his son Philip to be made king; and king Henry, having made peace in all parts with France, Flanders, Normandy, Brittany, Maine, and Anjou, returned in high spirits to England. On the calends of August, he held a great council at London, on the

[78] Of course, this date is an error.

[79] That of Eu, against king Henry.

subject of prohibiting the priesthood from taking wives. There were present at this council William, archbishop of Canterbury, Turstin, archbishop of York, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, Gilbert, bishop of London, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, John, bishop of Rochester, Siffrid, bishop of Sussex,[80] Godfrey, bishop of Bath, Simon, bishop of Worcester, Everard, bishop of Norwich, Bernard, bishop of Saint David's, and Hervey, the first bishop of Ely. The bishops of Winchester, Durham, Chester, and Hereford were absent. These constituted at this period the pillars of the kingdom, and the rays of its sanctity. But, through the simplicity of archbishop William, the king deceived them; for they conceded to the king the right of administering justice on the question of the wives of priests; and were deemed imprudent for so doing, as afterwards proved to be the fact, when the matter turned out to their extreme disgrace; for the king received an endless amount of money from priests, and then relieved them from the penalties attendant on so doing. Then, but to no purpose, did the bishops repent of having made this concession, when, before the eyes of all nations, were made manifest the deception practised on the prelates, and the oppression of the king's subjects.

In the same year, misfortunes befell those whom Hugh de Pains, already mentioned, had taken with him to Jerusalem; for, by their sensuality, rapine, and various excesses, the inhabitants of that holy land had offended the Lord. But, as it has been written in the books of Moses and of Kings, their wickedness in those places did not long remain unpunished. For, on the vigil of Saint Nicholas, a multitude of the Christians were overcome by a small number of the pagans, whereas, previously to that, just the reverse used to happen. For, at the siege of Damascus, when a great part of the Christians had gone forth for the purpose of seeking for provisions, the pagans were astonished at the spectacle of a multitude of Christians, most valiant men, taking to flight like women, and, on pursuing them, slew almost countless numbers. But those who took refuge in the mountains, God himself pursued that same night with a tempest, accompanied with drifts of snow and cold to such a degree, that hardly any one escaped.

It also happened that, while the son of the king of the

[80] Bishop of Selsey.

Franks, who, as previously mentioned, had been graced with the crown of the kingdom, was sportively spurring on his horse, he was met by a pig, which, running against the legs of the horse while in full career, the new-made king fell off, and, breaking his neck, expired. Consider what a dreadful mishap, and how deserving of our astonishment! Behold the loftiness of his position, and by what trivial means it was annihilated!

In the year of the Word become flesh 1131, being the thirteenth year of his reign, king Henry passed the festival of the Nativity at Worcester, and Easter at Woodstock, where Geoffrey de Clinton was accused of treason against the king, and disgraced. During the Rogation Days, the king was at Canterbury, at the dedication of the new church there. At the feast of Saint Michael, the king went over to Normandy. In the same year, pope Honorius departed this life, on whose death a division arose; for two persons were elected to the papacy of Rome, Innocent and Anacletus.

In the year 1132, at Chartres, the king acknowledged Innocent as pope, and rejected Anacletus; for the Romans, dividing into two factions, had made choice of both of them. Innocent being violently expelled from the city by Anacletus, whose previous name was Peter de Leves, was, by the influence of king Henry, received throughout the whole of the Gauls. After this, king Henry returned to England, taking with him his daughter, whom, with the universal consent of the chief men of the whole of England, he afterwards restored to her husband, the earl of Anjou, who then demanded her. In this year died Hervey, bishop of Ely.

In the year 1133, the king passed the festival of the Nativity at Dunstable, and Easter at Woodstock. In the same year died Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, and was succeeded by Fulk, the brother of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou. This Fulk, king of Jerusalem, had by his wife, the daughter of the above-named king Baldwin, two sons, namely, Baldwin and Amauri. Baldwin succeeded his father, Fulk, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and died without issue. After his death, his brother Amauri succeeded him as king, and reigned eleven years; he was the father of Baldwin the Leper, who was afterwards king, and two daughters, namely, Sibyl and Milicent, of whom further mention will be made in the sequel.

In the year 1134, after Pentecost, Henry, king of England, gave the bishopric of Ely to Nigel, his treasurer, and that of Durham to Geoffrey, his chancellor; the king also created a new bishopric at Carlisle, and gave it to Adelulph, the prior of Saint Oswald. In the same year an eclipse of the sun took place on the fourth day before the nones of August, at about the sixth hour of the day, to such a degree, that the whole of the sun's disk appeared as though covered by a black shield. That same day, the king, although some opposed it, fearing danger, and tried to dissuade him from it, crossed the sea without accident.

In the year 1135, Gilbert, bishop of London, departed this life. King Henry remained in Normandy in consequence of the joy he felt on account of his grandsons, whom Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, had become father of by his daughter, and commanded the earls and barons of all his dominions to swear fealty to the empress Matilda, his daughter, and Henry, her youngest son, naming him king after himself. After this, king Henry frequently purposed to return to England, but his daughter, the empress, detained him in consequence of the various quarrels which, on many occasions, arose between the king and the earl of Anjou, being, in fact, caused by the artfulness of his daughter. By the excitement arising therefrom, the king was excited to anger and rancorous feelings, which by some was said to be the cause of a chill of his constitution, and afterwards of his death. For when the king had returned from hunting, at Saint Dennis, in the wood of Lions, he ate the flesh of some murenæ, or lampreys, a fish which he was always very fond of, and which always disagreed with him. But although the physician had forbidden him to eat of this fish, the king did not obey his wholesome advice, in conformity with the saying, "We always strive for what is prohibited, and desire what is denied."[81]

This food, therefore, was a source of most noxious humours, and a strong exciter of others of a kindred nature, and suddenly caused a deadly chill in his aged body, creating a great disorder thereby. Nature struggling against this, caused an acute fever, in its attempts to resist the attack resulting from this most noxious substance; but the disease gaining the ascendancy, this mighty king departed this life, after having reigned

[81] "Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata."

five years and three months, on the first day of December; relative to whom one of our writers says :—

"King Henry is dead! the glory once, now the grief of the world. The Deities lament the death of their fellow divinity: Mercury, his inferior in eloquence, Apollo, in strength of mind, Jupiter, in command, and Mars, in might; all bewail him. Janus, his inferior in caution, Alcides, in prowess, Pallas, in arms, Minerva, in arts; all bewail him. England, who, springing from her cradle, had shone exalted on high beneath the sceptre of this divinity, now sinks in shade. She, with her king, Normandy, with her duke, waxes faint; the one nurtured him as a child, the other lost him as a man."

This happened in the year from the arrival of the Britons in England, two thousand two hundred and sixty-five; from the arrival of the Normans, sixty-nine; from the beginning of the world, five thousand three hundred and seventeen;[82] in the year of grace, eleven hundred and thirty-five.

On the decease of the great king Henry, as is generally the case after death, the judgment of the people was freely pronounced upon him. Some asserted that he shone resplendent in three particulars; supreme wisdom, victory, and riches. In wisdom, because he was considered most profound in counsel, remarkable for foresight, and distinguished for eloquence. In victory, because, besides other exploits which he had successfully performed, according to the laws of warfare, he had overcome the king of the Franks. In riches, because in that respect he far outstripped his predecessors. Others again, animated by opposite feelings, charged him with three vices; excessive avarice, inasmuch as, while he was wealthy, in order that he might render all his relatives poor, greedily gaping for their riches, he laid hold of everything, with the hooks of informers, by means of taxes and exactions; cruelty, inasmuch as he put out the eyes of his kinsman, the earl of Moretuil, whom he had thrown into prison, (a horrid crime, which was not known until death had revealed the king's secrets); other instances were cited besides, which we will omit; and sensuality, because after the manner of king Solomon, he was continually a slave to his passion for the female sex.

[82] This is clearly wrong, both according to our present reckoning, and his own previous mode of calculation, which places the first year of the Christian era in the year from the beginning of the world 4204.

Such matters as these did the common people freely discuss. In the course of time, however, in consequence of the shocking events which were kindled through the frantic perfidies of the Normans, whatever Henry had done, either in a tyrannical manner, or as befitted a king, seemed most excellent, in comparison with doings still worse. For after this, without delay, Stephen, the younger brother of Theobald, earl of Blois, repaired thither, a man of great activity and boldness; and although he had taken the oath of fealty, in the English kingdom, to the empress and her son Henry, still, like a tempest, he rushed upon the crown of the kingdom of England. William, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been the first to take the oath, oh shame! consecrated him king; in consequence whereof, God pronounced the judgment against him which he had pronounced against the high priest, the smiter of Jeremiah,[82*] namely, that he should not live beyond that year. In like manner, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had been the second to take the before-mentioned oath, and had dictated it to the rest, gave him the crown and the support of his assistance; in consequence of which, by the just judgment of God, at a subsequent period, being taken prisoner by him whom he had created king, and consigned to torture, he met with a miserable end.

But why make any further remark? All who had taken the oath, both bishops as well as earls and chief men, gave in their adherence to Stephen and did homage to him. This was, indeed, a bad sign, that thus suddenly all England, without any delay or resistance, as though in the twinkling of an eye, became subject to him.

KING STEPHEN.

In the year of grace 1136, on Saint Stephen's day, king Stephen was crowned, and held his court at London. At his coronation, according to report, the "Pax Domini" [*Peace of the Lord*] was neither said at the mass, nor repeated before the people when this sacrament was performed.

As yet the body of king Henry remained unburied in Normandy; for he had died on the first day of December. His body was brought to Rouen, where his entrails, brains, and

[82*] Alluding to the fate of Pashur, son of Immer, the priest, who smote Jeremiah. Jer. xx. 2—6.

eyes were buried; but the remainder of his body being cut asunder with knives in every part, and then sprinkled with a quantity of salt, was wrapped up and sewed in bull's hides, to avoid the offensiveness of the smell, which being strong and continued, was overpowering to those who stood near it. In consequence of this, even the person who, in consideration of a large sum, had opened the head with a hatchet for the purpose of extracting the brain, which was in a most corrupt state, although he had wrapped up his own head in napkins, still met with his death therefrom, and had poor reason for rejoicing at his bargain. He was the last of the many slain by king Henry.

His attendants then conveyed the royal corpse to Caen, where, while it was lying in the church in which his father had been buried, it was steeped in a quantity of salt and wrapped up in numerous hides, still a black and disgusting liquid matter coming through the hides oozed forth therefrom, and being caught in vessels placed beneath the bier, was carried away by the servants fainting with disgust.

See, therefore, reader, whoever thou art, how the body of a most potent king, whose head had been decked with a crown, gold, and the choicest gems, with splendour almost divine, whose two hands had been radiant with sceptres, the rest of whose person had glittered all over with tissue of gold, whose mouth used to be supplied with food so exquisite and delicious, before whom all were wont to arise, whom all had dreaded, all congratulated, all admired——See, I say, to what that body was reduced; how horribly it was put out of sight, how shockingly thrust aside! Behold the result of human affairs, upon which the judgment ever depends, and learn to have a contempt for all that thus terminates, all that is thus reduced to annihilation.

At last, the remains of the royal corpse were brought to England, and were, in twelve days after, on his birth-day,[83] buried at the abbey of Reading, which the same king Henry had founded and enriched with many possessions. Thither, also, came king Stephen from his court, which, at the feast of the Nativity, he had been holding in London, to meet the body of his uncle; and with him, William, archbishop of Canter-

[83] "Natalis" here, is probably a misprint for "Natali." Roger of Wendover says that he was buried on his birth-day.

bury, and many bishops and nobles, and there they buried king Henry with the respect due to a man so great.

King Stephen proceeded thence to Oxford, where he repeated and confirmed the concessions which he had promised to make to God, the people, and the holy Church, on the day of his coronation, which were these: In the first place, he promised on oath that, on the death of bishops, he would never retain the sees in his own hand, but immediately consent to the election and invest them with bishops. Secondly, he promised on oath, that he would retain in his hand the woods of no clerk or layman, as king Henry had done, who had every year impleaded them, if they either took venison in their own woods, or rooted them up or thinned them to supply their own necessities: which kind of unjust impleading was carried to so annoying a length, that, if the supervisors set eye from a distance upon the wood of any person whom they deemed to be a moneyed man, they immediately obtained an injunction against waste thereon, whether it had suffered waste or not, in order that, by some means or other, they might be enabled to mulct him. In the third place, he promised on oath, that Danegelt, that is to say, two shillings on every hide of land, which his predecessors had been accustomed to receive yearly, he would give up for ever. These are the principal things which he promised on oath to God; there were others besides; but none of these promises did he keep.

In the meantime, while, at the close of the festival of the Nativity, king Stephen was staying at Oxford, he received tidings which informed him to this effect: "David, king of the Scots, on pretence that he was coming with peaceful intent for the purpose of visiting you, has come to Carlisle and Newcastle, and stealthily taken possession of them both;" to which king Stephen made answer; "What he has taken by stealth, I will recover by victory;" and thereupon, without delay, the king moved forward his army, which was so mighty, so valiant, and so numerous, that none in England could be remembered like it. However, king David met him in the neighbourhood of Durham, and, making a treaty with him, restored Newcastle, but retained Carlisle with the king's consent. David, however, did not do homage to king Stephen; because he had previously, as the first of the laity, promised

on oath to the empress, the daughter of king Henry and his own niece, to maintain her in possession of England after the death of king Henry. However, the son of king David, Henry by name, did homage to king Stephen; on which, the latter presented him with the borough which is called Huntingdon, by way of gift.

After this, the king returned at Lent, and held his court at London during the festival of Easter, amid such dazzling splendour, that there was never one in England more brilliant than it in its multitudes, magnificence, gold, silver, jewels, garments, and luxuries of every description.

At the time of the Rogation Days, the king was seized with a lethargy, and it was currently reported that he was dead. On hearing of this, Hugh Bigod secretly effected an entrance into Norwich castle, and would not restore it to any person except to the king himself on his repairing thither, and then very reluctantly. It was now that the frenzied conduct of the Normans, which has been previously mentioned, began to produce its effects in perjury and treason. The king, therefore, took Badington, the owner of which was one Robert, a traitor, who had rebelled against the king; after which, he laid siege to the city of Exeter, which Baldwin de Redwers[85] held against him; and being long detained there, and constructing many engines of war, consumed a large portion of his treasures in so doing. At length, however, the castle was surrendered to him, and the king, following the most pernicious advice, did not exercise vengeance upon the traitors. But if he had exercised it on this occasion, so many castles would not have afterwards held out against him. The king proceeded thence to the Isle of Wight, and took it from Baldwin de Redwers, previously mentioned, whom he banished from England.

The king, elated at these successes, went to hunt at Bramton, which is one mile distant from Huntingdon, and there he held pleas as to the forests of his nobles, that is to say, with reference to their woods and hunting, and thereby broke the vow and promise which he had made before God and the people.

In the year of grace 1137, being the second year of the reign of king Stephen, the king, at the season of Lent, crossed over into Normandy. Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and

[85] Or Rivers.

many nobles besides, crossed over with him; and there, the king, who was well versed in martial enterprises, enjoyed brilliant success in all his enterprises; thwarted the stratagems of the enemy, reduced the fortresses of the foe, and proved himself the most distinguished among the greatest of men. He made a treaty with the king of the Franks, and his son Eustace did homage to the king of the Franks, for Normandy, which is subject to the superior lordship of the Franks. This became known to the earl of Anjou, who was his most inveterate enemy, inasmuch as he had married the empress of Germany, the daughter of king Henry, who had received the oaths of Stephen with reference to England, and in consequence, the husband and wife demanded possession of England, but, in the end, consented to a treaty with king Stephen. For the earl saw that, at present, he could not possibly cope with the king's strength, both by reason of his great military renown, and the money, of which an abundance was still left from the treasures of the deceased king.

In the same year, Louis the Fat, king of the Franks, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Louis. These two years, in fact, were the most prosperous ones of king Stephen's reign; but the third, of which we shall now make mention, was of a doubtful and varied character, while the two succeeding ones were replete with loss and calamity.

In the year of grace 1138, being the third year of the reign of king Stephen, the king, immediately on his return to England, flew to Bedford, on the vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, and besieged it throughout the whole festival of the Nativity; and, indeed, it was the opinion of many that he incurred the displeasure of God, because the festival of festivals he paid little or no attention to. In the same year, Peter de Leves, the anti-pope, departed this life. Bedford having surrendered to king Stephen, he immediately moved his army onwards to Scotland.

For king David, having sworn fealty to the daughter of king Henry, as though under the veil of respect for his oath, by means of his troops, was perpetrating the most execrable deeds. Pregnant women they ripped asunder, and tore the offspring prematurely from the mother's womb, tossed children on the points of their lances, beheaded the priests upon the altars, and then placed the heads which they had cut off from the

crucifixes upon the bodies of the slain, and, by way of exchange, placed the heads of the slain upon the crucifixes. In consequence of this, wherever the Scots came, the places were filled with cruelty and horror, the shrieks of women, the outcries of aged men, the groans of the dying, and the desperation of the youthful.

On this, king Stephen aroused himself, and burned and ravaged the southern parts of king David's kingdom, while David himself did not dare to confront him. After Easter, however, the disgraceful fury of the traitors became greatly inflamed. For one of the rebels, Talbot by name, held Hereford, in Wales, against the king; to which, however, the king laid siege, and reduced it to submission. Earl Robert,[86] the illegitimate son of king Henry, held against him a most strongly fortified castle, the name of which was Bristowe,[87] and another called Slede.[88] William Lovel held the castle of Kari;[89] Paganel held the castle of Ludiow; William de Moun held the castle of Dunster;[90] Robert de Nichole[91] held the castle of Warcham; Eustace Fitz-John, a one-eyed vile traitor, held the castle of Malton; William Fitz-Allan held the castle of Salopesbury,[92] which last the king took by force of arms, and hanged some of those who were taken prisoners; on hearing of which, Walkelm, who held Dover castle, immediately surrendered it to the queen who was then besieging it.

While king Stephen was thus engaged in the southern parts of England, David, king of the Scots, led an innumerable army into England. By the advice and exhortation of Turstin, archbishop of York, the nobles of the north of England went out to meet him, with William, the illustrious earl of Albermarle, and planted the standard[93] or royal banner at Alverton,[94] on Cutune moor. As, in consequence of illness, the archbishop of York could not be present at the battle, he sent in his place Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys,[95] who, standing in the midst of the army, on an elevated spot, addressed them to the following effect:

[86] Of Gloucester. [87] Bristol. [88] Leeds.
[89] Castle Cary, in Somersetshire. [90] In Somersetshire.
[91] Roger of Wendover calls him Robert of Lincoln.
[92] Shrewsbury.
[93] Hence this is sometimes called the battle of the Standard.
[94] North Allerton. [95] Roger of Wendover says, Bishop of Durham.

"Most illustrious nobles of England, Normans by birth, (for when about to enter on the combat, it befits you to hold in remembrance your names and your birth), consider who you are, and against whom, and where it is, you are waging war; for then no one shall with impunity resist your prowess. Bold France, taught by experience, has quailed beneath your valour, fierce England, led captive, has submitted to you; rich Apulia, on having you for her masters, has flourished once again; Jerusalem so famed, and illustrious Antioch, have bowed themselves before you; and now Scotland, which of right is subject to you, attempts to show resistance, displaying a temerity not warranted by her arms, more fitted indeed for rioting than for battle. These are people, in fact, who have no knowledge of military matters, no skill in fighting, no moderation in ruling. There is no room then left for fear, but rather for shame, that those whom we have always sought on their own soil and overcome, reversing the usual order of things, have, like so many drunkards and madmen, come flocking into our country. This, however, I, a bishop, and the substitute for your archbishop, tell you, has been brought about by Divine Providence; in order that those who have in this country violated the temples of God, stained the altars with blood, slain his priests, spared neither children nor pregnant women, may on the same spot receive the condign punishment of their crimes; and this most just resolve of the Divine will, God will this day put in execution by means of your hands. Arouse your spirits then, ye civilized warriors, and, firmly relying on the valour of your country, nay, rather on the presence of God, arise against these most unrighteous foes. And let not their rashness move you, because so many insignia of your valour cause no alarm to them. They know not how to arm[96] themselves for battle; whereas you, during the time of peace, prepare yourselves for war, in order that in battle you may not experience the doubtful contingencies of warfare. Cover your heads then with the helmet, your breasts with the coat of mail, your legs with the greaves, and your bodies with the shield, that so the foeman may not find where to strike at you, on seeing you thus surrounded on every side with iron. Marching then against them thus, unarmed and wavering, why should we hesitate? On

[96] This is probably said in allusion to the absence of defensive armour, with the half-naked Scotch.

account of their numbers perhaps? But it is not so much the numbers of the many as the valour of the few that gains the battle. For a multitude unused to discipline is a hindrance to itself, when successful, in completing the victory, when routed, in taking to flight. Besides your forefathers, when but few in number, have many a time conquered multitudes; what then is the natural consequence of the glories of your ancestry, your constant exercises, your military discipline, but that though fewer in number, you should overcome multitudes? But now the enemy, advancing in disorder, warns me to close what I have to say, and rushing on with a straggling front, gives me great reason for gladness.—I therefore in the place of the archbishop of you who are this day about to avenge the sins committed against the house of the Lord, against the priests of the Lord, and against your king under the Lord's protection, whoever of you shall fall fighting, do absolve him from all punishment for sins, in the name of the Father, whose creatures they have so shamefully and horribly slain, of the Son, whose altars they have polluted, and of the Holy Ghost, whose inspired ones, in their frenzy, they have slaughtered." To this all the troops of the English answered "Amen, Amen;" and the mountains and hills re-echoed with their cries.

At the same instant, the Scots raised the shout of their country, and the cries of "Albany! Albany!" ascended to the heavens; but the shouts were soon drowned in the dreadful crash and the loud noise of the blows. When the ranks of the men of Lothian, who had obtained from the king of Scotland, though reluctantly on his part, the glory of striking the first blow, hurling their darts and presenting their lances of extraordinary length, bore down upon the ranks of the English knights encased in mail, striking as it were against a wall of iron, they found them impenetrable. But the archers of the English, mingling with the cavalry, poured their arrows like a cloud upon them, and pierced those who were not protected by armour. Meanwhile the whole of the Normans and the English, stood in one dense phalanx around the standard, perfectly immoveable. The chief commander of the men of Lothian fell slain, pierced by an arrow, on which the whole of his men took to flight. For the most high God was offended with them, and all their valour was destroyed even as a spider's web. On seeing this, the main body of the Scots, which

was fighting with the greatest valour in another part of the field, was alarmed and took to flight. Next, the king's troop, which king David had formed of several clans, as soon as it perceived this, began to drop off, at first; man by man, and afterwards in bodies, the king standing firm, and being at last left almost alone. The king's friends seeing this, forced him to mount his horse and take to flight; but Henry, his valiant son, not heeding what he saw being done by his men, but solely intent on glory and valour, while the rest were taking to flight, most bravely charged the enemy's line, and shook it by the wondrous vigour of his onset. For his troop was the only one mounted on horseback, and consisted of English and Normans, who formed a part of his father's household. His horsemen, however, were not able long to continue their attacks against soldiers on foot, cased in mail, and standing immoveable in close and dense ranks; but, with their lances broken and their horses wounded, were compelled to take to flight. Rumour says, that many thousands[98] of the Scots were slain on that field, besides those who, on being taken in the woods and standing corn, were put to death. Accordingly, the English and Normans happily gained the victory, and with a very small effusion of blood.

In this battle the commanders were the above-named Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys, the illustrious William, earl of Albemarle, of the blood royal, and famed for his military prowess, Walter Espec, a celebrated nobleman, William Piperel of Nottingham, and Gilbert de Lacy, whose brother was the only knight there slain.

On hearing of the result of this engagement, king Stephen and all who were with him gave hearty thanks to God. This battle was fought in the month of August. At the Advent of our Lord, Alberic, legate of the Roman church and bishop of Ostia, held a council at London, on which occasion, with the consent of king Stephen, Theobald, abbat of Bec, was made archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year of grace 1139, being the fourth year of the reign of king Stephen, after the Nativity, the said king took the castle of Slede[1] by siege; and afterwards proceeded to Scotland, where he laid waste the country on all sides with fire and sword, on which the king was obliged to make terms

[98] Roger of Wendover says, eleven thousand.

[1] Leeds.

with him. King Stephen thereupon returned to England, taking with him Henry, the son of the king of the Scots [as a hostage]. He then laid siege to Ludlow, where the same Henry, being dragged from his horse by an iron hook, was nearly taken prisoner, but the king himself valiantly rescued him from the enemy. After this, without accomplishing his object, he returned to Oxford, where a thing took place remarkable for its disgraceful character, and at variance with all civilized usage. For the king, after having received them in peace, violently arrested at his own court Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander,[1*] bishop of Lincoln, who, so far from refusing to settle matters with justice, had most earnestly entreated permission so to do.

Having thrown bishop Alexander into prison there, he took the bishop of Salisbury with him to his castle, called Devizes, a finer one than which there was not in all Europe. There he tortured him with the pangs of hunger, and tied a halter round the neck of his son,[2] who had been the king's chancellor, as though he were about to be hanged; and by such methods extorted from him the surrender of the castle, far from remembering the benefits which, at the beginning of his reign, beyond all others, he had conferred upon him: such, then, was the reward he bestowed on him for his devotedness. In a similar manner he gained possession of Syresburn,[2*] which was very little inferior to Devizes in magnificence. On obtaining the bishop's' treasures, by means of them he gained Constance, sister of Louis, king of the Franks, in marriage for his son Eustace. On retiring thence, the king took bishop Alexander, whom he had left in confinement at Oxford, with him to Newark, where that bishop had built a castle, near the river Trent, extremely well fortified and most amply supplied. On coming there, the king imposed on the bishop a fast not prescribed by the law,[3] and declared, on his oath, that he should be deprived of all food whatever until the castle was surrendered to him. In consequence of this, with considerable difficulty, by means of prayers and entreaties, the bishop prevailed on his own people to transfer

[1*] Some historians call him the nephew of the bishop of Salisbury, but he was suspected to be his son.

[2] This person, whose name was Roger, was said to be the son of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, by Maud of Ramsbury, his mistress.

[2*] Sherburne.

[3] The ecclesiastical law.

his castle from his own authority into the hands of strangers. In a similar manner, another castle of his was surrendered, called Slaford,[4] not inferior to the other either in appearance or excellence of situation.

Not long after, when Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, who was now legate of the Roman Church, was holding a council at Winchester, Theobald himself, the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the bishops who were with him, threw themselves at the king's feet, and begged with the most earnest supplications that he would restore their possessions to the above-mentioned bishops, and promised that they themselves would cordially forgive the king for all he had done against them. But the king, listening to the voice of persons evilly inclined, slighted the supplications of so many venerable men of such high station, and would not accede to their requests. In consequence of this conduct, the house of king Stephen was consigned to impending destruction.

For, immediately upon this, the daughter of king Henry, who had been empress of the Romans, and to whom the kingdom of England had been secured by oath, came to England; on which, king Stephen besieged her at Arundel, and, either through listening to perfidious counsels, or else seeing that the castle was impregnable, allowed her to go to Bristowe.[5]

In the same year, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, pined away, being wasted as much by grief as by old age, and ended his life. Let all, then, who read of this, be astounded at so great and so sudden a change of events. For, from his youth upwards, so many blessings had fallen to the lot of the man above-named, and, without interruption, had so wondrously accumulated upon him, that all said that, in his case, Fortune was forgetful of her fickle disposition. Nor did he suffer any adversity during the whole of his life, until at last so vast an accumulation of miseries, befalling him at the same moment, overwhelmed him. Let no one then feel confidence as to the long continuance of his happiness, let no one presume on the stability[6] of Fortune, let no one imagine that his seat can long be firm upon her revolving wheel!

In the year of grace 1140, being the fifth year of the reign of king Stephen, after the Nativity, the said king banished

[4] Sleaford.
[5] Bristol.
[6] "Stabilitate" seems a preferable reading to "instabilitate."

Nigel, bishop of Ely, from his see, as he was the nephew of the above-named bishop of Salisbury; in consequence of which relationship[7] he had become an object of the king's hatred. As to where the king was at the feast of the Nativity, or where at Easter, it matters not to say. For now, courts held in regal state, and the pomp of royalty, handed down from the ancient line of kings, were utterly put an end to, the vast amount of treasures had been entirely expended, there was no such thing as peace in the kingdom, all quarters were threatened with slaughter, conflagration, and rapine. Shrieks, grief, and terror re-echoed in tones like thunder on every side, and in every place there were the tumultuous alarms of depredation and violence. In consequence of this, the following Elegiac lines were composed:—

"Who shall give me a spring, for what else but a spring of tears do I need, that with tears I may bewail the wicked deeds of my native land? A darkness hath come upon it, sent from the depths of hell, which in lowering clouds covers the face of this realm! Lo! frenzy, shrieks, conflagrations, theft, rapine, slaughter, and bad faith, in strict alliance come rushing on! At the present day men act the thief both towards the wealth and the owners of the wealth, and, strange kind of theft! while sleeping in their very castles they surprise them. Perjury is good faith, lying a noble act; even the betrayal of their lords is a deed worthy of men. The band of robbers breaks open temples and tombs, and even—oh shocking deed!—lays hands upon the priests. The anointed of the Lord, and women as well, they torture, and — oh shame!—that they may purchase their liberty, devise how to rack them with torments! Famine, therefore, comes on apace; their flesh consumed, to skin and bone reduced, they breathe forth their fleeting souls! Who can give sepulture to crowds so vast of the dying? Behold the face of hell, and a calamity its like!"

In the same year, king Stephen gave Northumbria to Henry, the son of David, king of the Scots. In the same year died Turstin, archbishop of York, on whose decease there immediately arose a division in the church of York, as to the election of an archbishop. For some of the canons made choice of

[7] "Progeniem," in the text, hinting that he was son of the bishop of Salisbury.

William, treasurer of the church of York, who was accordingly consecrated by Henry, bishop of Winchester, legate of the Church of Rome. But the other canons chose as their archbishop Henry Murdac, who prevailed, and retained the archbishopric as long as he lived, while archbishop William remained with Henry, bishop of Winchester, who had consecrated him, until the decease of Henry Murdac.

In the year of grace 1141, being the sixth year of the reign of king Stephen, that king, before the Nativity, laid siege to the city of Lincoln, the castle of which, Ranulph, earl of Chester, had treacherously seized; and there the king took up his quarters until the Purification of Saint Mary; when earl Ranulph brought with him Robert, the son of king Henry, his own son-in-law, and some other valiant nobles, in order to raise the siege by the king; and the most valiant earl, having with difficulty crossed a marsh, which was almost impassable, on the same day, drawing out his troops in battle array, offered the king battle. He himself, with his own men, formed the first line; those whom king Stephen had deprived of their inheritance, the second; and the great earl Robert, with his men, the third; on the flank there was a multitude of Welchmen, better provided with daring than with arms. After this, the earl of Chester, a consummate warrior, glittering with conspicuous arms, thus addressed earl Robert and the other nobles:—

"With the greatest sincerity, to you, most invincible chieftain, and to you, nobles and fellow-soldiers, do I return many thanks, who have magnanimously shewn your goodwill towards me at the hazard of your lives. Since then, I am the occasion of your peril, it is only fair that I should be the first to expose myself to peril, and be the first to pierce the ranks of this most faithless king, who, after making a treaty, has broken the peace. Wherefore, trusting both in the king's injustice and in my own valour, I will straightway cleave asunder the royal ranks, and with my sword make way through the midst of the foe. It shall be the part of your prowess to follow me while I, lead the way, and to imitate my example as I strike. I already seem to myself, in my presaging mind, to be passing through the royal ranks, trampling the nobles beneath my feet, and piercing the king himself with my sword."

Thus he spoke; on which earl Robert addressed the youth,

and standing upon an elevated spot, delivered a speech to this effect:—

"It is not without reason that you demand the honor of the first blow, both on the ground of your noble descent, and the valour wherein you excel. But still, if you stand upon noble descent, I am not surpassed by you, being the son of a most noble king, and the grandson of a most mighty monarch: if upon valour, here are many men of most consummate bravery, before whom not a man living can be preferred for prowess. But it is a far different reason that influences me. For, contrary to the oaths which he made to my sister, the king has cruelly usurped the kingdom, and, causing confusion on every side, has been the occasion of death to many thousands,[8] and after his own example, has distributed lands among those who have no right thereto, violently taking them away from those who rightfully possessed them. By those who have been thus wickedly disinherited, with the aid of God, the Supreme Judge, who prepares vengeance, must he be first attacked. He who judges His people in equity, will look down from His habitation on high in the heavens, and will never desert us in this our great necessity, who with justice seek what is just. There is one thing, however, most valiant chieftains, and all you fellow-soldiers, which I desire firmly to impress upon your minds, namely, that by the marshes through which with difficulty you have passed, there can be no way of escape by flight. Here, therefore, we must either conquer or die; in flight, hope of escape there is none. This alone remains for you, to make a way into the city with your swords. But if my mind presages aught of truth, the fact that you have no possible means of escape is the very thing which, this day, with the help of God, will gain for us the victory. For he must needs have recourse to prowess, who has not any possible means of escape. On the other hand, the citizens of Lincoln, who stand close to their city, with minds quailing beneath the vigour of your onset, you, proving victorious, will see flying for refuge to their homes. Besides, consider who it is against whom you are waging war. Alan, duke of the Bretons, comes forth in arms against us, nay, rather, against God; an infamous man and one polluted with all kinds of crimes; who in mis-

[8] The text has "militibus," "soldiers;" but "millibus," "thousands," seems preferable, and is the reading in Randph Highden's narrative.

chief knows not his equal, who has never wanted the desire to do injury, and who would consider it his only and extreme reproach not to be incomparable to any one in cruelty. There is also come out against us the earl of Mellent, crafty in his deceitfulness; a planner of treachery; in whose heart iniquity is rooted, and guile in his mouth; slothful in deeds; presumptuous in heart; magnanimous in words; pusillanimous in acting; the last to attack, the first to run away; tardy in battle, swift in flight. There is also come out against us earl Hugh, to whom it seems a trifle to have broken his oath to the empress, but he must commit perjury a second time in the most glaring manner, by affirming that king Henry gave the kingdom to Stephen and deprived his own daughter thereof. There is also come out the earl of Albemarle, a man of singular constancy in crime, ready for daring evil, and slow to relinquish it; whom his wife, taking to flight, has abandoned by reason of his intolerable filthiness. There is also come out the earl, who has taken away his wife from the last named earl, a most avowed adulterer; of singular impurity, a devotee of Bacchus; a stranger to Mars; wreaking with wine, and unacquainted with warfare. There is also come out, Simon, earl of Hampton,[6**] whose deeds consist of words alone; whose only gifts are promises; who when he has said a thing, has done it; when he has promised, has given. There are also come out, other nobles just like their king, accustomed to robberies; enriched with rapines; fattened upon murders; all, in fact, defiled by perjury. You, therefore, most valiant men, whom the great king Henry has advanced, and man has humbled, whom he has raised, this man has depressed, arouse your courage, and trusting in your valour, nay, rather, in the justice of God, take the vengeance thus offered to you by God upon these wicked persons, and confer imperishable glory upon your posterity. If then it is now your determination to be the instruments of this judgment of God, vow that you will press onward, abjure all thoughts of flight, and with one consent raise your right hands towards heaven." Hardly had he concluded, when all, raising their hands towards heaven, with a thrilling shout abjured flight, and getting their arms in readiness for the attack, moved onward against the enemy in splendid array.

[6**] Southampton.

King Stephen in the meantime, his mind fluctuating amid mighty cares, had the mass performed with the greatest solemnity. But when, according to the usual custom, he was placing in the hands of bishop Alexander a wax taper, an offering to God worthy of a king, it broke. This was an omen of sorrow to the king. The pix[9] also fell down upon the altar in which was the body of the Lord, the string breaking in the presence of the bishop. This was an omen of the king's ruin. After this, the valiant king went forth, and with the greatest coolness disposed his troops in battle array; he himself on foot ranged in the closest possible order the whole body of his men in armour, dismounted from their horses. The earls with their troops on horse-back[10] arranged to fight in two bodies; but these bodies of horsemen appeared to be very small, as the earls had brought but few with them, though pretended to be more in number. But the king's army was very numerous, and marshalled under only one standard, that of the king; upon which, as king Stephen had not an agreable voice, the speech to the army by way of exhortation was delegated to Baldwin, a man of great nobleness, and a most valiant soldier, who, standing on an elevated spot, when, by a modest silence he had called the attention of all to his words, thus commenced, with the gaze of all intently fixed upon him;

"All those who, when the lines of battle are drawn up, are about to engage, ought to see beforehand to three things: first, the righteousness of their cause; next, the number of their men; lastly, the prowess of their troops. The righteousness of their cause, lest danger to the soul should be incurred; the number of their men, lest they should be overwhelmed with the number of the enemy; the prowess of their troops, lest, trusting in a multitude, they should, by relying on the weak, still be overthrown. On all these points we see ourselves suitably prepared in the matter upon which we are engaged. For the righteousness of our cause is this, that, observing what we have sworn to our king before God, we stand facing those who have proved perjured towards him to the peril of death. As to our numbers, in horsemen we are not inferior, in foot more

[9] The box in which the consecrated wafer is kept.

[10] This passage in Roger of Wendover applies to the earls, the antagonists of Stephen, and the liberty has been taken here of adapting the passage to that sense.

numerous. But the prowess of so many earls, so many nobles and knights always accustomed to warfare, who in words can express? Besides, the boundless valour of the king himself will stand for you in the stead of thousands. Since, then, your liege lord is in the midst of you, the Lord's anointed, to whom you have sworn allegiance, perform your vows before God; inasmuch as you shall receive the greater reward from God, the more faithfully and constantly you fight for your king, the faithful against the unfaithful, the observers of the law against the perjured. Then, be of good comfort and filled with entire confidence. Consider against whom you fight. The might of earl Robert is well known: according to his practice, he threatens much, and does but little, having the mouth of the lion and the heart of the hare—eloquent in words, and always in the back-ground through his slothfulness. As for the earl of Chester, he is a man of unreasonable boldness, ready for plotting, inconstant in performing, impetuous in warfare, unprovided against danger, contriving schemes too lofty for his reach, bent upon impossibilities, and bringing with him few good soldiers: collecting a straggling multitude of strangers, there is no reason why he should be dreaded. For whatever he begins like a man, he always leaves like a woman; since in all matters in which he has been concerned, he has met with misfortune, either overcome in the encounter and running away, or if, on extraordinary occasions, victorious, sustaining greater loss than those overcome. The Welchmen whom he has brought with him are only objects of our contempt, opposing their unarmed rashness to the front of battle, devoid of skill and all knowledge of the art of war, like cattle running upon the hunting-spears. The others, both nobles and common soldiers, are deserters and vagabonds, and I only wish they had been brought here in greater numbers, for the more they are in number, the worse will they prove in the trial of them. You, therefore, earls and men of noble rank, ought to be mindful of your valour and your dignity. This day elevate your prowess, so inestimable, to the most exalted pitch, and, in imitation of your ancestors, leave to your sons an everlasting glory. The constant success of your arms should be to you an incentive to fight; the continuance of reverses will be to them a motive for running away. And indeed, already, if I am not deceived, they repent of coming hither, and are at

this moment thinking of flight, if the rugged nature of the spot would allow of it. Since then, it is not possible for them to fight or fly, what else have they done but, by the will of God, offer both themselves and their baggage unto you? Accordingly, you see their horses, their arms, and their bodies subject to your determination. Lift up your hearts, therefore, and stretch forth your invincible right hands, ye warriors! to receive with extreme joyousness that which God himself has presented to you."

Already, before he had concluded his speech, the shouts of the enemy were heard, the clanging of clarions, the neighing of horses, the re-echoing of the ground. The troop of the proscribed which formed the van, charged the king's line, in which were earl Alan, the earl of Mellent, Hugh, earl of East Anglia, earl Simon, and the earl of Warrenne, with such fury, that instantly, in the twinkling of an eye, it was routed, and became divided into three parts; some of them were slain, some taken prisoners, while some took to flight. The division which was commanded by the earl of Albemarle and William of Ypres charged the Welch, who were advancing on the flank, and put them to flight. But the troops of the earl of Chester attacked the body of the above-named earl, and, like the first line, it was scattered in an instant. All the king's knights took to flight, and with them William of Ypres,[11] a native of Flanders, a man of the rank of an earl, and of great prowess.

In consequence of this, king Stephen was left with his body of foot in the midst of the enemy. Accordingly, they surrounded the king's troops on every side, and assaulted them in every quarter, just in the way that an attack is made upon a fortified place. Then might you have seen a dreadful aspect of battle, on every quarter around the king's troops fire flashing from the meeting of swords and helmets,—a dreadful crash, a terrific clamour,—at which the hills re-echoed, the city walls resounded. With horses spurred on, they charged the king's troop, slew some, wounded others, and dragging some away, made them prisoners. No rest, no breathing-time was granted them, except in the quarter where stood that most valiant king, as the foe dreaded the incomparable

[11] Roger of Wendover says that William of Ypres "and others, who could not take to flight, were taken and thrown into prison."

force of his blows. The earl of Chester, on perceiving this, envying the king his glory, rushed upon him with all the weight of his armed men.[12] Then was seen the might of the king, equal to a thunderbolt, slaying some with his immense battle-axe, and striking down others. Then arose the shouts afresh, all rushing against him, and he against all. At length, through the number of the blows, the king's battle-axe was broken asunder. Instantly, with his right hand, drawing his sword, well worthy of a king, he marvellously waged the combat, until the sword as well was broken asunder. On seeing this, William de Kahamnes, a most powerful knight, rushed upon the king, and seizing him by the helmet, cried with a loud voice, "Hither, all of you, come hither! I have taken the king!" All flew to the spot, and the king was taken. Baldwin was also captured, who had made the speech for the purpose of exhorting them, pierced with many wounds, and bruised with many blows, while earning undying fame by his glorious resistance. Richard Fitz-Urse was also taken, who in giving blows and receiving them was distinguished by his prowess. After the king was made prisoner, his troop still fought on; indeed, being surrounded, they could not take to flight; but at last were all either taken prisoners or slain. According to the usages of war, the city was plundered, and the king, in a piteous condition, was taken there.

The judgment of God being thus wrought upon the king, he was led to the empress, and placed in captivity in the castle at Bristowe.[13] The empress was recognized as mistress by all the people of England, except the men of Kent, where the queen[14] and William of Ypres fought against her with all their strength. She was first received by the bishop of Winchester, the Roman legate, and, shortly after, by the citizens of London. However, she soon became elated to an intolerable degree of pride, because her affairs, after their uncertain state, had thus prospered in warfare; conduct which alienated from her the affections of almost all the people. Irritated at this, with all the spitefulness of a woman, she ordered the king, the Lord's anointed, to be placed in irons. A few days

[12] "Armatorum" seems a preferable reading to "armorum," as it appears that Stephen was not taken by the earl of Chester alone, but in consequence of being overpowered and borne down by a multitude.

[13] Bristol.

[14] The wife of king Stephen.

after, in conjunction with her uncle, the king of the Scots, and her brother Robert, having collected their troops, she laid siege to the fortress of the bishop of Winchester; on which, the bishop sent for the queen and William of Ypres, and nearly all the nobles of England. In consequence of this, large armies were soon formed on either side. Daily combats took place, not rank meeting rank, but in skirmishes on the exterior of the lines. Their exploits, therefore, were not concealed amid the haze of battle, but the prowess of each was conspicuous, and proportionate renown attended his exploits; so much so, that to all men of prowess this period seemed rich in the dazzling exploits of illustrious men.

At length the army of the Londoners came up, swelled to vast numbers, and, fighting against the empress, compelled her to take flight. Many were taken while flying, and, among them, Robert, the brother of the empress, was captured, in whose castle the king was kept prisoner, and through whose capture alone the king could be ransomed: and, accordingly, they were both set at liberty. Thus then, through the judgment of God, the king was lamentably taken prisoner, and, through the mercy of God, he was mercifully liberated, and received with great rejoicings by the nobles of England.

In the same year, Alberic de Vere was slain at London, in a sedition of the citizens. In this year, also, died Geoffrey, bishop of Durham, and was succeeded in that see by William, dean of the church of Saint Barbara, at York, who was consecrated by Henry, bishop of Winchester, the legate of the Church of Rome.

In the year of grace 1142, being the seventh year of the reign of king Stephen, that king built a castle at Winchester.[15] Just then, an immense multitude of the enemy coming upon him unawares, the king's soldiers, on meeting them, were not able to withstand their attack; on which they forced the king to take to flight. Many of his men, however, were taken prisoners; and, among them, William Martel, the king's sewer, who, for his ransom, gave up the fine castle of Sherburne.

In the same year, the king besieged the empress at Oxford, from after the feast of Saint Michael till the Advent of our Lord; and, shortly before the festival of the Nativity, the

[15] It would appear from Gervase's Chronicle, that this battle took place at Wilton, and not at Winchester, in the year 1143.

empress fled across the river Thame, which was frozen, clothed in white garments. The reflection of the snow and the similarity deceiving the eyes of the besiegers, she escaped to the castle of Wallingford; upon which, Oxford was at length surrendered to the king.

In the year of grace 1143, being the eighth year of the reign of king Stephen, that king was present at a council held at London in the middle of Lent. For, at this period, no respect was paid by those who plundered to either the clergy or the Church of God, and, whether clerks or laymen, they were equally taken prisoners and held to ransom. Upon this, the bishop of Winchester, the Roman legate, held a council at London, which at the time was absolutely necessary for the safety of the clergy. At this council it was decreed, that no one who should violently lay hands upon a clerk could possibly receive absolution from any one, not even from the pope himself, and appearing in his presence. In consequence of this, a slight gleam of serenity, with great difficulty, shone forth at last upon the clergy.

In the same year, the king seized Geoffrey de Mandeville,[16] at his court at Saint Alban's, more in retribution for the wickedness of the earl, than according to the law of nations; more from necessity than from virtuous motives. For, if he had not done so, through the perfidy of this earl, whom from a baron he had created an earl, he would have been deprived of his kingdom. Accordingly, in order that the king might give him his liberty, he surrendered to him the tower of London and the castles of Walden and Plessis. In consequence of this, the above-named earl, being stripped of his possessions, attacked the abbey of Saint Benedict at Ramsey, expelled the monks, and introduced his plunderers, turning the church of God into a den of thieves. He was a man of the greatest prowess, but of the greatest perverseness towards God; of extreme activity in worldly matters, but extremely neglectful towards God.

In this year, shortly before the festival of the Nativity, the bishop of Winchester, and soon after, the archbishop of Canterbury, repaired to Rome, to treat for the legateship, pope Innocent being dead, and having been succeeded by Celestinus.

In the year of grace 1144, being the ninth year of the

[16] His name really was William.

reign of king Stephen, that king laid siege to Lincoln, where, while he was building a fort opposite the castle which the earl of Chester held by force, nearly eighty of his workmen were smothered by the enemy; consequently, abandoning the work, the king retreated in confusion. In the same year, earl Geoffrey de Mandeville greatly harassed the king, and shone forth with great glory in all his exploits. But, in the month of August, the Divine power showed a miracle worthy of its justice: for two persons, who had committed the like offence in expelling the monks, and turning the churches of God into castles, it punished with a similar retribution.

For Robert Marmion, a skilful warrior, had perversely acted thus towards the church of Coventry; while, as already mentioned, Geoffrey de Mandeville had been guilty of the like wickedness towards the church of Ramsey. Robert Marmion, while attacking the enemy, and in the very midst of a large body of his own men, was slain, singly, before that very monastery, and, having been excommunicated, has death for his everlasting portion.

In a similar manner, Geoffrey, the new-made earl above-named, while amid the dense ranks of his own men, was, singly, pierced with an arrow by a foot-soldier of the lowest rank. He himself at first laughed at the wound; but, after a few days, died in consequence of it, and while excommunicated. Behold here the laudable vengeance of God, similarly attendant upon similar crimes, and worthy to be disclosed to all generations! Also, while the church was held by him as a castle, blood gushed forth from the walls of the church and the adjoining cloisters, in manifestation of the Divine displeasure, and foreboding the extermination of the wicked. This was seen by many persons; and, in fact, I myself[17] beheld it with my own eyes.

Wherefore, because they wickedly said that God was asleep, God was aroused; which is evident from these signs and manifestations. For, in this same year, Arnulph also, the son of earl Geoffrey, who, after his father's death, retained possession of the church as a castle, was taken prisoner and banished the

[17] This is the earliest mention made by the writer of himself in the capacity of witness of what he relates. He must have been very young at the time; consequently it was easy to impose on his credulity. He may, however, be possibly alluding to the extermination of the wicked.

kingdom by reason thereof, and the leader of his troops, falling from his horse at his inn,[18] dashed out his brains and expired.

In addition to this, the commander of his infantry, Reimer by name, whose habit it was to pull down churches or destroy them by fire, was crossing the sea with his wife, when, according to the statements of many, the ship became motionless. The sailors, astonished at this prodigy, made enquiry into the cause of the circumstance, by drawing lots, on which the lot fell upon Reimer. He, however, contradicting, with all his might, that this was the fact, the lots were drawn a second and a third time, and fell upon him still. Upon this, he was placed in a boat, with his wife and the money which he had most wickedly acquired, and immediately thereupon the ship ploughed the sea with the swiftest speed, just as before. The boat, however, with these most wicked people, being whirled round by a whirlpool suddenly formed, was sucked in and came to destruction.

In the same year, pope Celestinus having departed this life, Lucius was appointed in his stead.

In the year of grace 1145, being the tenth year of the reign of king Stephen, that king was at first occupied in business relative to the departure of Hugh Bigot. But, in the spring, earl Robert, and the whole body of the king's enemies, built a castle at Ferendimer;[19] on which, the king, displaying his usual activity, collected his forces and hurried thither, taking with him a numerous and warlike body of Londoners. After having assailed the fortress for whole days together, while earl Robert and his supporters were not far from the king's army, waiting for additional troops, by a display of military prowess attended with the most laborious efforts, he gained possession of it, though not without great bloodshed. Then, at length, the king's fortunes began to change for the better, and to soar aloft.

In the same year pope Lucius died, and was succeeded by pope Eugenius. In this year also, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, went again to Rome, and was honorably entertained by Eugenius, the new pope, a man worthy of that highest dignity.

[18] "Hospitio." This may possibly mean the portion of the monastery where the monks were in the habit of entertaining strangers.

[19] "Ferendune" is a various reading. "Ferendimer" being probably a misprint. Faringdon, in Berkshire, is the place meant.

His mind was always kindly disposed, his discretion always to be relied on, his countenance always not only cheerful but even joyous. The bishop, returning the second year after this to Lincoln, with wonderful taste repaired the church there so skilfully, that it appeared more beautiful than when it was first built.

In the year of grace 1146, being the eleventh year of the reign of king Stephen, that king, having assembled a large army, built an impregnable castle, situate opposite to Wallingford, where Ranulph, earl of Chester, who was now on friendly terms with the king, was staying with a large number of his followers. But, shortly after, as the earl was coming in a peaceful manner to the king's court, the king seized him at Northampton, while apprehending no such attack, and thrust him into prison until he had restored to him the most famous castle of Lincoln, which he had taken from him by stratagem, and all the rest of the castles which had belonged to himself; upon which, the earl was released from prison and restored to liberty.

In the same year, the noble city of Edessa, in Syria, which is now called Roaise, was taken through treachery by the Saracens, on the night of the Nativity of our Lord, while the bishop and Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, and innumerable troops collected from the whole kingdom, and the people of the city were engaged in their religious duties; who, on the capture of the city, were put to death by the pagans. In this city the remains of Saint Thomas the Apostle, which were formerly transferred from India, are said to rest.

In the year of grace 1147, being the twelfth year of the reign of king Stephen, that king, at the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, was crowned at the city of Lincoln, which no king had dared to enter, in consequence of certain superstitions[20] preventing them. After the king's departure thence, the earl of Chester came to Lincoln with his troops, for the purpose of assaulting it; upon which occasion, the commander of his troops, a man of invincible bravery, was slain at the entrance of the north gate, and, after losing many of his men, the earl was forced to take to flight. On this, the citizens of Lincoln, being victorious, were filled with extreme joy, and,

[20] It was believed that misfortune and a speedy death would befall the king so doing.

with great pomp, returned thanks, attended with praises, to the Virgin of virgins, their protectress.

At Pentecost, Louis, king of the Franks, Theodoric, earl of Flanders, and the earl of St. Gilles, with numberless troops from the well-peopled kingdom of the Franks, besides many of the English nation, having assumed the cross, set out for Jerusalem, for the purpose of expelling the pagans, who had taken the city of Roaise. Conrad also, the emperor of Germany, led a still greater body of troops, and both armies passed through the dominions of the emperor of Constantinople, who afterwards betrayed them.

In the month of August, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, set out for Auxerre, to meet pope Eugenius, who was then at that place, having previously been to Paris. He was received by the pope in the most honorable manner; but, in consequence of the excessive heat of the weather, brought with him to England the seeds of disease and death, and died in the following year, having for his successor Robert de Chedney.

In the year of grace 1148, being the thirteenth year of the reign of king Stephen, the armies of the emperor of Germany and of the king of the Franks, which, graced by those most noble chieftains, marched onward with the greatest pomp, were annihilated, because God utterly despised them. For the incontinence ascended to the sight of God, of which they were guilty in acts of fornication and manifest adultery; a thing which greatly displeased the Almighty, and was aggravated by the rapine and all kinds of crime of which they were afterwards guilty. Accordingly, at first they fell, attacked by famine, through the treachery of the emperor of Constantinople, and afterwards by the edge of the enemy's sword. The king of France and the emperor of Germany, upon this, with a very small number of followers, fled ignominiously, first to Antioch, and afterwards to Jerusalem. On arriving there, the king of France, as though about to do something to compensate his loss of glory, having obtained the aid of the knights of the Temple at Jerusalem, and gathering forces on every side, laid siege to Damascus; but having effected nothing there, he returned to France.

In the meantime, a naval force, headed by no influential men, and relying upon no mighty chieftain, but only on Almighty God, inasmuch as it had set out in a humble spirit,

earned the favour of God and manifested great prowess. For, though but few in number, by arms they obtained possession of a famous city of Spain, Lisbon[21] by name, and another, called Almeida, together with the parts adjacent. How true is it that God opposes the proud, but to the humble shows grace! For the army of the king of the Franks and of the emperor was larger and better equipped than the former one, which had gained possession of Jerusalem; and yet they were crushed by a very few, and routed and demolished like webs of spiders; whereas these other poor people, whom I have just mentioned, no multitude could resist, but the greater the numbers that made head against them, the more helpless were they rendered. The greatest part of them had come from England.

In the meantime, Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, husband of the above-named empress, the daughter of king Henry, entered Normandy with a great army and ravaged it, and took many castles and fortified cities; and the nobles of Normandy, keeping in mind the oaths they had made to the said empress and her heirs regarding Normandy, readily changed to their side. For Eustace, the son of king Stephen, who had been the duke of Normandy, and had married Constance, sister of Louis, king of France, was now dead, and the king of France had given his sister Constance in marriage to Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles; and from this period the wars so greatly increased against king Stephen in England, that he could give no attention to the defence of Normandy.

At this time, Henry, son of the empress Matilda, being now a youth sixteen years of age, and having been brought up at the court of David, king of the Scots, his mother's uncle, was dubbed a knight by the same king David, at the city of Carlisle, having first made oath to him that if he should come to be king of England, he would restore to him Newcastle and the whole of Northumbria, and would allow him and his heirs to hold for ever in peace, without challenge of their right, the whole of the land which lies between the rivers Tweed and Tyne. After this, the same Henry, by the advice and assistance of David, king of the Scots, crossed over into Normandy, and being received by the nobles, was by them made duke of Normandy.

[21] Great part of Portugal was at this time in the hands of the Moors.

In the year of grace 1149, being the fourteenth year of the reign of king Stephen, Henry, duke of Normandy came into England with a great army, on which many castles were surrendered to him, and a great number of towns; he also coined new money, which they called "the duke's money;" and not himself only, but all the influential men, both bishops as well as earls and barons, coined their own money. But from the time when the duke came over, he rendered null the coin of most of them.

In the same year, Louis, king of the Franks, and Eleanor, his wife, returned from Jerusalem to France.

In the year of grace 1150, being the fifteenth year of the reign of king Stephen, the abbey of Holcoltram was founded, also the abbey of Kinross, in Moray. In the same year, also, the Præmonstratensian order came to Dryburgh, at the feast of Saint Martin

In the year of grace 1151, being the sixteenth year of the reign of king Stephen, pope Eugenius sent by his legate, John Papirius, four palls to Ireland, whither a pall had never been sent before, and appointed archbishops at four places, one at Armagh, another at Cashel, a third at Dublin,[22] and a fourth at Connaught. In the same year, Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, departed this life, and his son Henry succeeded him in the earldom.

In the year of grace 1152, being the seventeenth year of the reign of king Stephen, during this year as also two preceding ones, king Stephen and Henry, duke of Normandy, frequently engaged in battle, and did not withdraw from the combat, except with a great loss of substance and of men; but the duke of Normandy always gained the day. For his resources increased more and more, and became more abundant every day, while the king's power decreased more and more. For the chief men of the kingdom, bearing in mind the oaths they had taken to the empress and her heirs, nearly all gave in their adhesion to the above-named empress and her son, the duke of Normandy. In the same year, Henry, earl of Northumbria, son of David, king of the Scots, and Matilda, his daughter, departed this life.

In the year of grace 1153, being the eighteenth year of the reign of king Stephen, peace was restored to England, a treaty being made between king Stephen and Henry, duke of

[22] Called "Diveline" in the text.

Normandy, whom king Stephen adopted as his son, and appointed his heir and successor in the kingdom, through the mediation of the venerable man Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry, bishop of Winchester. The king also appointed the duke justiciary of England under him, and all the affairs of the kingdom were transacted through him; and from this time forward the king and the duke were of one mind in the government of the realm, so much so that, from this period, no disagreement ever arose between them.

In the same year died David, king of the Scots, on the ninth day before the calends of July, on which, his grandson Malcolm, the son of earl Henry, a boy twelve years of age, succeeded him in the kingdom. In the same year, pope Eugenius departed this life, and was succeeded in the papacy by Anastasius. In this year died Bernard, abbat of Clerville; William, bishop of Durham, also died in this year, and was succeeded by Hugh de Pudsey,[23] treasurer of the church of York, nephew of the above-named king Stephen. He was consecrated at Rome, by pope Anastasius, on the Lord's day preceding the Nativity of our Lord. In the same year died Henry, archbishop of York, on whose decease archbishop William, whom pope Eugenius had suspended, set out for Rome, and finding grace with pope Anastasius, the archbishopric of York was restored to him.

In the year of grace 1154, being the nineteenth and last year of the reign of king Stephen, Eustace, the son of king Stephen, departed[24] this life. In the same year, William, archbishop of York, was honorably restored to his see; but shortly after, by the treachery of his clergy, after receiving the Eucharist, during his ablutions, he was destroyed by means of some liquid of a deadly nature; on which he was honorably interred by Hugh, bishop of Durham, in the church of Saint Peter at York; and on the presentation of king Stephen, Roger, archdeacon of Canterbury, succeeded him in the archbishopric.

In the same year king Stephen laid siege to many castles, and took them, and levelled many of them with the ground; almost the very last of which was the castle of Drax; shortly after

[23] Or De Pusat, or Pusar.

[24] There is clearly a mistake here; as the death of Eustace is mentioned above as having taken place before the year 1148, in which year his widow Constance was given in marriage to the earl of Saint Gilles. 1152 is probably the date of his death.

which, king Stephen died, and was buried at the abbey of Feversham. He was succeeded on the throne by Henry, duke of Normandy, son of the empress Matilda, who was crowned and consecrated king by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, at London, on the Lord's day before the Nativity of our Lord.

In the same year, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, gave to Thomas Becket, his clerk, the archdeaconry of Canterbury. In this year also, Louis, king of the Franks, caused himself to be divorced from his wife Eleanor, daughter of the duke of Aquitaine, the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons, making oath that she had ceased to deserve to be his wife. However, Henry, king of England, took the before-named Eleanor to wife, and had by her sons and daughters. The king of France, however, by his wife Eleanor, had no issue of the male sex, and only two daughters, one of whom he married to Henry, earl of Champagne, and the other to Theobald, earl of Blois, brother of the said earl Henry. After this, Louis, king of the Franks, took to wife the daughter of the king of Spain, by whom he had two daughters only.

THE ANNALS

OF

ROGER DE HOVEDEN.

THE SECOND PART.

In the year 1155, being the first year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king laid siege to the castles of his enemies in England, and captured them; some of which he retained in his own hands, and some he levelled with the ground. After this, he crossed over into Normandy, and did homage to Louis, king of the Franks, for Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, with all their appurtenances. In the same year, died pope Anastasius, who was succeeded by Adrian.

In the year of grace 1156, being the second year of the reign of Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king returned from Normandy to England, and caused nearly all the castles, which had been erected in England in the time of king Stephen, to be demolished, and issued a new coinage, which was the only one received and current throughout the realm; he also established peace in the kingdom, and commanded the laws of king Henry, his grandfather, to be observed inviolably throughout the whole of his kingdom, and in many matters followed the advice of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.

In this year, a convent of nuns was established a second time at Eccles.

In the year of grace 1157, being the third year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king,

by the advice and entreaty of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, conferred the chancellorship upon Thomas, archdeacon of Canterbury, and bestowed upon him many revenues, both ecclesiastical and of a secular nature, and received him so much into his esteem and familiarity, that throughout the kingdom there was no one his equal, save the king alone. In the same year, Malcolm, king of the Scots, came to the king of England at Chester, and did homage to him in the same way that his grandfather had done homage to the former king Henry, saving always all his dignities.

In the year of grace 1158, being the fourth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king Henry caused himself to be crowned a second time at Lincoln, without[25] the walls of the city, at Wikeford. In the same year, by the king's command, the castle of Werk[26] was rebuilt. The king, and Malcolm, king of the Scots, met at Carlisle, but separated mutually displeased; in consequence of which, the king of Scots was not created a knight for the present.

In the year of grace 1159, being the fifth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king Henry caused himself, a third time, together with his wife Eleanor, to be crowned at Worcester, at the festival of Easter;[27] and when they came to the offertory, they took off their crowns, and offered them upon the altar; vowing before God, that they would never in all their lives wear them again. In the same year died Waltheof, abbat of Melrose, on the fourth day before the nones of August; he was uncle to king Malcolm.

In the same year, pope Adrian departed this life, and was succeeded by pope Alexander the Third, who was canonically elected and consecrated. But Frederic, emperor of the Romans, being unwilling to acknowledge him, erected an idol for himself, Octavianus, an antipope, and, an execrable convention and league being formed of those of his own blood, against pope Alexander, he with his nation determined to pay veneration to him, on which a schism arose in the church, which lasted eighteen years.

In the same year, Henry, king of England, having levied

[25] Probably on account of the superstition alluded to in p. 249.

[26] In Northumberland.

[27] Roger of Wendover says, at Christmas.

a large army, laid siege to Toulouse, and although he sat before it for a long time, and wasted his treasure in various expenses, still he was able to effect nothing there, and, without gaining his object, took his departure. In this expedition died William, earl of Boulogne, son of king Stephen, and Hamo, son of the earl of Gloucester, with many others. On his return from this expedition, Malcolm, king of Scotland, was knighted by Henry, king of the English, at Tours.

In the year of grace 1160, being the sixth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, Malcolm, king of the Scots, returned to his country from the expedition against Toulouse. On his arrival at the city called Perth, earl Feretach and five other earls being enraged against the king, because he had marched against Toulouse, laid siege to the city of Perth, and attempted to seize the person of the king, but were not able. On three different occasions, king Malcolm with a great army invaded Galloway, and at last conquered it. In the same year, king Malcolm gave his sister Margaret in marriage to Conan, duke of Bretagne.

In the year of grace 1161, being the seventh year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, that king and Louis, king of the Franks, disagreed respecting some divisions of their territories, and the castles of Gisors and Neafle, which at that time were in the hands of Louis, king of the Franks, and which the said king Henry claimed as properly belonging to his dukedom of Normandy. But shortly after they came to terms on these conditions; that the king of France should give his two daughters, whom he had had by his wife, the daughter of the king of Spain, (the name of one of whom was Margaret, and of the other Alice,) in marriage to the two sons of king Henry, namely, Henry and Richard, who were as yet but little children; that he should deliver the before-named castles of Gisors and Neafle into the hands of the Templars for safe custody, until such time as his above-named daughters should be married to the said sons of king Henry, and that it should be arranged with them, that is to say, with Robert de Pirou and Tostes de Saint Omer, that when Margaret, the daughter of the king of France, had been married to Henry, the son of the king of England, they should deliver up to king Henry both the castles.

These terms being agreed to on both sides, and confirmed by

oath, the king of the Franks delivered both of his daughters to the king of England, and the above-named castles into the custody of the Templars. Shortly after this period, Henry, king of England, caused his son Henry to be married to Margaret, the daughter of the king of France, although they were as yet but little children, crying in the cradle; Robert de Pirou, Tostes de Saint Omer, and Richard de Hastings, the Templars, who had custody of the said castles, being witnesses and consenting thereto; immediately upon which they surrendered those castles to the king of England. In consequence, the king of France was extremely indignant at them, and banished these knights from the kingdom of France, upon which the king of England received them and rewarded them with many honors. In the same year, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the Roman Church, departed this life.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1162, being the eighth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king conferred the see of Canterbury on Thomas, his chancellor. In the same year, pope Alexander came into France, having been expelled from his see by Frederic, the emperor of the Romans. He was honorably entertained by king Louis and by Henry, king of the English, who looked upon him as pope of the Catholic Church. In the same year, Malcolm, king of the Scots, gave his sister Ada in marriage to the earl of Holland.[29]

In the year of grace 1163, being the ninth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king of England returned from Normandy into England; and king Malcolm having recovered at Doncaster from a severe illness, a solemn treaty of peace was made between him and the king of England. In the same year, pope Alexander held a general council at Tours, at which he excommunicated Octavianus the antipope.

In the same year, a great dissension arose between the king of England and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, relative to the ecclesiastical dignities, which the said king of the English was attempting to disturb and lower in estimation, whereas the archbishop endeavoured by every possible means to keep the ecclesiastical power and dignities intact. For it was the king's wish that if priests, deacons, subdeacons, and other rulers of the

[29] This passage is probably in a corrupt state.

church should be apprehended on the commission of theft, or murder, or felony, or arson, or the like crimes, they should be taken before secular judges, and punished like the laity. Against this the archbishop of Canterbury urged, that if a clerk in holy orders, or any other ruler of the Church, should be charged upon any matter, he ought to be tried by ecclesiastics and in the ecclesiastical court; and if he should be convicted, that then he ought to be deprived of his orders, and that, when thus stripped of his office and his ecclesiastical preferment, if he should offend again, he ought to be tried at the pleasure of the king and of his deputies.

In the year of grace 1164, being the tenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Henry gave to Henry, duke of Saxony, his daughter Matilda in marriage. In the same year, having called together a great council, and all the archbishops and bishops of England being assembled in his presence, he requested them, out of their love for and obedience to him, and for the establishment of the kingdom, to receive the laws of king Henry, his grandfather, and faithfully to observe them: on which, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, made answer for himself and the others, that they would receive those laws which the king said were made by his grandfather, and with good faith would observe the same; saving their orders and the honor of God and of the Holy Church in all respects. But this reservation greatly displeased the king, and he used every possible method to make the bishops promise that they would, without any exception whatever, observe those laws; to this, however, the archbishop of Canterbury would on no account agree.

A considerable time after this, Ernulph, bishop of Lisieux, came over to England, and anxiously endeavoured, day and night, to make peace between the king and the archbishop, but was unable to ensure complete success. Upon this, by the advice of the bishop of Lisieux, the king separated Roger, archbishop of York, Robert de Melun, bishop of Hereford, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and some other prelates of the church, from the society and counsel of the archbishop of Canterbury, in order that through them he might more easily induce the archbishop to yield to his own attempts. After this, there came to England a certain man belonging to the religious orders, named Philip de Elcemosyna, being sent as

legate "a latere," by Alexander the Supreme Pontiff, and all the cardinals, for the purpose of making peace between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury; by whom the pope and all the cardinals sent word to the archbishop of Canterbury, that he must make peace with the king of England his master, and promise, without any exception, to obey his laws. Assenting therefore to this and other advice on the part of these great men, the archbishop of Canterbury came to the king at Woodstock, and there made a promise to the king and agreed that he would, in good faith, and without any bad intent, observe his laws.

Shortly after this, the clergy and people of the kingdom being convened at Clarendon, the archbishop repented that he had made this concession to the king, and, wishing to recede from his agreement, said that in making the concession he had greatly sinned, but would sin no longer in so doing. In consequence of this, the king's anger was greatly aroused against him, and he threatened him and his people with exile[30] and death; upon which, the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich came to the archbishop, together with Robert, earl of Leicester, Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and the two Templars, Richard de Hastings and Tostes de Saint Omer, and in tears threw themselves at the feet of the archbishop, and begged that he would at least, for the sake of the king's dignity, come to him, and in the presence of the people declare that he would observe his laws. The archbishop being consequently overcome by the entreaties of such great men, came to the king, and in the presence of the clergy and the people, said that he had acceded to those laws which the king called those of his grandfather. He also conceded that the bishops should receive those laws and promise to observe them. Upon this, the king gave orders to all the earls and barons of the realm, that they should go out and call to remembrance the laws of king Henry his grandfather, and reduce them to writing. When this had been done, the king commanded the archbishops and bishops to annex their seals to the said writing; but, while the others were ready so to do, the archbishop of Canterbury swore that he would never annex his seal to that writing or confirm those laws.

[30] "Exillium" is a preferable reading to "Exitium."

When the king saw that he could not by these means attain his object, he ordered a written copy of these laws to be made, and gave a duplicate of it to the archbishop of Canterbury, which he, in spite of the prohibition of the whole of the clergy, received from the king's hand, and turning to the clergy, exclaimed, "Courage, brethren! by means of this writing we shall be enabled to discover the evil intentions of the king, and against whom we ought to be on our guard;" after which he retired from the court, and was unable by any means to recover the king's favour. And because he had acted unadvisedly in this matter,[31] he suspended himself from the celebration of divine service from that hour, until such time as he himself, or his messenger, should have spoken thereon with our lord the pope.

After this, there came to England Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, on behalf of our lord the pope, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury; to which, however, the king would on no account consent, unless our lord the pope should, by his bull, confirm those laws. When this could be in nowise effected, the king sent John of Oxford and Geoffrey Riddel, his clerks, to pope Alexander, requesting him to give the legateship of the whole of England to Roger, that archbishop of York, that so through his means he might be able to confound the archbishop of Canterbury. But our lord the pope would not, as to this part of it, listen to the king's request. However, upon the petition of the king's clerks, our lord the pope conceded that the king himself should be legate for the whole of England; on such terms, however, that he could do nothing offensive to the archbishop of Canterbury. The king, on seeing this, in his indignation sent back to our lord the pope the letters appointing him legate, which John of Oxford and Geoffrey Riddel had brought.

In the same year, on the vigil of Saint Agatha, the virgin and martyr, a great earthquake took place in the island of Sicily; so much so, that the city of Catania was utterly destroyed, and the bishops and clergy, and all the inhabitants of the city, perished; thirty thousand fighting men, in fact, besides women and children, which could not be numbered. On the same day, after the destruction of the city of Catania, the

[31] In taking the oath.

sea receded a distance of three thousand seven hundred and fifty paces,[32] leaving vast quantities of fish of various kinds on the sands; and when the inhabitants of the country adjacent to the city that had been overthrown flocked together, and were intent upon taking the fish, the sea flowed back again and surrounded them, and swept them away into the deep.

In the same year, William, the brother of Henry, king of England, departed this life. In this year also died Octavianus, the antipope, and was succeeded by the antipope Guido of Crema. In the same year, the abbey of Cupar was founded by king Malcolm. In this year also, Sumerled, the thane of Arregaidele, rose in rebellion against his natural lord, king Malcolm, and, landing in Renfrew with a vast army of Irish, was there slain by a few of the people of the province. In the same year died Herebert, bishop of Glasgow, and was succeeded by Ingelran, the king's chancellor, who was consecrated by pope Alexander, at the city of Sens, although the deputies of Roger, archbishop of York, vigorously opposed it.

In the year of grace 1165, being the eleventh year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king assembled a great council at Northampton, where he inflicted great annoyances upon Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury. For in the first place, the king made his own horses take up their quarters at the archbishop's lodgings, on which the prelate sent word to the king that he would not come to court until his lodgings had been cleared of the king's horses and men. On the day after the council, archbishop Thomas came to the king's court, attended by his suffragan bishops, and demanded his leave immediately to cross the sea to go to pope Alexander, who at this time was staying in France; this, however, he could not obtain; but the king said to him, "You shall first answer me, for the injustice you have done to John, my marshall, in your court." For this John had made complaint to the king that when he had claimed in the archbishop's court a certain piece of land against him, as held by hereditary right, and had for a long time impleaded him in respect thereof, he was unable to obtain any redress from him, and had appealed from the jurisdiction of the archbishop's court upon oath, according to the custom of the kingdom. To this the archbishop made answer:—

[32] Nearly three miles and a half.

"There has been no refusal of justice to John in my court; but he himself (whether by the advice of some one else, or whether of his own free will, I know not,) brought into my court a certain bundle,[34] and took the oath upon it, that in consequence of denial of justice he withdrew from my court; whereas it appeared to the justices of my court that it was he who had done the injustice towards me, in thus withdrawing from my court; as it is one of the statutes of your kingdom which says, 'If any person shall wish to appeal from the court of another person, he must make oath upon the Holy Evangelists.'"

However, the king, paying no attention to Thomas, when he had said these words, made oath that he would have both justice and judgment at his hands. The barons of the king's court thereupon sentenced him to be amerced by the king, and although the archbishop endeavoured to appeal against this judgment, still, by the entreaties and advice of the barons he suffered himself to be amerced by the king, in the sum of five hundred pounds, and found security for that sum.

Upon this, he retired from the court and went to his lodgings, and, on account of the annoyance and vexation which he felt in his mind, took to his bed and fell extremely ill. When this became known to the king, that he might annoy him still more, he immediately sent to him, and summoned him by trusty summoners, to appear before him on the following day, prepared to give him an account of the stewardship, which he had held in the kingdom before his consecration. The archbishop, however, being sensible that a heavy sentence of banishment awaited him, if he should hasten to make his appearance at the court, sought every excuse for delay; both on the ground of the time given by the summons being extremely short, as also of his severe attack of illness. Upon this, the king seeing that the archbishop would not appear that day, sent to him Robert, earl of Leicester, and Reginald, earl of Cornwall, to be witnesses of his illness. When they came, they found him lying ill in bed, and at his entreaty granted him a respite from coming to the court until the following morning. On the same day it was told him, and word was

[34] The word used in the text is "toper," which does not seem to have any meaning; it is possible that it may stand for the word "toppum," which signifies a "bundle."

brought to him by those of the king's household, that if he appeared at the king's court, he would either be thrown into prison or put to death.

In consequence of this, the archbishop, after conferring with his friends on these matters, by the advice of a certain prudent person, next morning, before going to the court, celebrated with the greatest devotion the mass of Saint Stephen, the Proto-martyr, the office[35] of which begins to this effect, "Etenim sederunt principes, et adversum me loquebantur," &c.,[36] and commended his cause to the supreme Judge, who is God. Still, for celebrating this mass, he was afterwards severely accused by Gilbert, bishop of London, who spoke in the king's behalf. For the bishop of London made it an accusation against him, that he had celebrated this mass by means of the magic art, and out of contempt of the king.

After having thus celebrated the mass, the archbishop placed over his shoulders his stole, and then put on his black canonical cape, and forthwith set out for the king's court. Immediately upon this, a great crowd of people collected together from all quarters to see what would be the end of it. He carried his cross in his right hand, while with the left he held the reins of the horse on which he was seated, and on coming to the king's palace dismounted, and, still holding the cross, entered the royal mansion; after which, he entered the outer chamber alone, still carrying his cross; but no one of his people followed him thither. On entering the chamber, he found there a great number of the common people, on which he took his seat among them. The king, however, was in his private closet with the persons of his household.

On this, Gilbert, the bishop of London, came to the archbishop on the king's behalf, and greatly censured him for coming to the court thus armed with the cross, and even tried to wrest it from his hands, but the archbishop grasped it too tightly for him; whereupon, Henry, the bishop of Winchester, said to the bishop of London, "Brother, allow the archbishop to retain his cross; for he ought himself to be well able to carry it." The bishop of London, being greatly enraged at this remark, turned to the bishop of Winchester, and replied, "Brother,

[35] The formulary for devotion appointed by the ritual for that day.

[36] "Princes surrounded me, and spoke against me;" from the 118th Psalm in the Vulgate, being the commencement of the Introit.

you have spoken to ill purpose, and evil will ensue to you therefrom, inasmuch as you have spoken against the king's interests."

Next came to him Roger, the archbishop of York. "Oh, how oft did he wish to approach him with bland requests, and soft entreaties to use!"[37] But the old embers of hatred forbade him so to do, and would not allow him to utter a word in a peaceful way. On the contrary, he uttered the most severe reproaches against him for thus coming to court armed with the cross; saying that the king had a sword which was still sharper, and therefore, if he followed his advice, he would put aside his cross. On this, one of the bystanders made this remark: "Believe me, if you believe him, you will be deceived. The fowler plays sweetly on his pipe while decoying the birds. Beneath sweet honey noxious poisons lie concealed."[38] However, the archbishop of Canterbury refused to put aside his cross, but said: "If the king's sword carnally slays the body, my sword pierces spiritually, and sends the soul to hell." Now while he was sitting there waiting, some persons secretly told him that his death had been sworn by the king's followers; in consequence of which, from that hour he sought an opportunity for withdrawing from the court, and, that he might more easily withdraw, appealed to the Supreme Pontiff, placing the cause of the Church and of himself under the protection of God and of our lord the pope; and gave orders to all the bishops inviolably to observe his appeal.[39] Upon this, all the bishops advised him to comply with the king's wishes, and, surrendering his see, throw himself upon his mercy; but the archbishop refused to trust them upon that point.

At this moment the king sent him word by his knights to come to him without delay, and render to him a full account of all the receipts of the revenues of the kingdom during the

[37] A quotation from Ovid—

"O quotiens voluit blandis accedere dictis,
Et molles adhibere preces."

[38] A quotation from Ovid—

"Crede mihi, si credis ei, tu decipieris.
Fistula dulce canit volucres dum decipit auceps.
Impia sub dulci melle venena latent."

[39] By not being present when any judgment might be passed upon him by a temporal tribunal.

time that he had been his chancellor. And, in particular, he was questioned with reference to thirty thousand pounds of silver; on which the archbishop made answer: "My lord the king knows that I have often rendered him an account with reference to all the demands he is now making upon me, before my election to the archbishopric of Canterbury. But, upon my election to that see, the king's son, Henry, to whom the kingdom was bound by its oath, and all the barons of the exchequer, and Richard de Lucy, the justiciary of England, released me before God and the Holy Church, from all receipts and reckonings, and from all secular exactions on behalf of our lord the king, and thus, free and acquitted, was I elected to the administration of the duties of this office; and for that reason do I refuse to plead any further." The king, upon hearing this, said to his barons: "Make haste and pronounce judgment upon this person, who, being my liege-man, refuses to take his trial in my court;" on which they went forth, and pronounced that he deserved to be arrested and placed in confinement. On hearing this, the king sent to him Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and Robert, earl of Leicester, to inform him of the judgment that had been pronounced upon him; who accordingly said to him: "Listen to the judgment pronounced upon you." To this, the bishop made answer: "In the name of Almighty God, and under penalty of excommunication, I forbid you this day to pronounce judgment upon me, inasmuch as I have appealed unto the presence of our lord the pope." While the above-named earls were carrying this answer to the king, the archbishop went forth from the chamber, and going through the midst of them, reached his palfrey, and mounting it, left the palace, all the people shouting after him and saying: "Where are you going, traitor? Stop, and hear your sentence!"

When, however, he had arrived at the outer gates, he found them shut, and was in great apprehension of being taken by his enemies, but Almighty God delivered him. For, Peter de Munctorio,[40] one of his servants, espied a number of keys hanging on a nail[41] near the gate, and taking them down, opened it, on which the archbishop sallied forth on horseback, the

[40] Probably in the Norman, "Peter de Mouchoir."

[41] Singularly enough, Holinshed renders the words, "in clavo," "tied to a club's end."

king's porters standing by, and uttering not a word. The archbishop made all haste to arrive at the house of some canons regular,[42] where he was hospitably entertained, and commanded the tables to be set out and all the poor that were to be found before the gates to be introduced to eat and drink in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. This was accordingly done; and he, together with them and his people, becomingly partook of the repast in the refectory of the canons, and, when it was finished, made his bed in the church, between the nave and the altar. In the meantime, he had secretly ordered preparations to be made for his journey, as it was his intention to depart by night. At twilight, therefore, when the king and the rest were supping in the town, taking with him two friars of the Cistercian order, the name of one of whom was Robert de Caune, and of the other Scaiman, and a single servant, who was called Roger de Broc, he went out of the town through the gate, which was left entirely without guards, and at daybreak arrived at Lincoln, and was entertained at the house of James. Here the archbishop changed his dress, and, changing his name, ordered himself to be called by that of Dereman; and then, being recognized by few persons, taking remote ways and bye-paths, he hastened towards the sea-shore, he and his attendants riding on at night, and concealing themselves in the day among his friends and acquaintances. At last they arrived at the sea-shore, and reaching the port of Sandwich, secretly embarked on board of a ship, and then, secretly setting sail, in the morning landed in Flanders, whence he immediately made his way to France.

Before, however, he had arrived at the court of Louis, king of the Franks, Gilbert Folliot, bishop of London, and William, earl of Arundel, had arrived on behalf of the king of England, to prevent the king of France from receiving the archbishop of Canterbury in his kingdom, and to request him to beg our lord the pope, out of his love for him, not to receive the archbishop of Canterbury into his favour. But the more pains the above-named envoys of the king of England took to have the archbishop of Canterbury expelled from the kingdom of France, the more did the king of France favour him and his cause.

In addition to this, the king of France sent brother Francis, his almoner, to pope Alexander, who was at this time staying

[42] The abbey of Saint Andrew.

in France, begging him, as he esteemed the honor of the Roman Church and the aid of the kingdom of France, in all things to maintain Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, and his cause against the tyrant of England; and, accordingly, from this moment our lord the pope received the archbishop of Canterbury into great favour.

In the meantime, Henry, king of England, sent to our lord the pope, Roger, archbishop of York, Henry, bishop of Winchester, Gilbert, bishop of London, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, and Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, together with Guido Rufus, Richard de Ivechester, and John of Oxford, clerks, and William, earl of Arundel, Hugh de Gondeville, Bernard de Saint Valery, and Henry Fitzgerald, laymen. These persons found the pope at the city of Sens, and gave utterance to many evil and false accusations against the archbishop of Canterbury; but our lord the pope did not believe them, as he knew that they were bearing false witness against him.

On seeing that they could not gain their object, they requested of our lord the pope that two legates might be sent to England to take cognizance of the dispute which existed between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, and to decide it to the honor of God, and of the Holy Church, and of the realm. However, our lord the pope was not willing to send any cardinal or any legate, as he was aware that the king of England was powerful both in word and deed, and that legates might easily be corrupted, as being more athirst for gold and silver than for justice and equity. Upon this, the envoys of the king of England, being unable to gain their object, withdrew from the court of our lord the pope. On the fourth day after, Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, came thither, and, throwing himself at the feet of our lord the pope, presented to him the above-mentioned writing, in which were written the laws of England, which the king called the laws of his grandfather. The pope, having heard them read in presence of all the cardinals, and of the clergy and a large concourse of people, pronounced a perpetual condemnation upon them, and excommunicated all persons who should observe them, or in any way maintain them.

In this year two comets made their appearance before sunrise, in the month of August; one in the west, the other in

the north. A comet is a star which does not appear at all times, but in especial at the death of a king, or upon the ruin of a nation. When it appears refulgent with a hairy crown, it foretells a royal death; but, if it has long locks of hair [44] which, as it scintillates, it spreads abroad, it betokens the ruin of a nation.

In the same year, pope Alexander returned to Rome, and was honorably received by the people of that city. In this year died Malcolm, king of the Scots, and was succeeded by his brother William. In this year, also, Henry, king of the English, crossed over from England into Normandy, having issued a shocking and execrable edict against pope Alexander and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; the words of which were to the following effect:—

"If any person shall be found carrying letters or a mandate of our lord the pope, or of the archbishop of Canterbury, containing an interdict of Christian offices in England, let him be arrested and without delay let justice be done upon him, as a traitor to the king and the realm. Moreover, let no clerk, monk, or lay brother of any orders, be permitted to cross the sea, or to return to England, unless he has a letter from the justiciaries permitting him to cross over, or a letter from the king allowing his return. And if any such person shall be found, let him be arrested and detained. It is also forbidden that any person shall bring any mandate whatsoever of our lord the pope, or of the archbishop of Canterbury. And, if any such person shall be found, let him be arrested and detained. It is also universally forbidden that any person shall appeal to our lord the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury, and that, in future, any mandate of theirs shall be received in England; and it is ordered that no pleas whatsoever shall be held at their mandate. And if any person shall do anything against this prohibition, let him be arrested and detained. And further, if any bishop, priest, abbat, monk, clerk, or layman, shall observe any sentence of interdict, without delay let him be banished the kingdom, and all his kindred, but they are to take away none of their chattels with them, but let their chattels and possessions be seized into the king's hand. Also, let all clerks, who have benefices in England, be admonished

[44] What we call the tail of a comet, the ancients more poetically styled its "hair."

throughout every county, within three months after summons, to return to their benefices, as they wish to retain those benefices and to return to England. And, if they shall not return within the period before-mentioned, then let their chattels and possessions be seized into the king's hand. Also, let the bishops of London and Norwich be summoned to appear before the king's justiciaries, to make redress for having, contrary to the statutes of the realm, laid an interdict on the lands of earl Hugh, and passed sentence[46] against him. Also, let Saint Peter's pence be collected and kept."

The Address of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to Henry, king of England, at his Council held at Chinon.[47]

"With great longing have I longed to see your face, and to converse with you; much, indeed, on my own account, but more especially on yours. On my own account, that, on seeing your face, you might recall to mind the services which, in my obedience to you, I have devotedly rendered to you to the best of my conscience; as God may help me at the last judgment, when all shall stand before His tribunal to receive according to what they have done in the body, whether good or whether evil; also, that I might move you to take compassion upon me, who am obliged to live on charity among the people of a foreign land; although, by the grace of God, I still have sufficient provision and in abundance. It is also my great consolation that the Apostle says, 'All that will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution,'[48] and the words of the Prophet are, 'I have not seen the righteous man forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.'[49] Again, for your own sake, for these three reasons; because you are my lord, because you are my king, and because you are my son in the Spirit. Because you are my lord, I owe and offer to you my counsel, as is due from every bishop to his lord, in accordance with the honor of God and of the Holy Church; because you are my king, I am bound to respect and to admonish you; because you are my son, I am bound by the duties of my office to chastise and to correct you. For a father corrects his son, sometimes in kind words and sometimes in

[46] Of excommunication.

[47] A portion of this so-called speech is introduced by Roger of Wendover, in his narrative, as a letter from the archbishop to king Henry.

[48] 2 Tim. iii. 12. [49] Psalm xxxvii. 25.

harsh, that, by the one means or the other, he may recall him to do what is right. You ought to understand that, by the grace of God, you are a king for the following purposes: first, because it is your duty to govern yourself, and to amend your life with the practice of good manners, in order that by your example others may be induced to reform their lives, according to the saying of the wise man, that the world is formed after the example of the king.[48] In the second place, for encouraging some and punishing others, by virtue of the power which you have received from the Church with the sacrament of anointing, and with the sword which, in virtue of your office, you wield for the destruction of evil-doers to the Church. For kings are anointed in three places; on the head, on the breast, and on the arms, thereby signifying glory, knowledge, and strength. The kings who, in ancient times, did not observe the judgments of God, but sinned against His commandments, were deprived of both glory, knowledge, and strength, both they and their descendants: as examples in proof whereof, witness Saul, Nebuchadnezzar, Solomon, and many others. But those who, after their offences, in contrition of heart humbled themselves before the Lord, to them was granted more abundantly and more effectually the grace of God, together with all the blessings above-mentioned; as for instance, David, Hezekiah, and many others. Christ founded the Church and gained its liberty with His own blood, by enduring the scourges, the spitting, the nails, and the straits of death, and thereby left us an example to follow in His footsteps; wherefore the Apostle says, 'If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him.'[49] The Church of God is composed of two orders—the clergy and the people. Among the clergy are the Apostles and Apostolical men, the bishops and other rulers of the Church, to whom has been entrusted the care and government of that Church, and who have the management of ecclesiastical concerns, that they may cause all things to tend to the salvation of souls. For which reason it was said to Peter, and in Peter to the other rulers of the Church, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'[50] In the number of the people are kings, dukes, earls, and other potentates, who

[48] Alluding to Eccl. x. 2. [49] 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. [50] St. Matt. xvi. 18.

have the management of secular business, that they may cause it entirely to tend to the peace and unity of the Church. And, inasmuch as it is certain that kings receive their power from the Church, and not it from them, but (with your leave I say it) from Christ, you ought not to give your commands to bishops to absolve or to excommunicate any person, to bring the clergy before secular courts, to pronounce judgment relative to tithes and churches, to forbid bishops taking cognizance of breaches of faith or vows in such manner as is here set forth in writing among your customs, which you style the laws of your grandfather. For the Lord says, 'Keep my laws;' and, again, by the mouth of the prophet, 'Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people.'[51] Therefore, let my lord, if so it pleases him, listen to the counsels of his liege, the advice of his bishop, and the correction of his father. Let him, for the future, have no intercourse or communication with schismatics. For it is well known to almost all the world how duteously and how honorably you received our lord the pope, how greatly you have cherished and have honored the Church of Rome, how greatly our lord the pope and the Church of Rome have loved and honored your person, and, on whatever occasion, in conformity with the will of God they possibly could, have listened to your requests. Do not then attempt, my lord, if you wish for the salvation of your soul, in any way to withdraw from that Church what is its own, or in any degree to contravene justice in acting towards it; but rather allow it to enjoy the same freedom in your kingdom which it is known to enjoy in others. Keep in remembrance also the profession which you made and placed in writing upon the altar at Westminster, to preserve its liberties to the Church of God, at the time when, by my predecessor, you were consecrated and anointed king. Restore, also, the church of Canterbury, in which you received your promotion and consecration, to that state and dignity which it enjoyed in the days of your predecessors and mine. Restore, also, the possessions which belong to that church, the towns, the castles, the estates, of which you have made distribution at your will, and replace in full all the things which have been taken from either

[51] Isaiah x. 1, 2.

me as well as my clerks and laymen. Likewise, allow me freely and in peace to return to my see, and I am ready to serve you loyally and duteously, as my most dear lord and king, in so far as I can, saving always the honor of God and of the Roman Church and my orders. But if you will not do thus, then know, for a certainty, that you will feel the severity of God's vengeance."

The Letter of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff.

"To your presence, most holy father, do I fly for refuge; inasmuch as you have redeemed the liberties of the Church, amid so great hazards to yourself, understand that that is the sole or the principal cause of the persecutions to which, following your example, I have been subjected. For I lamented that the foundations of the Church are being gradually shaken, and that her rights are being destroyed by the avarice of princes, and I therefore thought it my duty to meet the malady on its approach. The more I felt myself bound in duty to my liege lord, to whom, after God, I owe everything, the more safely did I think I might oppose his wicked instigators; until they had gained full possession of the serenity of his favour, and had clouded it against me; from which time, as is the way among princes, they threw out charges and accusations, in order thereby to ensure my persecution; on which, I preferred to be driven away rather than willingly to succumb. To these evils, this was added, that I was summoned, as though a layman, to appear before the king and to satisfy him thereon. And still further, in the quarter to which I looked for support in my resistance, I was deceived; for I found my brethren, the bishops, at the bidding of the courtiers, prepared to pronounce judgment against me. Thus, almost crushed by the multitude of my antagonists, I have taken breath in your presence, which does not overlook even those who are in extreme need. Under your protection will I prove, that I ought not to have been brought for trial before that tribunal, nor yet before those persons. For what else, my father, would this have been than to rob you of your rights? What else than to subject the spiritual power to the temporal? When once made, this precedent would be generally established; and for that reason, I considered it my duty the more firmly to oppose it,

because a more ready method of doing injury would be introduced, if any weakness were manifested at the outset. But it will be their remark, 'The things which are Cæsar's should be rendered unto Cæsar;'[52] still, if in many things we must obey the king, we must not obey him on those points, the result of which would be, that he would not be a king. To do thus would be to make him not Cæsar, but a tyrant; and then they would have to resist him, not for me, but in their own behalves. For if to him is reserved the highest possible judgment, when he is all-powerful to pronounce judgment upon body and life, will there be any last appeal among mankind when he gives judgment according to his own motives? If those who have attacked me have taken the side of justice, for what reason do they censure me? If, on the other hand, I have made my appeal to him, to whom it is not lawful or excusable to disallow an appeal, the consequence is, that they must either be accusing me unjustly, or must have distrust in your justice. For doubly should I be confounded, if before your Holiness I should be convicted. And do I merit persecution on the part of those, in behalf of whom I have laid myself open to such attacks, and should have gained my point, had they only been so inclined? But badly fares the head, if it is forsaken by the limbs. If too the eyes were to assume a tongue in opposition to the head, if they were to be gifted with foresight, they would find that they were contriving evil against themselves; so likewise have the king's followers used their aid against me to ensure their own slavery. What can have been the cause of hatred so great that, in order to destroy me, they should destroy themselves? The consequence is, that while they neglect their spiritual for their temporal duties, they fail in both. And is it the fact that, while I protested aloud and appealed to your presence, they presumed by their judgment to condemn their own father? Why, if they have made a compact to agree with the prince who is so offended at me in relation to the universal Church, even to you, most holy father, may their suspicion extend. But they will affirm that they have held with the king by reason of their duty to their liege; even so, corporeally to him, but spiritually to me. Whom then, in preference to themselves, ought they to have held with? Ought they not to have submitted in preference to the loss of things corporeal rather than spiritual? But to this

[52] St. Matt. xxii. 21. St. Mark xii. 17.

they may reply, that this was not a proper time for provoking the prince. How astutely do they argue to ensure their own slavery! Why, they themselves encourage it, who give shelter beneath their wings to his excesses; for if they had not given their sanction, he would have refrained from acting thus. And on what occasion is constancy more required than during a time of persecution? Are not his friends proved by the test of persecution? If people always succumb, what are they to look for? Resistance is necessary at times. Look then with condescension, most holy father, upon my exile and persecutions, and remember that once in your time I occupied an exalted position, and that for your sake I have been loaded with injuries. Put forth your severity, and restrain those at whose instigations this persecution has befallen me; and let not aught of these things be imputed to my lord the king, who is rather the instrument, than the author of these machinations."

The Letter of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to his suffragan bishops.

"Thomas, by the grace of God, the humble servant of the church of Canterbury, to his venerable brethren, the bishop of London, and the other bishops of the whole province of Canterbury; may they so enjoy temporal blessings, as not to lose those of eternity. My most dearly-beloved brethren, wherefore do ye not arise with me against my enemies? Why do ye not take part with me against those who work iniquity? Is it that ye are ignorant that the Lord scattereth abroad the bones of those who please men? They shall be confounded, inasmuch as the Lord hath despised them. Your discreetness well knows that when the errors of a man are not opposed, they are approved; and that when truth is not defended, it is smothered. He, too, who does not hasten to the reproval of that which ought to be corrected, appears, Saint Gregory giving his testimony thereto, to encourage him who commits the wrong. Enough, and even more than enough, have we put up with our lord, the king of England; and yet, in return, the Church of God has received no support from him. We hold that it is a thing dangerous and not to be endured, to leave unpunished for the future, as hitherto, the excessive outrages committed by him and his officials against the Church of God and the ministers of that Church; and the more especially so, inasmuch as, most

frequently by letters and messages, and other means, as was our duty, we have endeavoured to recall him from the perverseness of his course. But since we have been hardly heard by him, much more listened to, after invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, we have publicly condemned, and have made null and void that writing in which are contained, not those customs, but rather those corruptions by which at the present time the Church of England is disturbed and put to confusion, as also the authority of the said writing. All who observe, or enforce, or counsel, or aid, or defend the same, we do likewise excommunicate; and all you bishops, by the authority of God and of ourselves, we do absolve from the promises, by which, against the rules of the Church, you bound yourselves to the observance thereof. For who is there that can doubt that the priests of Christ are appointed to be the fathers and masters of kings and princes, and of all the faithful? Is it not understood to be an act of lamentable madness for the son to attempt to make his father, or the disciple his master, obedient to him, and by unrighteous means of compulsion to render him subject to his power? One, too, whom he believes to have power to bind and to loose him not only on earth, but even in heaven as well? Therefore, in order that we may not fall into the commission of this error, we have rendered of no effect, and have made null and void the authority of that writing, as also the writing itself, together with all the corruptions that are therein contained; and more especially the following:—'Appeal shall not in any case be made to the Apostolic See, except with the king's permission. It shall not be lawful for an archbishop or bishop to depart from the kingdom, to attend the summons of our lord the pope, without the king's permission. It shall not be lawful for a bishop to excommunicate any person who holds of the king *in capite*, or to lay an interdict upon any one of his officers, without the king's permission. It shall not be lawful for a bishop to take cognizance of perjury or breach of faith. The clergy are to be brought before secular tribunals. Laymen, whether the king or other persons, are to take cognizance of causes as to churches and tithes, and other enactments to a like effect. We do also denounce as excommunicated, and have excommunicated by name, the man called John of Oxford, who has fallen into a damnable heresy, by tendering an oath to schismatics, through whom a schism that had almost died out has re-

vived in Germany, as also for communicating with that most notorious schismatic, Reginald of Cologne; and because, contrary to the mandate of our lord the pope and of myself, he has taken unlawful possession of the deanery of the church of Salisbury; a deed which, so detestable as it is, so contrary to right, so pernicious in its example to the Church of God, we do make utterly null and void, and do render it of no effect whatsoever; and it is our command to the bishop of Salisbury, and the chapter of that church, in virtue of their obedience, and at the peril of their orders, on seeing this our letter, thenceforth no longer to hold him as dean thereof. In like manner, we do denounce as excommunicated, and have excommunicated, Richard de Ivechester, because he has fallen into the same damnable heresy, by holding communication with Reginald of Cologne, the schismatic, as also by inventing and contriving all kinds of mischief with those schismatics and Germans, to the destruction of the Church of God, and especially of the Church of Rome, according to the terms agreed upon between our lord the king and them. We have also excommunicated Richard de Lucy and Jocelyn de Baliol, who have been the authors and fabricators of these corruptions; also Ranulph de Broc, who has taken possession of the property of the church of Canterbury, which by right is a provision for the poor, and withholds the same, and has arrested our men as though they were laymen, and detains them in his custody. We have also excommunicated Hugh de Saint Clair and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, who, without either connivance or consent on our part, have laid hands upon the property and possessions of the said church of Canterbury. All others beside who in future shall lay violent hands upon the property and possessions of the church of Canterbury against our will and consent, we have included in the same sentence of excommunication; according to the words of pope Lucius; 'All spoilers of the Church and withholders of her possessions, putting them away from the threshold of the said mother Church, we do excommunicate, sentence to damnation, and pronounce to be guilty of sacrilege.' And not these only, but those even who assent thereto, does he comprehend in the same sentence. The Scripture, also, in one place, tells us that he who agrees with the sinful, and defends another in his sin, shall be accursed before God and man, and shall be visited with the most severe afflictions; and likewise, that if any one

defends another in his sin, he shall be more severely corrected than he who has committed the sin. As yet, indeed, we have delayed pronouncing this sentence against the person of our lord the king, in the hope that perchance, by the inspiration of the Divine grace, he may recover his senses; still, we shall very shortly pronounce it, unless he shall make haste so to do. Therefore, we do command your brotherhood, and by virtue of your obedience enjoin you, that henceforth you hold the aforesaid men who have been excommunicated by us as excommunicated, and cause them to be denounced as such; in obedience to the decree of pope Honorius: 'Be it lawful for all bishops to declare the names of those who have been excommunicated by them both to the neighbouring bishops, as well as to the people of their own diocese, and placing them in a public place before the doors of the churches, to warn all comers thereby, so that due diligence may be given to both points, entrance into the churches may be everywhere denied to those excommunicated, and grounds for excommunication may be removed from the rest.'[52] And you, brother, the bishop of London, we do command, and, by virtue of our authority over you, enjoin the same, that you will disclose and show this our letter to the rest of your brethren and to all our brother bishops of our province. Fare ye well in Christ, and pray continually for us."

After these things, Henry, king of England, returned from Normandy to England, and marched with a great army into Wales, where he lost many of his nobles, barons, and men. He also did justice upon the sons of Rees,[53] and upon the sons and daughters of his nobles, for he had the eyes of the male children put out, and cut off the noses and ears of the females.[54]

In the year 1166, being the twelfth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king Henry

[52] This passage seems in a hopelessly corrupt state; it runs as follows:—"Eaque in celebri loco posita præ foribus Ecclesiæ, cunctis venientibus inculcare, quatenus in utràque diligentiâ excommunicationis, ubique Ecclesiasticus aditus denegetur, et excommunicationis causa omnibus auferatur."

[53] King of the Welch.

[54] Holinshed has the following quaint passage as a quotation from our author, which, if correct, goes to prove that his MS. differed materially from the printed copy. "He did justice upon the sons of Rice or Rees, and also on the sons and daughters of other noblemen that were his complices, very vigorously, causing the eyes of the young striplings to be picked out of their heads, and their noses to be cut off or slit; and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be stuffed."

expelled from England, and from all the lands of his dominions, all the men and women he could possibly find belonging to the kindred of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; even infants crying in the cradle, and still hanging at the mother's breast, he sent into banishment, that, upon seeing them, the grief of the above-named archbishop might be increased. What art thou doing, thou tyrant? What madness is it that hath overcome thee, that thou shouldst thus drive away from thy kingdom those who have done thee no injury, and in whose mouths no guile has been found? There is no reason why the issue of the banished, so long as they observe the laws, should not live in the city!

When the blessed Thomas beheld them, he was greatly afflicted, and, sharing in their sorrows, became more than a martyr. "No wonder was it, then, if his mind, becoming disturbed, melted away, like water dropping from the snow."[55] Still, all these sorrows did the man of God endure with great long-suffering. He had hardly remained two years at the abbey of Pontigny, with the abbat Gwarine, and the monks who were there in the service of God, under whose charge he had been placed by Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, when the king of England sent word to the above-named abbat of Pontigny, that if he any longer harboured the archbishop of Canterbury in his house, he would, in such case, banish all the monks of his order from England. The consequence of this was, that the blessed Thomas, of his own accord, departed from that house, in order that so many houses of the religious might not, on his account, come to ruin. He, therefore, betook himself to Louis, king of the Franks; by whom he was hospitably received, and sent to the abbey of Saint Columba, near the city of Sens.

The Letter of pope Alexander to Henry, king of England.

"Alexander the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son Henry, the illustrious king of England, health and the Apostolic benediction. Although your great devotion towards us and your mother the Holy Church seems in some measure to have waxed cool, still, at no season do we relax our paternal feelings towards you and the kingdom entrusted to your government. Inasmuch, then, as the stripes

[55] Nec mirum est igitur si mens sua turbida facta
De nive manantis more liquescit aquæ."

of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy, your highness ought diligently to advert thereto, and, seriously giving it your consideration, observe that as the clergy are distinguished in their lives and habits from the laity, so also are the tribunals of the clergy bound to be entirely different from the tribunals of the laity. Wherefore, if you confound the same in an unseemly manner, render subject to your power that which belongs to Jesus Christ, enact, at your own good-will, new laws for the oppression of the churches and of the poor of Christ, and introduce customs which you style those of your grandfather, then, without doubt, at the last judgment, which you will not be able to escape, you yourself will be judged in a similar manner; 'With the same measure with which you mete, it shall be measured to you again.'[56] But, lest our admonitions may appear in some measure tedious or harsh to the ears of your highness, recollect the words of the Scripture, that 'the son whom the father loveth he correcteth,'[57] knowing this for certain, that the more ardently we love your person with all brotherly love in the Lord, and the more frequently and thoughtfully we recall to mind the marks of your most sincere attachment to us and to the Church of God, which you formerly so frequently and so bounteously showed, the more readily do we make these intimations to you, to whom, with all the yearnings of our heart, we wish spiritual and eternal welfare. But if the future judgment is in any way to deter you, or if a crown of glory, as a reward in your eternal rest, has any delights for you, then does it befit you to worship true justice, which is God; to concede to every one his rights, and to leave to the ecclesiastics all ecclesiastical matters, and especially those of a criminal nature, which arise from breaches of faith or of oaths, and all cases relative to the property and possessions of churches. In fact, it would neither befit, nor, indeed, be expedient for your serene highness to confound the offices of king and priest. For, if the whole of the property of the Church, which by means of oppression of this nature has been converted to your use, were to be expended by you in the relief of the poor, or in other works of piety, you would therein be paying a mark of respect not more pleasing to God than if, after offering one alms-dish on the altar, you were to cover up another, or,

[56] St. Matt. vii. 2. [57] Prov. iii. 12.

if you were to crucify Peter, that you might deliver Paul from peril of death. For you ought to recollect, and have it as an example on this occasion before your eyes, how king Saul, who, after he had conquered Amalek, wished, against the commandment of the Lord, to reserve the spoil, was reproved by the Lord when he made it his excuse that he had reserved it for sacrifice; and how, while he was still alive, another man was appointed to the royal honors and dignities. The sins of the people had raised him to be king, but his own offences deprived him of the government of the kingdom. How king Uzziah,[56] also, when he attempted to sacrifice and to usurp the office of priest, was, as a worthy punishment, smitten with leprosy, it would be for your well-being to recall to mind. If, however, you shall ascribe your successes to your might and prowess, and not to God, beyond a doubt He who has set you over others, and made you a great prince in the world, for the governance of the faithful, and not for their oppression, will, with rebuke, require of you the talents which have been entrusted to you; and, as we read of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, for his father's sins, was driven from his kingdom, so will God visit the sins of the father upon the children. Do you, then, give no heed to the evil suggestions of any person, nor incline your ear to those who are always whispering mischief, but diligently attend to those things which concern your salvation. Wherefore, make it your endeavour to govern to the honor of God and the peace and tranquillity of the Church, for which alone you have received the government of your kingdom, and study to rule it to the best of the power that God has given you, to the end that God may preserve for you your temporal kingdom, and, after that, may give you one to endure world without end."

The Letter of pope Alexander to Gilbert, bishop of London, in behalf of the blessed Thomas.

"Alexander the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Gilbert, bishop of London, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as, in relation to the matters which we have enjoined to your brotherhood, you have shown efficient zeal and diligence, and have made it your care faithfully to solicit and advise our most dearly beloved

[56] 2 Chron. xxvi. 20.

son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of England, upon the increase and exaltation of the Church and of ourselves, we deem it every way pleasing and acceptable, and, returning you most abundant thanks for the same, with extreme praises, do commend your prudent anxiety in the same unto the Lord. And, inasmuch as we do love the said king and illustrious prince with the greatest affection, as a most truly beloved son, so both through you and through our venerable brethren, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Hereford, as also through our most dearly beloved daughter in Christ, his mother, the former illustrious empress of the Romans, have we often and often, in divers ways, tried to induce and encourage him to observe his duty to the Church. Wherefore, we do rejoice and exult in the Lord at the dutifulness of the said king, of which in your letter you have informed us. But, inasmuch as we wish him to continue in his duty to the Church of God and to ourselves, as from the beginning he has been wont to do, we do ask of your brotherhood, enjoin, and command that, anxiously and diligently, you will often and often advise him, both yourself and by others, and exhort him by all means, and prevail upon him, after his usual manner, to use his best endeavours for the honor and exaltation of the said Church, and manfully to support and maintain and defend her cause. Let him, also, love and honor the churches and ecclesiastical persons, and preserve their rights. Our venerable brother, also, the archbishop of Canterbury, let him receive again into his love and favor. And we, if he shall continue to pay to Saint Peter and to ourselves that honor and respect which he has begun to do, will love him with sincere affection, and will use our endeavours in every way, as will be our duty, for the exaltation of himself and the preservation of the kingdom entrusted to him. And, indeed, we would prefer to outdo him in patience and long-suffering, so long as we can possibly endure so to do, rather than cause him vexation in any way. Given this Wednesday, the eleventh day before the calends of September."

The Letter of Gilbert, bishop of London, to pope Alexander, upon the answer of the King on the business of the archbishop of Canterbury.

"To his father and lord, Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, the brother Gilbert, servant of the church of London, the debt

of sincere affection and the service of humble obedience. Your mandate, dearest father in Christ, has been received by us with due veneration, immediately on which, we presented ourselves before your son, and our dearest lord, the illustrious king of the English, who is now at the head of his army in the French territory; and, in conjunction with our venerable brother, the bishop of Hereford, we diligently and carefully admonished him according to the tenor of your mandate. We set before his eyes all the particulars of your letter, and, beseeching him and expostulating with him as far as was becoming towards his royal majesty, we constantly and incessantly exhorted him that he would satisfy us as to his purposes, and that, if he had in any way departed from the paths of reasonableness, he would not delay, at your admonition, through us, to return to the ways of truth and justice; that, following the pious admonition of his father, he would desist from all evil actions, would love God with purity of heart, and would regard with his usual veneration his holy mother, the Roman Church; that he would neither impede those who wished to visit her, nor prevent appeals being made to her; that benignly recalling and restoring our brother, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, to his see, he would remain firm and immoveable in his reverence for Saint Peter and yourself, and that, giving his entire attention to works of piety, he would not oppress either the churches or ecclesiastical persons in his realm or in his territories, nor yet allow them to be oppressed by his means or those of another; but, on the contrary, diligently preserve them under his royal protection, to the end that He, through whom kings reign, might preserve for him his temporal kingdom while on earth, and bestow on him an eternal one in heaven: that otherwise, if he would not listen to those wholesome counsels, your Holiness, who has hitherto patiently borne with him, could no longer bear with him in your long-suffering. We further added, that we greatly feared for him, that if he did not correct his faults, he would before long incur the wrath of Almighty God; so much so, that his kingdom would not be of long continuance, nor his family allowed to prosper; but that He who had exalted him when humble, would now, when exalted, hurl him down with a heavy fall from the summit of the throne. On this, he received your admonition

with much thankfulness and with much forbearance, and with great meekness made answer to each part of it in order. In the first place, he asserted that his feelings were in no way estranged from you, and that he had never had in his mind any other intentions, provided you showed a paternal solicitude towards him, than to love you as his father, to support and cherish the Holy Church of Rome as his mother, and humbly to obey and follow your holy commands, saving always the dignity of himself and of his kingdom. But that, if for some time past he has not looked upon you with reverence, he asserts that the following is the reason for the same: that although he maintained your cause in your need, with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength, your Holiness did not return him the like, according to his deserts, in his time of need, when he had recourse to you through his envoys; but he complains, and feels ashamed to say, that in almost every request he has made of you, he has met with a repulse. Trusting, however, in a father's love, which, when it shall think fit, will listen to his son, hoping for and expecting a more cheerful countenance, he remains firm and constant, as we have already said, in his attachment to Saint Peter and to yourself. For this reason it is that he will not attempt to prevent any one who may wish to visit your Holiness, and neither, as he affirms, has he hitherto prevented them. As regards the question of appeals, by the ancient institutions of his realm, he claims it as his privilege and duty that no clerk shall go out of his kingdom for any civil suit, unless he has first made trial whether by the king's own authority and mandate he can obtain justice. But if he shall be unable to obtain this, then, the king making no opposition whatsoever thereto, any person whatsoever shall be at liberty to appeal to your excellency, whenever he shall think fit. And if upon this point your rights or dignities have been in any way prejudiced, he promises that he will speedily correct the same, with the help of God, in a synod of all the clergy of his dominions. As regards the emperor, although the king knew him to be a schismatic, still until this day he has never heard that you had excommunicated him. But if on our information he shall come to know that such is the case, if he has entered into any unlawful compact with him or with any other person, this he also promises he will have similarly corrected by the judgment and counsel of the Church of his realm. The

king also asserts that he has by no means expelled our father, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, from his kingdom; as he has left it entirely of his own accord, so when he shall have a mind so to do, he will be entirely at liberty with his entire sanction to return to his church. Provided always, that while he receives satisfaction on those points upon which he makes complaint, he shall be willing that the royal privileges should be faithfully observed to which he has been sworn. And, if any church or ecclesiastical person shall make proof that they have been wronged by him or his people, he will be prepared to make full compensation, according to the judgment of the whole Church. This is the answer which we have received from our lord the king, although we could have wished that we had received something more entirely according to your wishes. This answer, however, we have determined upon notifying to your highness, that from his reply your wisdom might be enabled to form a judgment how to put an end to these matters. But our lord, the king, seems in especial to justify his cause, upon the fact that on all the points which have been mentioned, he will abide by the judgment and counsel of the Church in his dominions; and he promises that he will in nowise prevent the return of our father, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, as we have previously mentioned. Wherefore we have thought proper to supplicate your excellency, keeping this always before our eyes, 'A bruised reed shalt thou not break, and the smoking flax shalt thou not quench.'[66] Moderate for a time, if so it please you, within the bounds of discretion that zeal which is kindled by the flames of the Divine Spirit to avenge each injury done to the Church of God; lest by pronouncing an interdict or the extreme sentence of excommunication, you may have to lament that numberless churches are subverted, and so, which God forbid, irrevocably alienate from your allegiance both the king himself, and numberless people with him. For it is as good for the limb to be joined to the head, even though wounded, as to be cast away from the body when cut off. For wounded limbs return to a state of healthfulness, whereas, when once cut off, they have great difficulty in adhering to the body. To cut off a limb, is to entail desperation; whereas the cautious treatment of the surgeon will very frequently heal the wound. Wherefore, if so it please you, it were

[66] St. Matt. xii. 20.

better that, at the present moment, you should use your endeavours in healing the wound, if any such there is, than that, by cutting off the most noble portion of the Church of God, you should bring to utter confusion that which, for this long time past, has been in a state of confusion beyond what can possibly be expressed. For, suppose that as yet your words have not taken their full effect, or have been entirely appreciated. Is then the Divine grace to be despaired of? At an acceptable time, they may both have their full effect, and be entirely appreciated. Is the hand of God so shortened, that it cannot save? Or is his ear stopped, so that it cannot hear? Those words are swift in their course: God, when he wills it, with a high hand works changes in all things, and gives unhoped-for accomplishment to the prayers of his Saints. Royal blood, then only knows how to be overcome when it has been successful; nor is it ashamed to yield when it has gained the victory. By kindness is it to be mollified, by advice and long-suffering is it to be overcome. But what if this long-suffering, when manifested, or needed for a time to be manifested, causes some loss of temporal possessions? Is there nothing to be rescued from the wreck when the fate of multitudes is threatened? Are not many things needed to be thrown into the deep when the confusion of land, sea, and waves is threatening destruction? Foolishly, but still in charity, do we address you in no fictitious language. If this should be the termination of the matter, that, losing everything, the lord archbishop of Canterbury should submit to continual exile, and, which God forbid, England should no longer obey your commands, it would have been much better patiently to have endured this for a time, than with such zeal to have insisted upon acting with severity. For, suppose that your vengeance shall not be able to separate still more of us from our obedience to you—still, there will not be wanting some to bow the knee to Baal, and without regard to religion and justice, to receive the pall of Canterbury at the hands of their idol. Nor will there be wanting persons to occupy our sees, and, seated in our seats, to show him obedience with all feelings of duty. Many are already prognosticating such things, hoping that offences may arise, and that the straight may be made crooked. Wherefore, father, we do not mourn or lament our own misfortunes; but unless you meet these evils, we see

that a shocking subversion of the Church of God is threatened, and that, becoming weary of our lives, we may curse the day on which we were born to behold such a sight as this. Beloved father in Christ, may Almighty God preserve you in safety for long to come!"

The Letter of the blessed Thomas to King Henry.

"To his most revered lord, Henry, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of the English, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, Thomas, by the same grace the humble servant of the church of Canterbury, health and best prayers for his prosperity in all things. To speak concerning God stands in need of a mind utterly free and unbiassed; upon this subject it is that I address my lord, and, I trust, with peace towards all men. I beseech you, my lord, that, with patience of mind, you will endure some little advice, which, by the grace of God, which is never ineffectual, will contribute to the salvation of your soul and to my acquittal. Difficulties beset me on every side; even tribulation and difficulties have come upon me, who am placed between two most grave and fearful alternatives. When I say between two most fearful alternatives, I mean a dangerous silence on the one hand, and admonition of you on the other. If, on the one hand, I am silent, it will be death to me, and I shall not escape the hands of the Lord, who says, 'If thou dost not warn the wicked from his wicked way, and he shall die in his iniquity, his blood He will require at your hands.'[57] If, on the other hand, I admonish you, I fear, which God forbid, that I shall not escape the wrath of my lord. And I trust that it may not befall me, according to what the wise man says, that when a person sends to intercede or to admonish a person who is not pleased thereat, it is to be feared lest, becoming angered, his mind may be provoked to do what is worse. What, then, am I to do? Am I to speak, or am I to be silent? In either alternative there is danger, no doubt. But inasmuch as it is safer to fall under the indignation of men than into the hands of the living God, trusting in the mercy of the Most High, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and who will induce them as He shall think fit, (and I trust that He will, to take the better part), I will speak to my lord, inasmuch as I have once begun so to do. For often are good

[57] Ezekiel iii. 18.

things provided for those who are unwilling, and especially when the safety more than the will is consulted. In your land is kept in captivity the daughter of Sion, the spouse of a great king, oppressed by many, insulted by those who long have hated her, and by whom she ought rather to be honored than afflicted, and in especial by you. Keeping, therefore, in your recollection each of those blessings which God has bestowed upon you in the beginning of your reign, in the middle thereof, and almost unto the present moment, do you release her, and allow her to reign jointly with her husband, to the end that God may bless you, and that your kingdom may forthwith begin to recover its strength, and this reproach be taken away from your generation, and that unbroken peace may reign in your days. Believe me, most serene prince, my much-loved lord, the Almighty is slow in retribution, long-suffering in His patience, but most severe in His vengeance. Hear me, and do that which is right. But, if otherwise, it is greatly to be feared that (and I trust that so it may not be) He will gird His sword upon His thigh, and will come in His might and with a strong hand, armed with many woes, to set free His spouse, and that not without heavy oppressions and servitude, attended by tribulation. But if you listen to me, then the Lord will of necessity be sensible forthwith of your duteousness, as acting the part of a valiant soldier on His side, and in such case He will bless you, and will add glory unto your glory, even unto the issue of your sons and of your daughters, down to distant times. But if otherwise, I fear, and may God avert it from you, that the sword will not depart from your house, until the Most High shall have come and avenged the injuries done to Him and His; just as it did not depart from the house of Solomon, although God had made choice of him, and had conferred upon him such great wisdom, and such an enjoyment of peacefulness, that it was said by all, 'This is the son of wisdom and of peace;' yet, inasmuch as he departed from the path of the Lord, and proceeded from wickedness to wickedness, God divided asunder his kingdom, and gave it unto his servant; and, in especial, because, after the commission of his sin, he did not instantly seek to appease the Lord, as his father David had done, who immediately after his offence humbled himself before the Lord, corrected his fault, sought for mercy, and obtained pardon; and

would that, with the grace of God, you would do the like. These words I write unto you at present, the rest I have placed in the mouth of him who bears these presents, a pious man, one of great credit, and, as I believe, a faithful servant of yours. In them, I pray that so it may please you to place full belief; still in preference, with your favour, I could wish to enjoy the condescension of an interview with you. Once and always to my lord, farewell!"

The Letter of the blessed Thomas to Robert, bishop of Hereford.

"Thomas, by the grace of God, the humble servant of the church of Canterbury, to his venerable brother Robert, by the same grace, bishop of Hereford, health and blessings in all things. If so it is that my letters have caused anxiety in your brotherhood, would that it were the case that I had not found you slothful in feeling, and not watchful in the due performance of the duties of the office you have undertaken. I have chosen to be cast out and to become accursed on behalf of you all, a reproach before men and a scorn before the people, that I might not behold the evils of the holy ones, and keep silence upon the injuries done to my nation; and anxiously did I wish that perchance some one of you in his zeal for the law of God, and his love of the liberties of the Church, would follow and come after me, that so we might not give horns[58] to the sinful. And behold! you, whom I believed to be given unto me by the Lord, that with me you might build, and weed, and plant, are suggesting encouragement amid ruin, and solace in despair; inasmuch as you are preaching humility, nay, even abject submission, and are announcing tidings of good, while, on every side, confusion prevails, to the injury of God and of the clergy: and this, at the moment when you ought to be strengthening the constancy of my mind amid its vacillation, and, with me, sustaining the attack, in order to defend our inheritance of the cross and repel and crush the enemies of the church, to be suggesting counsel to my ears, to be breathing fresh life into my spirit, to the end that I might entreat with the more firmness, that I might argue with the greater cogency, and rebuke with the greater severity. And, if they should refuse to hear me, then, undoubtedly, ought you to have exclaimed, 'Why dost thou sleep? Un-

[58] Give them cause to raise their horns, or exult.

sheathe the sword of Saint Peter, avenge the blood of the servants of Christ that has been shed, the injuries of the Church which are being daily committed against us and ours.' Has it entirely escaped your memory with what injuries I have been afflicted, with what insults persecuted, when, in my own person, against all authority and against all semblance of right, Christ was brought to be judged before a lay tribunal? Still, I will not recall to your mind the injury done to my own person but to the Church. Consider with thoughtfulness, and deeply reflect upon it in your mind, what was done before my departure, what was being done at my departure, what has been done since, what, in fact, is being done every day in your country, in relation to the Church of God and its servants. With what conscience can you possibly conceal these things from yourself; you, of whom hopes were entertained that you would be the redeemer of Israel, the liberator of the Church from bondage? And, now, because you have so long held your peace, I am always in affliction for you, my own begotten son, lest he should come after you who shall take away your birthright, and shall deprive you, which may God forbid, of the blessing of the first-born. But, though even thus far you have held your peace, resume your might (my most dearly-beloved son) and cry aloud—it is your duty so to do—lift up your voice against them, inspire them with fear, awaken their contrition, banish their self-satisfaction, that so the anger of God may not descend upon them, and the whole people perish; or even, which may God forbid, the rulers with the people. For, even now, Divine vengeance is at the gates. These things do I write unto you, not for your confusion, but to put you on your guard; to the end that, relying upon the authority of God and of myself, for the future you may be strengthened and may be willing more manfully and more boldly to perform the duties of your office. This one thing in especial I wish you to be assured of, with the mercy of God, confusion to his Church shall not be extorted from me. In addition to what I have said, I give you thanks for this, that even now you have visited me, and have comforted me with your solaces. Further—there is one thing which I am not able to endure without the greatest bitterness of soul—verily, I weep for my most beloved lord the king. For fear and trembling have come upon me, and the shades have overwhelmed me, since I have seen that tribulation and difficulties are threatening

my lord the king. And no wonder. For he has vexed the Church of God, and has put her to confusion, and has made hardships the lot of his clergy, giving them the wine of sorrow to drink. Therefore, thus saith the Lord to him, 'Where now, simple man, are the wise counsellors who used to say to thee, 'Thou art the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings, whose customs must be observed throughout England; which if a person shall not observe, he is not a friend to Cæsar, but an enemy to the crown, a criminal at the judgment-seat.' But, assuredly, that person is rather the friend of the cross of Christ; for, 'Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed, to turn aside the needy from judgment, and take away the right of the poor of my people,'[58*] that churches and widows may be their prey, and that they may plunder the possessions of certain of the clergy. What shall these persons do on the day of visitation and of calamity that approacheth from afar? To whose aid will they fly for refuge, and lay aside their vainglorious ness, that they may not be bowed down under judgment, and fall with the slain? Where, now, are his wise men? Let them come forth, and let them disclose to him and say what the Lord of Hosts has determined as to England. His wise men are become fools, and his nobles have come to nought; they have deceived England, and into the midst of the people of England its lord has introduced a feeling of stupefaction. By their deeds they have made England to go astray, even as a drunken man goes astray, vomiting and staggering; and for England help there will be none. Who shall know the beginning or end[59] hereof? For they have devoured Jacob, and have laid waste his dwelling-place,[60] and have said, 'Let us take possession of the holy place of God,' and have reviled the priests and their chief men, saying, 'Whither will ye fly for refuge from our hands, or in whom do ye put your trust? Why have ye fled, and proved disobedient to our commands?' Oh, how empty are these thoughts! how shameful these deeds in the sight of the Lord, who beholds how vain they are! For He will laugh to scorn him who

[58*] Is. x. 1, 2.

[59] In the text, "Quis faciet caput aut caudam," literally, "Who shall make head or tail?" This portion of the letter is in a most corrupt state.

[60] Psalm lxxix. 10.

thinks thus, when He shall see him acting thus; because His day is near at hand, even now He is at the gates, and will say, 'Behold the men who have not placed reliance in their God, but have put their trust in the multitude of their riches, and have waxed strong in their vanity!' But it is in vain that they do thus; the Lord will not leave His church, nor His clergy, without a defender, without the heaviest vengeance. For it has been founded upon a firm rock; and that rock is Christ, who has founded it with his own blood. Assuredly, if they do not make amends herein, they will not escape with impunity, inasmuch as they have trodden under foot the Holy of Holies, the house of God, and have afflicted His priests with injuries and abusive words. These are those to whom the Lord himself has said, 'I have said, ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High;'[61] and also, in another place, 'He that hateth you, hateth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.'[62] Let them then return to their senses; let them avert evil from themselves; let them with the greatest humility show repentance. But if, they do not, then it is to be feared, and, oh may it be averted! that the Lord will speedily come, and will bring upon them and their land great tribulation and the most heavy vengeance of His retribution. Behold! our Lord shall come and shall not delay, and He shall save us; inasmuch as He will never forsake those who put their trust in Him. For the prophet saith, 'Trust in the Lord, and do good, and thou shalt be fed upon his riches;'[62*] and, again, 'Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart;'[63] and, 'put your trust in the Lord, and He shall soon deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence.'[64] And, that I may end all that I have said herein with a becoming conclusion, inasmuch as the Lord has shown what and how great things we ought to endure for His name and in the defence of His Church, I hold it necessary for you to pray, both you and the whole Church entrusted to your charge, continually for us; to the end that, what through our own merits we are unable to endure, by your intercession and that of the holy men who are subject to you, we may be enabled to endure, and that thereby we may deserve to obtain

[61] Psalm lxxii. 6. [62] Partly from Zech. ii. 8. [62*] Psalm xxxvii. 3.
[63] Psalm xxvii. 14. [64] Psalm xci. 3.

everlasting grace. Farewell, and be comforted; farewell, likewise, to the whole of the Church of England, and may she be comforted in the Lord, that so we likewise may fare well."

In the same year Henry, king of England, after his return from Wales, crossed over from England into Normandy, whither he was followed by William, king of the Scots. In the same year died earl Cospatric, in Albany, and was succeeded by his son Waltheof.

In the year of grace 1167, being the thirteenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Matilda, formerly empress of the Romans, and mother of the above-named king, departed this life, and was buried at Rouen, at the abbey called Saint Mary de Pratis. In the same year, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, went to Rome, and by violence and with an armed band, thrust Guido of Crema, the antipope and schismatic, into the Apostolic See. On his departure, a deadly plague immediately broke out among his people, and Reginald, the archbishop elect of Cologne, who was the head of the whole schism, perished on the Alps; in order that his bones might be separated from the flesh and taken to Cologne, the whole of his body was boiled in water.

The Letter of the blessed Thomas, the archbishop, to Pope Alexander.

"To his most loving father and lord, Alexander, by the grace of God, Supreme Pontiff, Thomas, the humble servant of the church of Canterbury, due and dutiful obedience. I have endured enough and more than enough, most loving father, while waiting for the reformation of the king of England, and yet have gathered no fruits whatever of my long suffering; but, on the contrary, while unthinkingly submitting thereto, I have incurred the loss and utter destruction of the authority and liberties of the Church of God. I have oftentimes by messengers, religious and fitting men, called upon him, and have frequently invited him to make due satisfaction; as also by letters, the copies whereof I have sent unto you. I have announced to him the Divine wrath and vengeance, if he fails to come to his proper senses; whereas he more and more persists in his evil courses, treading under foot and depressing the Church of God; both persecuting myself personally and those who are in banishment with me, so far as even to attempt to deprive me, by threats and menaces, of the kindnesses of the servants of God, who for the sake of God and of yourself

provide us with food. For he has written to the abbat of the Cistercians,[65] that as he loves those abbeys of his order which are in his power, so must he withhold from us all services and attentions on part of his order. But why enlarge? For, notwithstanding my long suffering, to that degree has the harshness of the king and his officers proceeded, that even if any number of religious men whatsoever were to inform you thereupon, even upon oath, I should be much surprised if even then your Holiness would give any belief to their assertions. Reflecting, therefore, upon these things with great anxiety of mind, and the danger ensuing therefrom, both to the king and to yourself, I have publicly condemned these pernicious, I will not say customs, but perversions or corruptions, by which the Church of England is disturbed and confounded, together with the writing and the authority of the writing by which they were confirmed; as also the observers, enforcers, and defenders of the same. I have also in general terms excommunicated his abettors, advisers, and coadjutors, whosoever they may chance to be, whether clergy or laity, and have absolved my bishops from the oath by which they have been violently forced to the observance of the said customs. But these are the points which, in this writing, I have especially condemned: 'Appeal shall not in any case be made to the Apostolic See, except with the king's permission. It is not lawful for a bishop to take cognizance of perjury or breach of faith. It is not lawful for a bishop to excommunicate any person who holds aught of the king *in capite*, or his lands, or to lay an interdict upon any one of his officers without the king's permission. Clerks, or those of the religious orders, are to be brought before secular tribunals; laymen, whether the king or other persons, are to take cognizance of causes as to churches or tithes. It is not lawful for an archbishop or bishop to depart from the kingdom, to attend the summons of our lord the pope, without the king's permission;' and other enactments to a like effect. By name also I have excommunicated John of Oxford, who has held communion with that schismatic and excommunicated person, Reginald of Cologne; and who, contrary to the mandate of our lord the pope, and of ourselves, has taken unlawful possession of the deanery of the church of Salisbury, and, at the court of the emperor, has administered the oath for the

[65] At Pontigny.

supporting of that schism. In like manner also, I have denounced and excommunicated Richard of Ivechester, because he has fallen into the same damnable heresy, by holding communication with that most notorious schismatic at Cologne, and inventing and contriving all kinds of mischief, with those schismatics and Germans, to the destruction of the Church of God, and more especially of the Church of Rome, according to the treaties agreed upon between the king of England and them, and Richard de Lucy and Jocelyn de Baliol, who have been the encouragers of the royal tyranny, and the fabricators of these heretical corruptions. I have also excommunicated Ranulph de Broc, Hugh de Saint Clair, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, who, without our license and consent, have seized the property and possessions of the church of Canterbury. I have excommunicated all besides who, contrary to our will and assent, have laid hands upon the property and possessions of the church of Canterbury. The king, however, I have not as yet personally excommunicated, being still in expectation of his reformation; him, however, I shall not delay to excommunicate, if he does not speedily recover his senses, and submit to discipline for what he has done. To the end, therefore, most holy father, that the authority of the Apostolic See, and the liberties of the Church of God, which in our country have almost perished, may be enabled to be in some measure restored, it is necessary, and in every way expedient, that you should entirely ratify, and by your letters confirm, what I have done. Farewell, and may your Holiness enjoy all happiness."

The Letter of Pope Alexander to Henry, king of England.

"The bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son, Henry, the illustrious king of the English, health and the Apostolic benediction. With what paternal and kindly feelings we have often convened your royal excellence, and have frequently exhorted you, both by letters and our nuncios, to become reconciled to our venerable brother Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and to restore to him and his clerks their churches, with the other things which you have taken from them, the prudence of your highness is by no means unaware, inasmuch as it is public and notorious to nearly the whole of Christendom. Wherefore, seeing that we have hitherto been able to make but little progress in this matter, or by kind and gentle conduct to soothe the emotions

of your mind, we are rendered sad and sorrowful, and grieve that we are disappointed in our hopes and expectations; particularly as we love you sincerely as our most dearly-beloved son in the Lord, and we see this great danger threatening you; and inasmuch as it is written, 'Cry aloud, and spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression;'[66] and likewise, 'If thou dost not warn the wicked from his way, his blood will I require at thy hand;'[66*] and by Jeremiah, the slothful man was ordered to be stoned with the dung of oxen. We have determined no longer to bear your hardness of heart as heretofore, to the detriment of justice and your own[67] salvation; nor will we for the future close the mouth of the said archbishop in any way, or prevent him from freely doing his duty, and avenging with the sword of ecclesiastical severity the wrongs which have been done to himself and to the Church entrusted to his charge. Now, as to the points which are contained in this letter relative to the matters beforementioned, as also others of less importance, our well-beloved brother, the prior of Mont-Dieu, and the brother Bernard de Corilo, men who indeed pay more respect to God than to kings, will in words further explain to your highness. May He, to pay obedience to whose admonitions is to reign, and in whose hands are the hearts of princes, incline your mind and will, that so you may be prevailed upon rather, than, against God and your salvation, persist any longer in so determined a course of obstinacy. But if even now you shall refuse to hearken to the proposals which they shall make to you in my behalf, then without doubt you will have occasion to fear what is to ensue, and to dread the Divine vengeance in the world to come."

The Letter of the blessed Thomas, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gilbert, Bishop of London.

"Thomas, the humble minister of the church of Canterbury, to Gilbert, bishop of London, may he, now as always, so pass through good things temporal as not to lose those eternal. It is a cause for wonder, indeed, for extreme astonishment, that a man of prudence, well versed in Holy Scripture, and especially wearing the appearance of religion, should, laying aside the fear of God, so manifestly, not to say

[66] Isaiah lviii. 1. [66*] Ezek. xxxiii. 8.

[67] "Nostram" is no doubt an error for "vestram."

irreverently, set himself against truth, oppose justice, and, to the utter confusion of all right and wrong, seek to overthrow the establishment of the Holy Church, which the Most High hath founded. For it is the Truth which says, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' He is generally supposed not to be of sane mind who intends the ruin thereof, and is like a man who binds a rope around a vast mountain, and attempts to throw it down. But is it because I am inflamed with anger or with hatred, that, in my exasperation, I am driven to utter words of this nature against my brother, and colleague, and fellow-bishop? God forbid! But to the above effect have I collected from your letter, which I received through your archdeacon; nor was I enabled thereby to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles. That it may be clear whether or not it is so, let us examine it, and bring its contents to the light. The end, when compared with the beginning, presents a very strong resemblance to a scorpion. The one approaches us, using smooth and gentle language, the other, stinging us severely, attempts to impose silence upon us. For, what else is it, first to acknowledge your dutiful subjection to us, and to promise obedience in conformity with that subjection, and then, in the end, to have recourse to appeal, in order that you may not be obliged to obey? The Apostle says, 'Do I purpose that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay?'[68] As the Apostles could not always be with the disciple, of necessity did the disciples receive power from the Lord of treading upon serpents and scorpions; for even unto this day Ezekiel[68*] is dwelling with the scorpions. And now consider in what sense you say, 'We do have recourse to the remedy of appeal?' You call yourself a follower of Christ; in this speech you are found to be far otherwise. For the efficacious, nay, rather the most efficacious remedy of all our evils, namely, Christ, has recommended to us obedience, not only in word, but by His most evident example, inasmuch as He became obedient to His Father even unto death. And with what grace do you call that a remedy which is an impediment to obedience? Not a remedy, indeed, but, more properly, a hindrance ought it to be called. But on what grounds do you rest your confidence in this presumption? Is it that you expect to find a defender of your disobedience in him who has received the office and the command to take cognizance of all acts of disobedience? It were wrong in you to expect this of him,[69] and greatly

[68] 2 Cor. i. 17. [68*] According to Ezekiel ii. 6. [69] The pope.

to be mistaken in him. You might have been withheld from a supposition of that kind by the first and second repulses you have already experienced. For, in the first place, you appeared personally; after which, the letter which you wrote for the purpose of persuading him experienced how firmly stands the vicar of Saint Peter, and with what truthfulness, when, neither by prayers, nor by gifts, nor by suggestions, nor by promises, could you move him. But a third attempt must be made, that, after the example of his lord, he may, on a third attempt, come off triumphant. Besides, that no annoyance may be wanting, you have put off the time for your appeal nearly a whole year. You have had no compassion on my exile or on the difficulties of the Holy Church, the spouse of Christ, whom He has obtained with His own blood. Besides, to pass this over, which, indeed, I ought not to do, it was your duty to use some foresight in his behalf, to whom you assert yourself to be a well-wisher, I mean our lord the king, who, so long as he behaves thus towards us, or the Church of Christ, will be able neither to go to war, nor to live in peace, without danger to his soul. Let us now pass on to the rest. You mention that some confusion arose on my departure, and in consequence of my departure. Let the authors and contrivers of this confusion be afraid, lest they also be brought to confusion. You extol me with great praises, as to the good purpose of my journey, and indeed it is the duty of a prudent man not to be neglectful of his character; but still, it is the part of a discreet one, in relation to himself, not to believe another rather than himself. I am accused as though I had done certain injuries to my lord the king; but inasmuch as you do not mention one of them by name, I do not even know what it is I am to make answer to; therefore, as I am only charged in a superficial manner on that point, in a superficial manner only shall I defend myself. In the meanwhile, however, take this for my answer—because I am conscious of having done nothing wrong, for that reason I have not justified myself. You express surprise at the letter of warning which I sent him. What father sees his son going astray and holds his peace? What person is there that does not smite another with the rod, that he may not run upon the sword? The father despairs of the son whom he does not correct with threats or the scourge. However, God forbid that I should think as you do, that our lord, growing impatient

under correction, will by degrees proceed to the extermination of the seceders![70] For the plantation of our heavenly Father will not be rooted up. A most violent tempest is now tossing the ship; I have hold of the helm, and do you invite me to sleep? Do you collect and place before my eyes the benefits that have been conferred upon me by our lord the king, and speak of my being elevated from a lowly state to the highest position? Still, in my simplicity, to give you some small answer, what lowly state is it you are thinking of? If you look at the time at which he placed me high in his service, there were the archdeaconry of Canterbury, the priorship of Beverley, many benefices, several prebendal stalls, with other things, not a few, which, at that period attached to my name, go far to disprove that I was in such a low position as you affirm, with relation to the things of this world. And if you look at the origin of my family and my ancestors, they were citizens of London, who dwelt in the midst of their fellow-citizens without reproach, and persons by no means of the lowest station. But as, one day, when the darkness of the world is removed, we shall be judged by the light of truth, which will be the most glorious, to have been born of humble parents, or even those of the lowest rank, or of the great and honored ones of the world? For the Apostle says: 'Those members of the body, which we think to be less honorable, upon those we bestow more abundant honor.'[71] 'What do pedigrees avail?' says the heathen poet. What then ought a learned and religious Christian bishop to say? But perhaps, by your mention of my lowly condition, it was your intention to put me somewhat to confusion; however, how criminal it is to put one's father to confusion, you yourself will see from the commandment of the Lord, which you have received as to honoring your father. But, as for commending the king's favour to me, there was no great need to take the trouble of recapitulating his services done to me. For I call the Lord as my witness that nothing under the sun do I prefer to his favour and safety, save only those things which belong to God and to the Holy Church; for otherwise it will not be possible for him to reign with happiness or with safety. As it is, so be it. There are many other favours, and still greater ones, than are mentioned in your letter, which I have received at his hands.

[70] "Apostasiæ," meaning himself and his followers.

[71] 1 Cor. xii. 23.

In return for all these, even if they were to be doubled, ought I to peril the liberties of the Church of God, much less for the preservation of my own character, which has so frequently swerved from what is right? If I have acted with greater forbearance towards others, in this I will spare neither you, nor any one else, not even an angel, if he were to come down from heaven, but the instant I should hear him suggesting such a course, he should hear from me these words, 'Get thee behind me, Satan, thou savourest not the things that are of God!'[71] Far from me be such madness as that! May the Lord avert such insanity from me, that any one should persuade me, by any backsliding, to make a bargain about the body of Christ; for, in such case, I should be likened to Judas, the seller of our Lord to the Jews, the buyers of Christ! But as to my promotion, which you state in your letter to have taken place, the mother of my lord the king dissuading him therefrom, the kingdom exclaiming against it, and the Church, so far as she could, heaving sighs thereat, this I tell you in answer thereto. I did not hear exclamations on the part of the kingdom, but rather acclamations; and if there was any dissent on the part of my lord's mother, they did not come to the ears of the public. It might possibly be the case that some ecclesiastics did sigh upon that promotion, as aspirants[72] generally do, when they found that they were disappointed in the hopes they had once entertained. And, possibly, at this day, it is those same persons who, by way of revenge for their misfortune, are the authors and advisers of the present dissensions. But 'Woe to him by whom offences come!' Against the aforesaid obstacles, and against others, if any there were, the dispensations of God prevailed, as we may at this day perceive. For I am compelled by Him, who is justice itself, to postpone Him for nothing whatsoever, who in His mercy has placed me in this position. The points, also, which you seem to put forward, by way of justifying the king, I think ought not to be lightly passed over, or without some discussion; and I could only wish that he had not taken so wide a departure from justice, and that my complaints against him appeared less just. You say that he is, and always has been, ready to give me satisfaction. This you assert you can confidently say and maintain. Hold then a moment, and answer these ques-

[71] Matt. xiv. 23.

[72] He seems to pun upon the resemblance of "suspiro," and "aspiro."

tions. When you say that he is ready to give satisfaction, in what sense do you understand it? You see those of whom God says that He is the father and the judge, the orphans, the widows, the fatherless, the innocents, and those who are utterly unacquainted with this controversy which is going on between us, you see these proscribed, and you are silent; you see the clergy banished, and you do not exclaim against it; you see others spoiled of their property, and loaded with insults, and you do not reprove it; you see my servants thrown into prison and confined there, and you hold your peace; you see the property of your mother church of Canterbury being made away with, and you offer no resistance; you see swords threatening the very throat of me your father, and myself escaping with the greatest difficulty, and you express no sorrow; still worse even, you are not ashamed to take part with my persecutors, and in me, persecutors of God and His Church, and that too, not in secret. Is this, then, giving satisfaction, not to correct evils which have been perpetrated, and day after day, to add to what is bad what is still worse? But perhaps you understand it in a contrary sense, and that to obey the will of the unrighteous is to give satisfaction, according to the words, 'I will make mine arrows drunk with blood.'[73] However, you will say to me, 'My father, of what do you accuse me? I will acquit myself in a few words. I am afraid for my gown.' It is true, my son, and too true what you say, and it is for that reason, that you wield not the sword. But as to what you say, that he is prepared to stand by the judgment of his realm, as though, forsooth, that were a full satisfaction; who is there on earth, or even in heaven, that would presume to pronounce judgment with reference to the ordinances of God? Let human matters be pronounced judgment upon; but let Divine things remain utterly unshaken, and be left alone. How much better would it be, my brother, how much more healthful for him, and more safe for yourself, if you were to labour in every way to disclose to him and to persuade him, what is the will of God with reference to maintaining the peace of His Church, and to warn him not to covet those things which do not belong to his administration, and to remind him to honor the priests of God, not giving heed to who they are, but whose servants they are. You charge me with having been warped by prejudice against the bishop of Salisbury and John of

[73] Deut. xxxii. 42.

Oxford, not a dean as you call him, but the usurper of a deanery. But you ought to bear in mind that certain manifestoes[74] preceded my judgment. You say too, that you have been moved thereby; how should you not? Ucalegon trembles when his neighbour's party-wall is on fire;[75] and I only wish that you may be becomingly moved from the position which you have so unbecomingly taken up. Let then my lord, at your intimation, know and understand, that He who rules not only the kingdom of men, but of angels as well, has ordained under Him two powers, princes and priests; the one earthly, the other spiritual; the one to minister, the other to warn; to the one of whom He has conceded power, to the other He has willed respect to be shown. But he who withholds aught of his rights from the one or the other, resists the ordinances of God. Let not my lord then disdain to show respect to those to whom the Supreme ruler of all has not disdained to show respect; 'I have said ye are Gods,'[76] and again, 'I have made you a God unto Pharaoh,'[76*] and 'thou shalt not revile the Gods;'[77] meaning the priests. And again, when speaking by Moses of him who was about to swear, he says, 'Bring him unto the Gods,' that is to say, the priests. And let not my lord presume to attempt to pronounce judgment on his judges. For to the earthly powers are not entrusted the keys of heaven, but to the priests. Wherefore it is written, 'the priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord;'[77*] and Saint Paul says, 'Shall we not judge angels? How much more men.'[78] That also, at your suggestion, should be brought to our lord's recollection as worthy of remembrance and imitation, which we read in Ecclesiastical History concerning the emperor Constantine, to whom when there had been presented written accusations against the bishops, he took the libels, and, calling the accused before him, in their sight, burned them, at the same time saying: 'Ye are gods, made so by the true God. Go settle your disputes among yourselves, for it is not fitting for us men to give judgment on gods.' Oh mighty emperor! Oh discreet ruler upon earth! one

[74] Probably by way of warning.

[75] "Paries cum proximus ardet." In allusion to the lines of Virgil and Juvenal. [75*] St. John, x. 34. [76] Ps. lxxxii. 6. [76*] Exod. vii. 1.

[77] Exod. xxii. 28. [77*] Mal. ii. 7.

[78] A loose quotation of 1 Corinthians vi. 3.

who did not fraudulently usurp that which belongs to another, and thus earned an eternal kingdom in heaven. Therefore, let my lord make it his study to imitate a prince so mighty, so discreet, and so prosperous; who enjoys both a praiseworthy memory upon earth, and an eternal and glorious life in heaven. Otherwise, let him fear what the Lord has threatened in Deuteronomy,[79] saying: 'The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, shall die before the judge.' For unto this he has been called, and hereby the temporal peace and mightiness of his kingdom, of which you remind me, is ministered unto him from heaven. Otherwise, notwithstanding his many virtues, the king will not be saved, even though kingdoms should be subdued by him, and nations should be prostrate. But enough upon these points. Whoever you have had as your fellow-writers in the aforesaid letter, let them understand that this answer made to you is an answer to themselves. For the future, my brethren, I warn you, I beg and entreat of you that schisms may not separate, nor enmities overshadow us; but let us have one heart and one soul in the Lord, and let us listen to Him who telleth us to struggle for justice with all our soul, and to contend for it to the death, and the Lord will conquer for us our enemies. And let us not forget that strict judge, standing before whose tribunal the truth alone shall judge us, all dread of and trust in the powers of this world being laid aside. Farewell to your brotherhood in the Lord."

The Letter of the suffragans of the Church of Canterbury to the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury.

"To their venerable father and lord, Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, the suffragan bishops of that church and the beneficed clergy appointed over the various places throughout their dioceses, due submission and obedience. Whereas, father, on your departure for foreign parts, through the very unexpectedness and novelty of the circumstance, considerable confusion arose, still, we did hope, through your humility and prudence, with the aid of the Divine favour, for a return therefrom to the serenity of our former peaceful state. That was, indeed, a solace to us, which, after your departure, reached us all by general report; that you, while passing your time in the parts beyond sea, had no ulterior designs; that you were guilty of no machinations against our lord the king or

[79] xvii. 12. The way the text is quoted differs from our version.

against his kingdom, but endured with moderation the burden of poverty which you had spontaneously taken upon yourself; that you were devoting your time to reading and prayer, and were atoning for the loss of time past by fastings, watchings, and tears, and, occupied in spiritual pursuits, were making your way, by the increase of your virtues, to the perfection of blessedness. We rejoiced to hear that by pursuits of this nature you were applying yourself to the restoration of the blessings of peace; and, in consequence thereof, we did entertain a hope that you would be enabled also to bring the heart of our lord the king to feelings of graciousness, so that, in his royal clemency, he might cease to be angered against you, and no longer recall to mind the injuries that had been inflicted upon him in your departure, and in the consequences thereof. Your friends and well-wishers did enjoy some access to him while these things were heard of you, and when they made entreaties for the bestowal on you of his favour, he received each with benignity. But now, from the information of certain persons, we have learned that which we recall to mind with anxiety, namely, that you have issued against him a letter of warning, in which you omit the salutation, and in which you do not make any attempt to gain his favor, or have recourse to entreaties; in which you neither breathe nor write aught in a friendly spirit; but, on the contrary, with extreme severity, you declare in the threats which you utter against him, that you will shortly have to pronounce against him an interdict or else sentence of excommunication. Now, should this be carried out with as much severity as it has been asserted with harshness, we then no longer have any hope that peace may succeed the present state of confusion, but are greatly afraid that he will be inflamed to a lasting and inexorable hatred. But the prudence of the devout takes into consideration the results of things, using its best endeavours that what it has commenced with discretion it may also bring to a good end. Therefore, if so it please you, let your discreetness consider to what it tends, and whether, by attempts of this nature, it can obtain the end which is its object. As for us, in consequence of these endeavours, we have fallen from great hopes, and after conceiving the hope of at some time obtaining peace, we now find ourselves repelled by deep despair from the very threshold of hope. And thus, while the combat is being waged as it were with the

sword drawn, there is no room whatever to be found for entreaty in your behalf. Therefore do we write to our father what in our Christian love is our advice to him, not to superadd difficulties to difficulties, injuries to injuries, but rather, desisting from threats, to observe patience and humility. Let him entrust his cause to the Divine clemency, to the favour and mercy of his lord, and, thus doing, let him heap and gather hot coals of fire upon the heads of many. By thus acting, brotherly love will be excited, and, the Lord inspiring and the advice of the good prevailing, perhaps piety alone would be enabled to do that which threats have proved unable. It would be as well for you to be spoken of in terms of praise for your voluntary submission to poverty, as, for ingratitude for benefits received to become the subject of general remark. For all persons have a full recollection how kind the king our master has shewn himself towards you, to what a pitch of glory he has raised you from an humble station, and how he has with feelings so joyous received you into his especial favor, that the whole of the various portions of his dominions, which extend from the northern ocean to the Pyrenees, he has rendered subject to your power; so much so, that in them public opinion considered those only as fortunate who were able to find grace in your eyes. And, that no worldly fickleness might be able to shake your glory, he has willed immoveably to root you in the things which belong to God. While his mother dissuaded him, the kingdom expostulated, the Church of God, so far as she could, sighed and groaned, he made it his object, in every possible way, to raise you to that elevated post which you now enjoy, hoping that he should for the future reign happily, and, amid the greatest security, rejoice in your aid and counsel. If, then, he receives injury where he looks for security, what will be the remark made on you by the voice of all? What will be your reward, or what your character, in consequence of your having made such a return as this? Do, then, if so it please you, spare your own character, spare, too, your own fame, and, in humility, endeavour to surpass our lord, and, in Christian charity, your son. If, however, our advice cannot prevail upon you to do this, at least the love and fidelity of the Supreme Pontiff, and of the holy Roman Church, ought to influence you. For you ought easily to be persuaded not to wish to make any attempt which may increase the labours

of your mother, who has now laboured so long, by causing her grief, which deplores the disobedience of many, to be increased by the loss of those who are obedient. For what if, and God forbid it should be so, through your irritation of him, or by your agency, our lord the king, whom people and kingdoms follow and obey, the gift of the Lord, should withdraw from our lord the pope, and decline to follow him for the future, after his refusal to give him satisfaction against you? For, what entreaties, what gifts, what promises, and how many of them, are strongly urging him to this step! whereas he has hitherto stood firmly upon a rock, and has victoriously, with feelings of deep devotion, trodden under foot the whole that the world could make offer of. One thing only do we fear, that him whom these offers of riches, and the whole of that which in the estimation of men is precious, could not influence, the indignation of his feelings of themselves may be enabled to overcome. Should this come to pass through your agency, you will have entirely to adopt the lamentations of Jeremiah, and in future will never by any means be enabled to deny unto your eyes a fountain of tears. Recollect, therefore, if so it please you, that the design of your highness, if it should succeed, will in every way conduce to the injury of our lord the pope and the holy Roman Church, and, if so it please you, of yourself as well. But those who are near you, and have deep designs, perhaps will not allow you to proceed upon this path. They entreat you to make trial against our lord the king who you are, and, in all matters which belong to him, to exercise your utmost possible power. For what power is there an object of fear to the sinful, of dread to him who refuses to give satisfaction? We do not, indeed, say that our lord the king has never done amiss, but we do say, and aver with confidence, that he has always been ready to make satisfaction to our lord. The king, who has been so appointed by the Lord, provides for the peace of his subjects in all things, that he may be enabled to preserve the same for the churches and the people entrusted to him, while, at the same time, the dignities which were the due of and accorded to the kings before him, he asks as his own due and to be accorded to him. Wherefore, if any disagreement has arisen between him and you, having been convened and warned thereon by the Supreme Pontiff, in his paternal love, through our venerable brethren the bishops of London and Hereford, he has not treated the same with super-

ciliousness, but has shown that he does not require what does not belong to him in all those matters in which any grievance has been put forward relative to a church or any ecclesiastical person, and has humbly and meekly made answer that he will conform to the judgment of the Church of his kingdom; which he is also prepared to fulfil in deed, and to esteem it a pleasing obedience when he is advised to correct the same, if he has been guilty of any offence towards God. And, not only to give satisfaction, but also to make reparation, if required, is he prepared. If then, he is ready both to give satisfaction and to make reparation to the Church in those matters which concern the Church, and not in the least to shrink therefrom, thus bowing his neck to the yoke of Christ, with what right, by what law, by what canon or interdict will you oppress him, or, which God forbid, with what weapon of the Gospel will you smite him? Not to be carried away by impulse, but to be prudently regulated by the judgment, is a thing worthy of praise. Wherefore, this is the common petition of us all, that you will not give way to precipitate counsels, and thus betray us, but rather by your paternal kindness make it your study to provide for the sheep entrusted to your charge, that they may enjoy life, and peace, and security. Indeed, that is a subject of concern to us all, which we have lately heard of as being done, preposterously as some think, against our brother the bishop of Salisbury and his dean. Against them, following, as it seems to us, rather the warmth of anger than the path of justice, you have hurled the penalties of suspension or condemnation before an enquiry has taken place as to their faults. This is a new method of giving judgment, hitherto, we trust, unknown to laws and canons, first to condemn for it, and afterwards to take cognizance of the fault. This we beg you not to attempt to put in practice against our lord the king and his kingdom, or against ourselves and the churches and dioceses entrusted to our charge, to the detriment of our lord the pope, to the loss and disgrace of the holy Church of Rome, and to the no slight increase of your own confusion. To such a course on your part we oppose the remedy of appeal, having already in the face of the Church personally made appeal to our lord the pope against our fears of oppression. And now once more do we appeal to him in writing, and we name the day of the Ascension of Our Lord as the appointed time for our appeal.

Still, with all possible duteousness, we entreat you, adopting more healthful counsels, to spare your own and our labour and expense, and to make it your endeavour to place your case in such a position that it may admit of a remedy. Father, we wish you farewell in the Lord."

The Letter of the Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury to Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff.

"To their father and lord, the Supreme Pontiff Alexander, the bishops of the province of Canterbury, and the beneficed clergy appointed over many places throughout their dioceses, to their lord and father, the due service of love and obedience. We believe, father, that your excellency will remember that, through our venerable brethren, the bishops of London and Hereford, you did, by letter to them some time since directed, convene your dutiful son, our most dear lord, the illustrious king of the English, and did advise him, in your paternal love, as to the correction of certain points which seemed to your Holiness in his kingdom to stand in need of correction. On receiving your mandate with due reverence, as is well known to all, he did not thereupon give way to any ebullition of anger, or with haughtiness despise to pay obedience thereto; but immediately thereupon, feeling gratitude for your paternal correction, he submitted himself to the judgment of the Church, repeating upon each point the commands which, according to the tenor of your mandate, had been carefully given to him thereupon; that he would be obedient to the judgment of the Church of his kingdom, and that what in it should seem worthy of correction, he would of his own praiseworthy counsel, and, with a duteousness in a prince most commendable, correct. From this determination he has not withdrawn, nor does he intend to fall away from his promise: but, on the contrary, whoever shall sit as judge, whoever shall take cognizance, and whoever shall pronounce judgment, he himself, showing respect to the Divine mandates, and not putting forward the pride of majesty, but rather, like an obedient son, is ready in all things to submit to that judgment, and in a lawful manner to show obedience to the sentence, and so prove himself a prince bound to respect the laws. Wherefore, as he submits himself to the judgment of the Divine laws, it is not necessary, either by interdict, or by threats, or by the goads of maledictions, to urge him to give the satisfaction

required; for his deeds do not in any way withdraw themselves from the light, nor do they in any measure need to fly to the shade for concealment. For the king, who is in faith a most devout Christian, in the bonds of chastity a most exemplary husband, a preserver and defender of peace and justice of incomparable activity, sets all his wishes thereupon, and is animated by every desire, that all scandals may be removed from his kingdom, that all sins with their abominations may be banished therefrom, that peace and justice may universally prevail, and that, amid profound security and pleasing quietude, all things may rejoice and flourish under his rule. When, therefore, he learned that by the enormous excesses of certain insolent clerks the peace of his kingdom was in no slight degree disturbed, showing to the clergy all due reverence, he reported their excesses to the bishops, the judges of the Church, in order that the spiritual sword might come to the aid of the temporal, and the spiritual power might establish and consolidate in the clergy that peace which he revered and cherished in the people. On this occasion the zeal of both parties was made manifest; the judgment of the bishops taking this position, that murder and similar crimes ought only to be punished in the clergy by deprivation of orders. The king, on the other hand, was of opinion that this punishment was not at all equal to the guilt, and that due care was not had for the establishment of peace, if a reader or an acolyte should be allowed to kill any man illustrious for his exemplary piety or his high station, and then come off safe with solely the loss of his orders. The clergy, therefore, insisting that thus it has been ordained by heaven in favour of their order, while our lord the king was for visiting guilt with, as he hopes, a justifiable hatred, and striving to root peace still more deeply, a holy contention arose, which is excused, we believe, before the Lord, by the single-mindedness of either party. On his side, it is not from a love of dominion, nor with the object of crushing the liberties of the Church, but from a wish to establish peace, that our lord the king has made this attempt that the customs of the kingdom and the dignities of the kings which have before his time been observed in the kingdom of England by ecclesiastical persons and peacefully maintained, should be still upheld. And that, upon these points, the cord of contention might not be prolonged to succeeding times, and public notice be attracted thereto, the elders,

bishops, and other great men of the kingdom, having been adjured thereupon by their faith and their hopes in God, after having been informed upon the usage in time past, the required immunities were openly discussed and published upon the testimony of the chief men throughout the kingdom. This, then, is the cruelty of our lord the king towards the Church of God which has been so loudly exclaimed against throughout the whole kingdom, this is his persecution, this is his malignity, the reports of which have been spread abroad among ourselves as well as in all other quarters. Still, in all these, if there is anything contained that is dangerous to the soul, anything offensive to the Church, he has promised all along, and does most steadfastly promise, that, advised and moved thereto by your authority, he will, with the most holy duteousness, by reason of his reverence for Christ, and for the honor which he professes to pay to the Holy Church, whom he confesses to be his mother, and for the salvation of his own soul, correct the same, according to the advice of the Church of his realm. And, indeed, our father, our aspirations for peace, would, as we hope, before this have obtained their wished-for end, if the asperity of our father, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, had not kindled afresh the anger that was now subdued and almost extinguished. For he, from whose long-suffering we had hitherto hoped for peace, from whose moderation a renewal of his favour, has most harshly and irreverently made an attack upon him whom he ought to have softened with his admonitions, and to have subdued by well-deserving and meekness, by means of grievous and threatening letters, little savouring of the devotedness of the father or the long-suffering of the priest, upon the occasion of his lately taking proceedings against certain disturbers of the peace. He has most bitterly threatened sentence of excommunication against him, and the penalties of interdict against his kingdom. If, then, his humility is thus rewarded, what is to be done with him when he is contumacious? If ready duteousness and obedience are thus esteemed, in what way will punishment be inflicted upon obstinate perverseness? To these grievous threats, things more grievous have been added. For upon certain faithful and familiar friends of our lord the king, the first nobles of the realm, who especially take part in the private counsels of the king, and by whose hands the sovereign's intentions and the business of the kingdom are carried out, he

has passed sentence of excommunication, and has publicly denounced them as excommunicated, when they have been neither cited nor defended, nor are, as they say, conscious of having committed any fault, nor have been convicted or made confession thereof. In addition to this, our venerable brother, the bishop of Salisbury, when absent and undefended, having neither confessed to or been convicted of any crime, has been suspended from the sacerdotal and episcopal office before the grounds of his suspension had been submitted to the judgment of his brother bishops of the province, or indeed of any one else. If, therefore, this method of passing judgment is to be carried out with regard to the king, and with regard to the kingdom, in so preposterous, not to say, irregular a manner, what are we to suppose may be the possible consequence? For the days are evil, and find numerous pretexts for speaking ill of us, unless the bonds of peace and of brotherly love, by which the sovereignty and the priesthood are held together, are burst asunder, and we, together with the clergy entrusted to our charge, depart hence, dispersed in exile, or else, which God forbid! withdraw from our fealty to you, and are hurled into the evils of schism, and into the abyss of iniquity and disobedience. For this is the shortest possible way to the entire destruction of religion, and to the subversion and ruin of both clergy and people. Wherefore, let not, in the days of your Apostolate, the Church be thus grievously subverted; let not our lord the king and the people his servants, be, which God forbid! turned away from their obedience to you; let not the wrath of our lord the archbishop of Canterbury, which, by the machinations of certain private persons, is contrived to be levelled against him and his mandates, be enabled to work any grievance against our lord the king, or his kingdom, or ourselves, or the churches committed to our charge. To your highness, by word and by writing, we have appealed, and have fixed on the Ascension of our Lord as the day of our appeal, choosing, in all humility, to endure whatsoever shall in all respects be pleasing unto your Holiness, rather than suffer daily grievances, till we are wearied, from his manifestations of loftiness of spirit, our deserts not meriting the same. Beloved father in Christ, may the Lord Almighty preserve the safety of your Church to avail even unto ages far distant."

In this year Robert de Cheney, bishop of Lincoln, departed this life, on the sixth day before the ides of January. In the same year, Almaric, king of Jerusalem, took Babylon, and rendered it tributary to himself.

In the year of grace 1168, being the fourteenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, Richard, earl of Striguil,[82] assembling a great army, invaded Ireland, and subdued the greater part of it, with the assistance of Milo de Coggeham, a warlike soldier, and then, making a treaty with the king at Dublin, received his daughter as his wife, together with the kingdom of Dublin. In the same year died Guido of Crema, the second anti-pope, and was succeeded by John, abbat of Struine, who was styled pope Calixtus. In the same year died Robert, earl of Leicester, chief justiciary of England.

The Letter of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to Gilbert, bishop of London, with reference to the sentence pronounced against him.

"Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the Apostolic See, to Gilbert, bishop of London, —would indeed that he could say, his brother,—may he turn away from evil and do what is good. Your extravagances we have borne with, so long as we could, and we hope that our endurance and long-suffering, which have been to ourselves detrimental beyond measure, may not redound to the injury of the whole Church. But inasmuch as you have always abused our patience, and have not been willing to listen to our lord the pope or ourselves in the advice which concerned your salvation, but rather, your obstinacy has been always increasing for the worse; at length, the necessities of our duty and the requirements of the law forcing us thereto, we have, for just and manifest causes, smitten and excommunicated you with the sentence of anathema, and have cut you off from the body of Christ, which is the Church, until you make condign satisfaction. Therefore, by virtue of your obedience, and at the peril of your salvation, of your dignity and of your priestly orders, as the form of the Church prescribes, we do command you to abstain from all communion with the faithful; lest by coming in

[82] Strigulia, the Latin name of Chepstow, of which Richard Strongbow was earl, as also earl of Pembroke.

contact with you, the Lord's flock may be contaminated to its ruin, whereas it ought to be instructed by your teaching, and taught by your example how to live."

The Letter of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chapter of London, upon avoiding communion with those who are excommunicated.

"Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the Apostolic See, to the dean, archdeacon and clergy of the church of London, health, and may they faithfully abstain from communion with excommunicated persons. That ought not to escape your discernment, which almost the whole Latin world acknowledges, how unrighteously, taking the opportunity of the general schism, Gilbert, bishop of London, our brother, would that we could say our true brother, has acted in the cause of the Church, and has endeavoured to disturb the peace thereof. Still, with great long-suffering we have hitherto endured this, while he has always abused the same, and to his manifold errors has added the crime of disobedience as well. We, therefore, being able no longer to conceal this from ourselves, the necessities of our duty, and the requirements of the law forcing us thereto, have publicly excommunicated him, and we do enjoin you in virtue of your obedience, and at the peril of your priestly orders and of your salvation, forthwith to abstain from all communion with him, as befits the faithful in Christ. Likewise, under the same penalties, we do order you to avoid those whose names are hereunder written. With a like sentence, also, God willing, we shall, on the day of the Ascension, condemn those who have been solemnly cited by us, unless in the meantime they shall make satisfaction; namely, Gilbert, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert, his vicar, Richard de Ivechester, Richard de Lucy, William Giffard, Adam de Cheringes, and those who, either at the king's command or of their own rashness, have taken possession of the property of ourselves, or of our clergy, as also those who, by their aid or counsel, are known to have instigated the feelings of our lord the king against the liberties of the Church, and to the proscription and plunder of the innocent, and those who hinder the nuncios of our lord the pope, and of ourselves, from ministering to the necessities of the Church. Let not your heart be disturbed hereat, or be afraid, inas-

much as by the mercy of God we are safe, under the protection of the Apostolic See, against the backslidings of the malignant and the subterfuges of appeals. These are the names of those excommunicated—Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, earl Hugh, Ranulph de Broc, Thomas Fitz-Bernard, Robert de Broc, clerk, Hugh de Saint Clair, Letardus de Norfleet, clerk, Nigel de Saccaville, and Richard, the brother of William de Hastings, who has taken possession of our church at New Coton. Farewell."

The Letter of the blessed Thomas, the archbishop, to Robert, bishop of Hereford.

"Thomas, by the grace of God, the humble servant of the church of Canterbury, to his venerable brother Robert, by the same grace, bishop of Hereford, health and constant perseverance in justice and in the defence of mother Church. For the glory of the Saints, and for the damnation of the wicked it is necessary that offences must come: in tribulations the elect are to be proved, who by patience gain for themselves a crown, and improve others by their example. But woe unto those by whom offences do come! Whereas, the bishop of London has not abstained from giving offence, but among other works of his notable wickedness, since he has been delivered up unto Satan, has even gone so far as, with insolent audacity and parricidal impiety, to lift up his heel against his and your mother, the holy church of Canterbury, in presuming to say that he owes no submission and will pay no obedience to him by whom he was translated to his see; and to the weight of his condemnation has added this, that he would be for causing the transfer of the archiepiscopal throne to the see of London—we do therefore entreat your brotherhood, in whom we have full confidence, with all possible affection to oppose the shield in defence of your mother, against this son of Belial, who in the front of other Gentiles, like another Goliah of Gath, has not been ashamed to come forth alone, by the Lord's working, from the camp of the uncircumcised, and has not feared to challenge to the combat the whole community of the sons of the church of Canterbury, while he is thirsting for the blood of their mother, and is forsaking the unity of catholic concord. For he has written to our lord the pope, on behalf of our brother the archbishop of York, beseeching him

with lying and deceitful testimony that he will allow him to bear the cross throughout our province, supposing that some great gain will be the result, if through hatred to our person he shall be enabled in any way to inflict an injury upon the Church to which by his canonical profession he owes duty and obedience. But Christ, who from its first foundation, amid various storms and many and great tempests, has guided and cherished the church of Canterbury, has wrought mercifully in that, in full consistory, his falsehood and wickedness have been, by means of unexceptionable witnesses, made manifest. Wherefore, in the first place I return thanks to God, and in the next to yourselves and the rest of our brethren, who have withheld yourselves from all communion with him from the time that it was known that he had been condemned to excommunication, and have ordered by public notice throughout your see, not only him, but the rest of those who have been excommunicated among you, to be avoided. In this has been made manifest your fidelity, and the constancy of your virtue has shone forth, which has determined that the threats of public power and of officials, equally with their blandishments, ought to be postponed to the commands of God. You have set at liberty your consciences, you have preserved your good name, while, both by the words of truth, and by the example of fortitude, you have taught that it is more becoming to obey God than man. Inasmuch, therefore, as the love of God, diffused so greatly by his Holy Spirit in your hearts, has gone forth to the public as a testimony of your well-doing, all servile fear being repulsed and laid aside, let this sincerity of yours feel assured that God will speedily beat down Satan under your feet, and will bring the contest to a happy issue; and this, too, the more speedily and gloriously, the more fervently and constantly your truth shall have been made manifest in the course on which you have begun. Wherefore, in the love of God, we do beg and entreat of you, and, by your fidelity, by your obedience, and by the sincere affection which you entertain towards your mother, the church of Canterbury, adjure you; that in order to maintain the dignity and the rights of the church of Canterbury to which you have made profession of fidelity, you will arise and come to our rescue against the above-named archbishop, and send in writing to our lord the pope, and to the court, a testimony of the truth, such as it befits her sons

to bear for their mother church. For he who shall withhold it on the occasion of so unjust an attack, beyond all doubt ought to be esteemed as unfaithful, and worse than unfaithful, and one against whom right would demand that all the faithful should wage war even unto the death. Nor indeed can this course be productive of any danger, inasmuch as the truth is clear, and according to the saying, is manifest even to the blind.[83] But inasmuch as he is cursed who withdraws his sword from blood, and the evil-doer is to be scourged in order that the wise man may be instructed to his salvation; whoever does not meet the parricide with a stone and a sword, renders himself subject to the curses of the law. For he appears to give his consent thereto, who does not, when he can, reason with, or hinder him who commits such excesses. And, in order that it may not be more stringently demanded at our hands, if we any longer conceal from ourselves the great and manifest errors of those who persecute the Church and whom now for a period of nearly a whole five years, we have endured with great long-suffering, in hopes that they might come to a feeling of repentance, we denounce to your brotherhood as publicly excommunicated, Geoffrey,[84] archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert his vicar, Richard de Ivechester, William Giffard, Earl Hugh, Richard de Lucy, Adam de Cheringes, as also those who against the rules of the sacred canons have received ecclesiastical offices or benefices from lay hands, or taken unlawful possession of them of their own authority; and likewise those who hinder the messages of our lord the pope, and of ourselves, from treating the necessities of the Church. We do therefore, by the authority of our lord the pope, and of ourselves, command you that you will hold, and will cause to be held throughout your bishopric, these persons in suchwise as the discipline of the sacred canons has prescribed in the case of persons solemnly excommunicated. We bid your brotherhood farewell in the Lord, and may it remember in the prayers of the holy to pray for us and the cause of God which is in our hands."

In the same year, Guido de Lusignan slew Patrick, earl of Salisbury, when returning on a pilgrimage from Saint Jago [of Compostella]; in consequence of which, Henry, king of

[83] In the original, "lippis et tonsoribus patens;" literally, "manifest to the blear-eyed, and the barbers." It is not clear what can have been the origin of this saying, if the text is correct.

[84] He has been previously called Gilbert.

England, being greatly enraged, banished him from Poitou. On this, assuming the cross, he set out for Jerusalem, and remained there in the service of Baldwin the Leper, king of Jerusalem, and by reason of his probity, was greatly esteemed by the king and chief men of that kingdom.

In order that the line of the Latin kings may be traced, who ruled in the holy city of Jerusalem, down to the times of Saladin, a few matters must be mentioned which had transpired before this period. It is necessary, therefore, to know, that after the taking of Antioch, Curberant having been overcome by Robert, duke of Normandy, the city of Jerusalem was taken by the Christians, and rescued from the hands of the pagans, in the year of grace one thousand and ninety-nine; on which, by the choice of the whole of the army, Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, son of Eustace the Elder, earl of Boulogne, was elected king of the holy city of Jerusalem. However, he refused to be crowned; saying, that he would never wear a crown of gold, in the place where Christ had worn a crown of thorns.

On his death without issue, his brother, Baldwin, succeeded him in the kingdom, and was crowned king. He was the first of the Latin kings who was crowned in the holy city of Jerusalem: for before this period, as long as it had been in the hands of the Christians, its kings were Greeks.

On the death of king Baldwin, his son, Baldwin, succeeded to the throne, and was crowned, having an only daughter to succeed him in the kingdom. On his decease, the chief men of the kingdom sent for Fulk, the brother of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, and gave him in marriage the above-named daughter of king Baldwin, together with the kingdom of Jerusalem; on which they were crowned. By his wife, the daughter of king Baldwin, king Fulk was the father of two sons; of whom, the first-born was named Baldwin, and the other, Amauri. Baldwin succeeded his father Fulk in the kingdom, and was crowned; and on his decease, without issue, his brother, Amauri, succeeded him in the kingdom, and was crowned. This Amauri took Babylon, and rendered it tributary to himself. He reigned eleven years, and was father of Baldwin the Leper, and of two daughters, of whom the eldest was called Sibylla, and the other, Milicent.

Baldwin the Leper succeeded his father Amauri in the kingdom, and was crowned. He reigned eleven years, but

would never take a wife. In his days God wrought many wondrous things in his behalf in the land of Jerusalem. For although he was afflicted with leprosy, still, a multitude of the pagans was repeatedly routed by him and utterly destroyed. This Baldwin the Leper, by the advice of his chief men, sent for William, the marquis of Montferrat, and gave him to wife his sister, Sibylla, together with the earldom of Joppa. This marquis William had by Sibylla, his wife, one son, named Baldwin, whom Baldwin the Leper made his heir, and abdicating the kingdom, gave it to this youth Baldwin, his nephew, and caused him to be crowned. Shortly after, the marquis William, the father of the youth Baldwin, who was now king, departed this life, and Sibylla, his wife, the mother of the king, married the above-named Guido de Lusignan. Shortly after this, king Baldwin the Leper died, and the youth Baldwin, his nephew, reigned in his stead two years and a half. Guido de Lusignan, the earl of Joppa, gave Milicent, his wife's sister, in marriage to Amfrid de Tours.

In the year of grace 1169, being the fifteenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, Nigel, bishop of Ely, departed this life; Godfrey of Finchale, a venerable recluse and holy monk, also departed unto the Lord.

In the same year, Henry, king of England, fearing that the blessed Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, would pronounce sentence of excommunication against his own person, and lay an interdict on his kingdom, appealed in behalf of himself and his kingdom, to the presence of the Supreme Pontiff; and sending envoys to him, requested that he would send one or two legates *a latere* to England, to enquire into the dispute which existed between him and Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, and terminate it to the honor of God and of the Holy Church; and also that the persons above-named, whom the archbishop of Canterbury had excommunicated, might in the meantime be absolved. Wherefore our lord the pope wrote to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Alexander to Henry, king of England.

"Alexander the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Henry, the illustrious king of the English, health and the Apostolic benediction. The envoys sent by your mightiness,

namely, our well-beloved sons Robert Cumin and Ralph de Tameworde,[85] persons devoted to ourselves and to the Church of God, and, as we believe, most faithful servants to your royal highness, together with the letter which your excellency transmitted unto us by their hands, we have received with the more kindly feelings, and have with the greater favour and honor granted the prayer thereof, the more fully we were sensible that they had been sent by a mighty prince and most Christian king: to whom, indeed, we wish, so far as with the will of God we may, all glory and honor; and whose advantage, in every way in which we becomingly may, both we and our brethren and the whole Church wish for the more ardently, the more that in our greatest necessity we have experienced your most devoted sincerity towards us. For our memory at no time hereafter will be able possibly to lose the recollection of the marks of duty shown to us by you at a time so opportune, nor will they by any lapse of time be overshadowed in the sight of the church. We have thought proper to send certain persons as legates *a latere*, according to your request, although it seemed to us most inconvenient and most difficult at this time to part with any, when we are standing in need of the presence and counsel of our brethren, and especially of those whom you require, being not unmindful however, as we have already mentioned, of your praiseworthy and distinguished dutifulness to us. These we have thought fit to send to the presence of your highness, with full powers to take cognizance of and give judgment upon the ecclesiastical matters which are the subject of dispute between you and our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, as also, the controversy which exists between the said archbishop and the bishops of your kingdom with regard to the appeal made unto ourselves, and such other matters in dispute in your kingdom as they shall be enabled to bring to a satisfactory conclusion, and, according as the Lord shall give them His assistance therein, to terminate the same in a canonical manner. We shall by all means also forbid the said archbishop in any way to attempt to molest, or disturb, or disquiet either yourself, or your people, or the kingdom entrusted to your government, until these matters in dispute shall have been brought to a legitimate conclusion. But, if the aforesaid archbishop shall, in the meantime, pronounce any sentence upon

[85] Tamworth.

you, or your kingdom, or any person in your realm, we do pronounce the same to be null and void, and not in any way to affect you. To put an end to such a course, and as a proof of our wishes, you are, in case necessity shall arise for so doing, to produce this present letter. But, otherwise, we do beg of your serene highness, and strongly recommend you, not to let this letter or the tenor thereof be known to any person whatsoever, but to keep it entirely secret. And as for those persons of your household and your advisers, whom the said archbishop has already subjected to sentence of excommunication, the parties sent by us will, with the Lord's assistance, absolve them. But if, in the meantime, any one of them shall be in fear of immediate death, we do grant that he may be absolved by any bishop, or religious and discreet man, on the oath being administered to him, according to the custom of the Church, that if he shall recover he will consider himself bound to obey our mandates."

Upon this, the above-mentioned legates of our lord the pope having arrived in Normandy, certain of the suffragans of the church of Canterbury wrote to the following effect:—

"Cure is preferable to complaint. But, our sins requiring the same, our holy mother the Church has been placed between the hammer and the anvil, and, unless the Divine mercy shall look down upon her, will shortly feel the blow of that hammer. For, the wickedness of the schismatics waxing strong, for defending his faith and for his love of justice, our father has been exiled by our other father from his country, and the hardened mind of Pharaoh forbids him liberty to return to his see. Added to this, in things spiritual as well as in things temporal the church of Canterbury is sadly impoverished. Like a ship upon the sea deprived of her pilot, she is buffeted to and fro, and is exposed to the winds, while, by the royal authority, her shepherd is forbidden to remain within the territories of his own country. He, wise though he may be, at his own peril and that of his Church, as also of ourselves, has, together with himself, exposed us to the bitterness of penalties and of labours; not reflecting that to use soothing methods will not detract from his own power. And further, although with all our affections we sympathize with his sufferings, he has proved ungrateful towards us, and, although we are in the same condemnation, ceases not to persecute us. For, between himself and the most serene king of the English, a certain controversy arose:

at the desire of both, a certain day was fixed upon, that, upon the same, with the mediation of justice, an end might be put to this controversy. Upon that day, in obedience to the royal command, the archbishops, bishops, and other heads of the Church, were convoked, in order that the more extensive the council then held, the more manifest might be the exposure of fraud and malice. On the day appointed, this disturber of the kingdom and of the Church presents himself before the face of the Catholic king, and, being distrustful of the nature of his own merits, arms himself with the resemblance of the cross of our Lord, as though about to come into the presence of a tyrant. Nor yet even at this was the king's majesty offended, but he entrusted the judgment of his cause to the fidelity of the bishops, that so he might be free from all suspicion. It remained, therefore, for the bishops to end the dispute by pronouncing judgment, that they might thereby bring the disputants to a reconciliation, and bury in oblivion the causes of their dissensions. He, however, came thither, and forbade sentence to be pronounced upon himself before the king, that so the royal mind might be the more violently inflamed to anger. The result of these excesses is, that the author thereof is in [86] duty bound to expose himself to the vengeance of every one, being ashamed to deprecate a merited retribution, in not pausing at offending a most powerful prince in the days of the persecution of the Church. For it is his offence that has redoubled the weight of the blows of persecution. It would have been better for himself if he had placed a curb upon his prosperity, lest, while striving presumptuously to arrive at the summit of felicity, he might, in return for his presumption, be thrust down to a lower place. And, if the misfortunes of the Church did not move him, he ought at least to have been dissuaded from acting in opposition to the king by the advancement, both in riches and honors, which the king had bestowed upon him. Whereas, on the other hand, he faces him as an adversary, and objects, that for him to stand in judgment before the king would be a diminution of the dignity of the Apostolic See. But if he was not aware that in that judgment there was but little derogatory to the dignity of the Church, still, it was his duty to have concealed his feelings for

[86] This is probably the meaning of the passage, but it is in an extremely corrupt state.

a time, in order that peace might be restored unto the Church. Again, another objection that he takes, ascribing to himself the title of father, is, that it seems to savour of arrogance for sons to meet together for the condemnation of their father, a thing that they ought by no means to do. But, if he really had been a father, in the first place his humility would have moderated the pride of his sons, in order that hatred of the father might not spring up in those sons. Therefore, most holy fathers, it is clear from what is stated above, that our adversary ought to fail in his pretences, being actuated by the malignity of his hatred alone, and supported by no reasonable grounds whatsoever, and inasmuch as the care of all the churches is known at present to rest upon ourselves."

When Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his fellow-exiles, came to an interview with the legates, on the octave of Saint Martin, between Gisors and Trie, the legates discoursed at length with the archbishop on the Christian charity of our lord the pope, the anxiety which the Roman Church had hitherto manifested in his behalf, their own labours and the perils of their journey, the mighty power of the king of England, the necessities of the Church, the wickedness of the times, the love and kindness which the king of England had manifested towards him, and the honor which the king had always paid him. They also added the complaints, and the injuries which the king of England complained that he had suffered at his hands, laying it to his charge, among other things, that he had excited the king of the Franks to wage war against him, and sought his advice how they might be enabled to appease such vast indignation, because they were well aware that no remedy could be applied to such dangers without great humility, moderation, and marks of respect.

But the archbishop of Canterbury, in all humility and meekness of spirit, after duly returning thanks to our lord the pope and to them, made answer to each point, upon true and probable grounds, showing the emptiness of the king's complaints, and fully explaining the injuries and intolerable losses of the Church. And, inasmuch as they required of him humility and marks of respect, he answered that he would most willingly show all humility, and the greatest possible honor and respect, saving always the honor of God, the liberties of the Church,

the dignities belonging to his own person, and the possessions of the churches; and if anything should seem to them to require to be added, or to be taken away, or to be changed, he entreated that they would give him their advice, it being his fixed determination to acquiesce therein, saving always the conditions of his profession and orders. To this, however, they made answer, that they had come not to advise him, but to seek his advice, and to prepare the way for a reconciliation.

They also made enquiry of the archbishop, whether, in the presence of the legates, he was willing to promise to observe the customs which the kings had made use of in the times of his predecessors, and thus, all complaints being hushed up, to be reinstated in the king's favour, and return to his see and the performance of his duties, and the enjoyment of peace by him and his people? To this the archbishop made answer, that no one of his predecessors, under any of the kings, had been bound to make this profession, and that he, with the help of God, would never promise to observe customs, which were openly opposed to the law of God, and, besides that, rooted out the privileges derived from the Apostles, and destroyed the liberties of the Church; which, also, our lord the pope, at Sens, in their presence, and in that of many others, had condemned, and some of which, he himself subsequently thereto, following the authority of our lord the pope, had subjected, together with those who observed them, to the penalties of excommunication, as the Catholic church in many councils is known to have done.

Upon this, he was asked to promise, if not a confirmation of them, at least connivance and toleration on his part, or, not making mention in any way of the customs, to return to his see and his former state of tranquillity. To this the archbishop made answer: "It is a proverb among the people of our nation, that 'silence looks like assent;'" and observed that, while the king would appear to be left in possession of these customs, and would unjustly and violently compel the Church to the observance of them, if all opposition should cease, through silence being obtained on his part, the authority of the legates being interposed for that purpose, the king would immediately appear to himself and to others to have gained his point in the contest. He also added, that he would go into exile, be perpetually proscribed, and, if God so ordained it, die, in defence of justice, rather than obtain a peace of this

description, to the loss of his salvation, and to the prejudice of the liberties of the Church. For that there is a God who, in such a case, forbids the priesthood to be silent, and, in case they dissemble, has prepared hell for their portion, where there will be no dissembling of their punishment.

The book of the abominations[87] was also read by him, and he made enquiry of the cardinals, whether it was lawful for such things to be put in practice by Christians, much more concealed from their pastors?

They then proceeded to another question, enquiring whether he would be willing to abide by their judgment upon the matters in dispute between himself and the king? To this he made answer, that he fully confided in the integrity of his cause; and that when he himself and his people, who had been for a long time left destitute, should have been fully restored to the enjoyment of everything, taking into consideration causes, and circumstances, and times, he would readily obey the law, and that he neither could nor would decline it, but, on the contrary, both where, and when, and how, it should be his duty, would submit to the judgment of him or them, by whose judgment, whether one or more, our lord the pope should have made it his determination to abide. That, in the meantime, he and his people could not be urged on to litigation, and not even poverty would have this effect, even though he should have been in want of victuals, had he not been aided with money by the most Christian king of the Franks. Yet he was unwilling, at the first glance, to shrink from judgment, even though he might have the best possible grounds for suspecting either of them, lest he might thereby seem to justify the king's cause, nor yet did he desire to engage in litigation before he had been entirely restored, in order that he might thereby be enabled to support his own cause.

At this time Louis, king of the Franks, collecting a large army, entered Normandy, and burned the town of Andely, belonging to Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, Henry, king of England, making no resistance thereto: this was done in revenge for Chaumont, a fine castle belonging to the king of France, which the above-named king of England had burned in the preceding year by his Welchmen. In the same year,

[87] This was a book containing anathemas against persons guilty of certain practices therein censured by the Church.

Henry, king of England, took by storm a very strongly fortified castle, which was called Finuel, and levelled it with the ground. From the same year in which kings had ceased to reign in Brittany, two earls had begun to rule in their stead. But, inasmuch as all power is ever impatient of a partner, they harassed each other with various dissensions. Conan at length, by right of succession, having obtained both earldoms, when he died, left as his heir his daughter by the sister of the king of the Scots. The king of the English taking her as a wife for his son Geoffrey, and showing himself active in the establishment of peace throughout Brittany, conciliated the good feelings of both the clergy and the commonalty.

In the year 1170, being the sixteenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king Henry kept the solemn festival at Nantes, in Brittany, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on the fifth day of the week. After this, the king made a hostile attack upon the lands of earl Eudo,[88] and laid waste nearly the whole thereof, and compelled earl Eudo himself to surrender.

After this, in the first week of the month of March, he crossed over from Normandy to England, between Barbefleet[89] and Portsmouth; on which passage, after being tossed about by a most dreadful storm, from the hour of midnight until the ninth hour of the following day, with great difficulty he reached England and landed at Portsmouth. But nearly all the other ships that were with him were broken and shattered, and reached various ports of England just as the strength of the gale drove them along. One of them, however, which was a better and more recently built vessel than all the rest, but more unfortunate, went down, together with Henry de Agnelles and his two sons, Gilbert de Sulemny, and master Ralph de Beaumont, a physician, and one of the king's household, together with other men and women, to the number of four hundred.

Shortly after this, king Henry knighted David, the brother of William, king of the Scots. In the same year, king Henry passed the festival of Easter at Windsor. After this, the king came to London, and there deprived of their offices nearly all the sheriffs of England, and, having made inquisition as to their levies upon the oaths of the people of his kingdom, fined

[88] Misprinted Ludo. [89] Harfleur.

them. After this, at the feast of Saint Barnabas[90] the Apostle, the said king held a great council at London, with the nobles and chief men of his kingdom, upon the coronation of his son, Henry; and on the Lord's day following, which took place on the seventeenth day before the calends of July, the clergy and people assembling and agreeing thereto, he himself caused the above-named Henry, his son, to be crowned and consecrated king at Westminster, by Roger, archbishop of York, who was assisted in this duty by Hugh, bishop of Durham, Walter, bishop of Rochester, Gilbert, bishop of London, and Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury; no mention whatever being made of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom by right of his see the coronation and consecration belonged. The day after this coronation, the king, his father, made William, king of the Scots, and David, his brother, and the earls and barons of the kingdom, pay homage to the new king, and swear fealty to him against all men, saving their fealty to himself.

When it became known to Louis, king of the Franks, that his daughter Margaret had not been crowned together with her husband, the king of England, he assembled a large army, and hostilely invaded Normandy. On hearing of this, the king of England, the father, leaving the king his son behind in England, crossed over into Normandy, and made peace with king Louis, at a conference held at Vendosme, on the festival of Saint Mary Magdalene, promising that next year he would cause his son to be crowned again, and his wife with him. On returning from this conference, the king, the father, came into Normandy, and was attacked at Motamgran[91] by a grievous malady, on which he divided his dominions among his sons in the following manner:

He gave to his son Richard the dukedom of Aquitaine, and all the lands which he had received with his mother, queen Eleanor; and to his son Geoffrey he gave Brittany, with Alice, the daughter of earl Conan, whom he had obtained as his wife, from Louis, king of the Franks. To king Henry, his son, he gave Normandy, and all the lands which had belonged to his father, Geoffrey, earl of Anjou. These three sons he also made do homage to Louis, king of France. To

[90] This seems a better reading than Saint Bernard.
[91] This is probably a mistake for Vernon.

John, his youngest son, who was as yet an infant, he gave the earldom of Mortaigne. A considerable time after this, king Henry, the father, on recovering from his illness, went on a pilgrimage to Saint Mary of Roquemadour.

In the meantime, the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, now passing his sixth year in exile, made complaint to Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, against Roger, the archbishop of York, and the above-named four bishops who had assisted him at the coronation of the new king, in the province of Canterbury; whereupon, at his instance, the Supreme Pontiff excommunicated the bishops of London, Rochester, and Salisbury, and the archbishop of York, and suspended Hugh, the bishop of Durham, from all his episcopal duties. For which purpose he wrote to them to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Alexander to Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, health and the Apostolical benediction. Although you have shown yourselves praiseworthy and pleasing unto us in many respects, and we do sincerely embrace you in the arms of Christian love; still, for all this, we ought not to omit that those things which have been done by you, and which, remain uncorrected, beget death, and to remind you, and correct you in our zeal for what is right, as the Lord says by His prophet,[92] 'When I say unto the wicked, thou shalt surely die; and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life; the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, and his blood will I require at thine hand.' For the persecution of the English Church, and the diminution of her liberties which have taken place through the conduct of your king, whether of his own accord, or whether rather at the suggestion of others, have for this long time past greatly afflicted our mind, and caused us no small grief and anxiety. For whereas it was his duty to have thought of correcting those things which have been wrongfully done by his predecessors, rather adding prevarications to prevarications, he has both placed and established customs thus evil under the protection of the royal dignity. Under these, both

[92] Ezekiel iii. 18.

the liberties of the Church are destroyed, and the decrees of the successors of the Apostles are, as far as possible, deprived of their validity. Nor has he thought that it ought to suffice, if under him the Divine laws in the kingdom of England should be reduced to silence and to nothingness, unless he should also transmit his sins to his heirs, and cause his kingdom long to exist without the ephod and without the pall.[93] For this reason it is that these usurpations, so unrighteous and so utterly unjustifiable, he has caused to be confirmed by your oath, and by those of others of our brethren and fellow bishops, and has pronounced as an enemy whatever person should think fit to differ from these unrighteous ordinances. This is proved by the exile of our venerable brother, Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury; this is also shewn by the dreadful proscription of his clergy and kindred, and of those even who, still hanging at their mother's breasts, were crying in the cradle. Even the fear of death is appealed to, if the mind of any one is aroused, in contradiction to these enactments, a desire to obey the Divine laws. We ourselves, by whose judgment those prevarications ought to have been corrected or punished, were with much urgency on the occasion of a time of trouble pressed to confirm the same. Strong endeavours were also made, and no efforts were spared, that we might, at a time when they had not been explained to us, confer upon these usurpations, the confirmation of the Apostolical authority. This indeed took place at the very beginning. In process of time, however, the archbishop above-named being sent into exile for having performed the duty of his pastoral office, and frequently requesting from our assistance the customary aid of the Roman Church, we sent to the king before-mentioned, some of the best and most eminent of our brethren; we also sent other ecclesiastical persons, and did imagine that by our humility and forbearance his obduracy might be surmounted: and so it should have been, for Solomon says, 'By long forbearance is a prince softened, and a soft tongue breaketh anger.'[94] But he, trifling with our long-suffering by the manifold arts of his envoys, seems so utterly to have hardened his heart against our advice, that he will not curb his wrath against

[93] The "superhumerale," or "pall," was in reality the same garment as the ephod.

[94] Proverbs xxv. 15. In our version, "the bone" stands in place of "anger."

the above-named archbishop, nor allow any portion to be withdrawn, of those unrighteous statutes, but will rather afflict the church of Canterbury with the entire loss of its possessions, and by these means despoil it of its ancient dignity in the ecclesiastical office. For lately, when he wished his son to be crowned, despising the said archbishop, to whom that duty is said of ancient right to belong, by your hand, brother archbishop, he caused the crown of the kingdom to be placed on his head in the province of another. Besides, at his coronation, no surety was given, according to usual custom, for preserving the liberties of the Church, or indeed, according to report, even demanded; but on the contrary, it is said to have been confirmed upon oath, that it is the duty of all to keep inviolate the customs of the kingdom, which they say were established by his grandfather, and by reason of which the dignity of the Church is endangered. Although in acting thus, the obstinacy of the above-named king greatly vexes us, yet we are still more moved by the weakness of yourselves and of our other fellow-bishops, who, and with grief we say it, have become as it were rams having no horns, and have fled without courage from before the face of their pursuer. For although, brother archbishop, it might possibly have been allowable for you to act thus in your own province, still, how it was allowable for you in the province of another, and of him in especial, who was almost the only one to go forth in exile for justice and thereby to give glory to God, we are unable to discover either upon the grounds of common sense, or according to the constitutions of the holy fathers. But should any one, by way of excuse for so great a betrayal, make it an objection that in other kingdoms many and grave enormities are perpetrated, in truth we can make answer, that we find no kingdom that as yet has rushed into so great a contempt of the Divine laws, as to cause enormities so manifest to be promulgated by the writings and oaths of bishops, unless, indeed, any one should have the impudence to bring that forward, of which the schismatics who have been lately cut off from communion with the faithful, have with damnable and unheard-of pride been guilty. Wherefore, inasmuch as, according to the words of the prophet, the evil has been done among you, to an extent beyond all other provinces in his usurpations, and after having confirmed these unrighteous cus-

toms by oath, you have not aroused yourselves to resume the shield of faith, in order that you might stand in the house of the Lord in the day of battle, but have laid your bodies on the ground, that there might be a way for him to pass over you; and lest if we should be any longer silent, we might, together with you, be involved on the day of judgment in the same sentence of damnation, by the authority of the Roman Church, of which with the aid of the Lord we are the servant, we do suspend you from all duties of the episcopal office, hoping that at least, under discipline and paternal correction, you will return to a sense of your duty, and, as you ought, apply yourselves to defending the liberties of the Church. But if not even then you resume the zeal that ought to belong to your ecclesiastical office, then shall we, by the Lord's assistance, have recourse to that which is now impending over you. Be it then your care that that is not said to you, which was said to one by the prophet: 'Because thou hast rejected what is holy, I will also reject thee, so that thou shalt be no priest to me.'[93] For, as we, God so disposing, according to His good pleasure, are seen to occupy the place of him who could be withheld from preaching the word of God neither by stripes nor by bonds, we are bound, not under an ambiguous expectation of peace, to place the money of the Divine word which has been entrusted to us in a napkin, and so keep it tied up until the hour for getting in the profit thereof shall arrive, and the creditor coming shall strictly demand of us an account thereof."

In the meantime, Louis, king of the Franks, and the archbishops, bishops, and nobles of the kingdom of France, besought the Roman Pontiff in behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury, by the love which they bore him, and with protestations of implicit obedience, no longer to admit the excuses and delays which the king of England continually put forward, as he loved the kingdom of France and the honor of the Apostolic See. William, the bishop of Sens, also, being astonished at the desolate condition of the English church, repaired to the Apostolic See, and obtained of the Roman Church, that, an end being put to all appeals, the king of the English should be subjected to excommunication, and his kingdom to interdict, unless peace were restored to the church of Canterbury. Thus, at last, it pleased God, the dispenser of all things, to recompense the merits of His dearly

[93] Hos. iv. 6, slightly varied.

beloved Thomas, and to crown his long labours with the victorious palm of martyrdom. He, therefore, brought the king of England to a better frame of mind, who, through the paternal exhortation of our lord the pope, and by the advice of the king of the Franks and of many bishops, received the archbishop again into favour, and allowed him to return to his church.

Accordingly, peace was established between the archbishop and the king of England, on the fourth day before the ides of October, being the second day of the week, at Montluet, between Tours and Amboise, upon which, everything being arranged, they returned, each to his place. Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, returned to the abbey of Saint Columba, where he had resided for nearly the last four years. But, one day while the said archbishop lay there, prostrated in prayer before a certain altar in the church, he heard a voice from heaven saying to him, "Arise quickly, and go unto thy see, and thou shalt glorify my Church with thy blood, and thou shalt be glorified in me." Thereupon, at the commencement of the seventh year of his banishment, when he was now beloved by God and sanctified by spiritual exercises, and rendered more perfect by the sevenfold grace of the Holy Ghost, he hastened with all speed to return to his see. For the pious father was unwilling any longer to leave the church of Canterbury desolate; or else it was, because, as some believe, he had seen in the spirit the glories of his contest drawing to a close, or through a fear that, by dying elsewhere, he might be depriving his own see of the honor of his martyrdom.

As for his life, it was perfectly unimpeachable before God and man. To arise before daybreak did not seem to him a vain thing, as he knew that the Lord has promised a crown to the watchful. For every day he arose before daybreak, while all the rest were asleep, and entering his oratory would pray there for a long time; and then returning, he would awake his chaplains and clerks from their slumbers, and, the matins and the hours[95] of the day being chaunted, devoutly celebrate the mass; and every day and night he received three or five flagellations from the hand of a priest. After the celebration

[95] The "horæ" were services performed with chaunts at certain hours in the day: they were seven in number, and were styled "matutina, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vespera," and "completorium."

of the mass, every day he re-entered his oratory, and, shutting the door after him, devoted himself to prayer with abundant tears; and no one but God alone knew the manner in which he afflicted his flesh. And thus did he do daily unto his flesh until the hour for dining, unless some unusual solemnity or remarkable cause prevented it. On coming forth from his oratory he would come to dine among his people, not that he might sate his body with costly food, but that he might make his household cheerful thereby, and that he might fill the poor ones of the Lord with good things, whom, according to his means, he daily increased in numbers. And although costly and exquisite food and drink were set before him, still, his only food and drink were bread and water.

One day, while the archbishop was sitting at the table of Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, a person who was aware of this secret, placed before him a cup full of water. On the Supreme Pontiff taking it up, and tasting it, he found it to be the purest wine, and delicious to drink; on which he said: "I thought that this was water;" and on replacing the cup before the archbishop, the wine immediately returned to its former taste of water. Oh wondrous change by the right hand of the Most High! Every day, when the archbishop arose from dinner, unless more important business prevented him, he always devoted himself to reading the Scriptures until the hour of vespers, at the time of sunset. His bed was covered with soft coverlets and cloths of silk, embroidered on the surface with gold wrought therein; and while other persons were asleep, he alone used to lie on the bare floor before his bed, repeating psalms and hymns, and never ceasing from prayers, until at last, overcome with fatigue, he would gradually recline his head upon a stone put beneath it in place of a pillow: and thus would his eyes enjoy sleep, while his heart was ever watchful for the Lord. His inner garment was of coarse sackcloth made of goats' hair; with which his whole body was covered from the arms down to the knees. But his outer garments were remarkable for their splendour and extreme costliness, to the end that, thus deceiving human eyes, he might please the sight of God. There was no individual acquainted with this secret of his way of living, with the exception of two—one of whom was Robert, canon of Merton, his chaplain, and the name of the other was Brun, who had charge of his sackcloth gar-

ments, and washed them when necessary; and they were bound by their words and oaths that, during his life, they would disclose these facts to no one.

After the transactions above related, archbishop Thomas came to Witsand, but, upon hearing that Roger, archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, were at Dover, for the purpose of meeting him, he was unwilling to proceed thither, but landed in England at Sandwich. Having thus crossed the sea, the archbishop and future martyr was received in his church with great thankfulness, and with honor and glory, and especially by the monks, in solemn procession, all weeping for joy, and exclaiming, as they gave thanks, "Blessed is he, who cometh in the name of the Lord." But he, like a good father, receiving them all with the kiss of peace, admonished them with paternal exhortations, and instructed them to love the brotherhood, to obey God, to persevere in doing good, and to strive even to the death for the law of God.

At this period, Henry, king of England, the son of king Henry, was in England, and the Nativity of our Lord was approaching, which that king, with the nobles of his land, was about to celebrate with the usual solemnities. To this celebration it was the intention of the blessed Thomas, although not invited, to go. However, when he had come to London, Jocelyn, the queen's brother, came to him, and forbade him, in the king's name, to go any further, upon which the blessed Thomas returned to Canterbury.

Accordingly, again was this champion of Christ afflicted with injuries and hardships still more atrocious, beyond measure and number, and, by public proclamation, enjoined not to go beyond the limits of his church. Whoever showed to him, or to any one of his household, a cheerful countenance, was held to be a public enemy. However, all these things the man of God endured with great patience, and staying among those of his own household, edified them all with his conversation and with words of exhortation: and once more the archbishop took his seat in his church, fearless, and awaiting the hour at which he should receive from God the crown of martyrdom. For, being warned by many beforehand, he knew that his life would be but short, and that death was at the gates.

Upon this, as though he had but that moment commenced to live, he used all endeavours, by spiritual exercises, to

redeem the moments of his past life; and knowing that this life is but a journey and a warfare, in order that he might be sanctified in body, and disembarassed in spirit by vices, armed with virtues, he girded himself up for the race, and prepared himself for the struggle of the conflict. Therefore, in finishing his race, he ran "not as uncertainly," and, in fighting well, he did not "fight as one that beateth the air."[95] Then almost all his thoughts and discourse were upon the end of this life and the troubles of its path. Sometimes, also, in his discourses delivered to his brethren, the monks of the church of Canterbury, and the clergy and people of that city, he would say: "I have come to you to die among you." And sometimes he would say: "In this church there are martyrs, and, before long, God will increase the number of them." This he said, signifying by what death he should glorify the Lord.

At this period Henry, king of England, the father, alleged that the archbishopric of Bourges of right belonged to the dukedom of Aquitaine, but Louis, king of France, in every way opposed that view. In consequence of this, a serious disagreement arose between them, and each raised a large army; upon which, the king of England with his forces marched into Berry, as far as Montluc, with the intention of going still further; for, relying on the admission of the archbishop of Bourges when on the point of death and stating in his confession that by right the archbishopric of Bourges belonged to the dukedom of Aquitaine, he was in hopes that he should gain it. However, Louis, king of France, arrived there before him, upon which, the king of England, being deceived in his expectations, granted and accepted a cessation of hostilities until the feast of Saint Hilary.

In the year of grace 1171, being the seventeenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Bure, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, being the sixth day of the week; and queen Eleanor and his sons, Richard, Geoffrey, and John, were with him. In the same year, his son Henry, king of England, was in England. On the same day, the blessed Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, being then at Canterbury, after delivering a sermon to the people, excommunicated Robert de Broc, who, the day before, had cut off the tail of one of his sumpter-horses.

[95] 1 Cor. ix. 27.

Hardly had the father been residing one month in his see, when lo! on the fifth day of the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, there came to Canterbury four knights, or rather sworn satellites of Satan, whose names were as follow: William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, Richard Briton, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, men of families remarkable for their respectability, but destined, by their daring to commit so enormous a crime, to blemish the glories of knighthood and the honors of their ancestors with perpetual ignominy. Accordingly, these persons made their way into the presence of the archbishop, and, as nothing salutary[96] was the object of their message, in the malice they had conceived they omitted pronouncing any salutation, and addressed him in an insolent and haughty manner. Threats were exchanged on both sides, and threat was answered with threat. At last, leaving behind them abuse and insults, they departed: but, immediately after, they returned and broke into the cloister of the monks, with a large retinue of armed men, being also armed themselves. Now the archbishop, with meekness and self-possession, had gone before them to the choir of the church, the monks having entreated, nay, forced him, on account of the solemnity of the season, to perform the service at vespers. When he perceived these armed men behind him, in the middle of the cloisters, it might have been expected that their own malignant feelings would have warned them to leave the church; but, neither did reverence for the solemn occasion dissuade them from their crime, nor the innocence of the patriarch prevent them from shedding his blood. Indeed, so entirely had their shameless determination to perpetrate the crime taken possession of them and blinded them, that they neither regarded the disgrace to their knighthood, nor took account of any danger. Therefore, following the archbishop with headlong and heedless steps, with drawn swords, they entered the church, and furiously cried aloud, "Where is this traitor?" After which, no one making answer, they repeated, "Where is the archbishop?" Upon this, he, the confessor, and, shortly to be, the martyr in the cause of Christ, being sensible that under the first name he was falsely charged, and that, by virtue of his office, the other belonged to him, came down from the

[96] He puns upon the resemblance of "salus," "health," and "salutatio," "a salutation."

steps to meet them, and said, "Behold, here am I," showing such extraordinary presence of mind, that neither his mind seemed agitated by fear nor his body by trepidation.

On this, in the spirit of his frenzy, one of these fell knights made answer to him, "You shall now die, for it is impossible for you to live any longer." To which the bishop made answer, with no less self-possession in his language than in his mind, "I am ready to die for my God, and for asserting justice and the liberties of the Church; but, if you seek my life, in the name of Almighty God, and under pain of excommunication, I forbid you, in any way, to hurt any other person, whether monk, or clerk, or layman, whether great or small, but let them be as exempt from the penalty as they have been guiltless of the cause." These words of his would serve to express those of Christ in His passion, when He said, "If ye seek me, let these go their way."

On this, the knights instantly laid hands on him and seized him, that, for the perpetration of their design, they might drag him out of the church, but were unable so to do. The archbishop, on seeing his murderers with drawn swords, after the manner of one in prayer, bowed his head, uttering these as his last words, "To God and to Saint Mary, and to the Saints, the patrons of this church, and to Saint Denis, I commend myself and the cause of the Church." After this, amid all these tortures, this martyr, with unconquerable spirit and admirable constancy, uttered not a word or a cry, nor heaved a sigh, nor lifted his arm against the smiter; but, bowing his head, which he had exposed to their swords, held it unmoved until the deed was completed.

Upon this, the above-named knights, fearing the multitude of persons of both sexes that came running to the spot, hastened the perpetration of the crime, lest possibly it might be left incomplete, and their intentions be frustrated thereby; and while one of them was extending his arm and brandishing his sword over the head of the archbishop, he cut off the arm of a clerk, whose name was Edward Grimere, and at the same time wounded the anointed of the Lord in the head. For this clerk had extended his arm over the head of the father, in order that he might receive the blow as he struck, or rather ward it off thereby. The righteous man still stood erect, suffering in the cause of righteousness, like the innocent

[96] St. John xviii. 8.

lamb, without a murmur, without complaint, and, offering himself up as a sacrifice to the Lord, implored the protection of the Saints. And, in order that no one of these fell satellites might be said to be guiltless in consequence of not having touched the archbishop, a second and a third atrociously struck the head of the suffering martyr with their swords, and clave it asunder, and dashed this victim of the Holy Ghost to the ground. The fourth, raging with a still more deadly, or rather fiendlike, cruelty, when prostrate and expiring, cut off his shorn crown, dashed in his skull, and, thrusting his sword into the head, scattered his brains and blood upon the stone pavement. In the mixture of the two substances the difference of colour seemed to remind any one, who considered the matter with due piety, of the twofold merits of the martyr. For, in the whiteness of the brains was shown the purity of his innocence, while the purple colour of the blood bespoke his martyrdom. With both these becomingly arrayed, as though with a nuptial garment, the martyr Thomas was rendered a worthy guest at the heavenly table. Thus, even thus, the martyr Thomas become, by virtue of his long-suffering, a precious stone of adamant for the heavenly edifice, being squared by the blows of swords, was joined in heaven unto Christ, the headstone of the corner. Wherefore this our Abel, being made perfect by the glory of martyrdom, in a moment lived out many ages.

Thus it was that, at the beginning of the seventh year of his exile, the above-named martyr Thomas struggled even unto the death for the love of God and the liberties of the Church, which had almost entirely perished as regards the English Church. He did not stand in fear of the words of the unrighteous; but, having his foundation upon a firm rock, that is, upon Christ, for the name of Christ, and in the Church of Christ, by the swords of the wicked, on the fifth day of the Nativity of our Lord, being the day after Innocents' day, he himself an innocent, died. His innocent life and his death, as being precious in the eyes of God, innumerable miracles deservedly bespeak, which, not only in the place where he rested, but in divers nations and kingdoms, were wondrously shown.

On the same day the passion of the blessed Thomas was revealed by the Holy Ghost to the blessed Godric, the anchorite, at Finchale, a place which is distant from Canterbury more than

a hundred and sixty miles. The monks of the church of Canterbury, on this, shut the doors of the church, and so the church remained with the celebration of the mass suspended for nearly a whole year, until they had received a reconciliation of the church[97] from our lord the pope Alexander. But the monks took up the body of their martyr, and the first night placed it in the choir, performing around it the service for the dead. It is also said, and with truthfulness, that when they had completed around the body the obsequies of mortality, and while he was lying on the bier in the choir, about daybreak he raised his left hand and gave them the benediction; after which, they buried him in the crypt.

As for the knights who had perpetrated this unholy deed, instantly becoming conscious of the heinousness of their conduct, and despairing of forgiveness, they did not dare to return to the court of the king of England, but retired into the western[98] parts of England to Knaresborough, the town of Hugh de Morville, and there remained until they had become utterly despised by the people of that district. For all persons avoided any communication with him, and no one would eat or drink with them. The consequence was that they ate and drank by themselves, and the remnants of their victuals were cast out to the dogs, which, when they had tasted thereof, refused to eat any more. Behold the signal and deserved vengeance of God! that those who had despised the anointed of the Lord should be despised even by dogs.

However, a considerable time after this, the four knights above-named, who felt the accusation of their own consciences for having perpetrated this deed, went to Alexander, the pope of Rome, and, being enjoined by him to do penance, set out for Jerusalem. Performing penance according to the pope's injunctions, they died at Montenegro, and were buried at Jerusalem before the doors of the Temple. The inscription on their tomb was to the following effect:[99] "Here lie the wretched men who martyred the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canter-

[97] On the reconciliation of a church, it was consecrated anew by the bishop, and sprinkled throughout with holy water.

[98] Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, can hardly be said to be in the West of England.

[99] The latter part of the epitaph is couched in the following jingle:—

"Annus millenus, centenus, septuagenus,
Primus erat, primas quo ruit ense Thomas."

bury. It was in the year one thousand one hundred and seventy-one that the primate Thomas died by their swords."

The Letter of Louis, king of the Franks, to pope Alexander, on the death of the blessed Thomas.

"To his lord and most holy father, Alexander, by the grace of God Supreme Pontiff, Louis, king of the Franks, health and due reverence. The man who commits violence upon his mother revolts against human laws, and he remembers not the kindness of his Creator, who is not saddened at violence offered to the Holy See. But more especially is there ground for condolence, and the novelty of a cruelty so unheard-of arouses a novelty in sorrow, in that wickedness, making an attack upon the holy one of God, has with the sword pierced the beloved son of Christ, and more basely even than cruelly stabbed him who was the light of the church of Canterbury. Let an unheard-of kind of retribution be invented. Let the sword of Saint Peter be unsheathed to avenge the martyr of Canterbury; inasmuch as, for the universal Church does his blood cry aloud, complaining not so much for himself as demanding vengeance for the whole Church. Behold! at the tomb of the martyr, as we have had revealed unto us, the Divine glory is revealed in miracles, and by Him are Divine manifestations made where his remains are deposited, for whose name he so valiantly struggled. We bid your Holiness, and your brotherhood, farewell in the Lord."

The Letter of William, archbishop of Sens, to pope Alexander, on the death of the blessed Thomas.

"To his most holy father and lord, Alexander, by the grace of God, Supreme Pontiff, William, the humble servant of the church of Sens, health and due obedience with all duteousness. To your Apostleship, holy father, all power has been granted in heaven and upon earth. In your hand is a two-edged sword; over nations and over kingdoms are you appointed, to bind their kings in fetters, and their nobles in chains of iron. Behold therefore, my lord, and consider what vintage they have gathered in. For a wild boar from the wood has destroyed the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, and a single wild beast has pastured thereon. The church of Canterbury, rather the Church universal, from the ends of the earth, in

your presence is pouring forth tears that drop blood, and sprinkled with bitterness, because she has been set up as a mark for the arrow, and has been made a reproach unto her neighbours. And those who behold her, wag their heads at her and say, where is their God? But she weeping and turning back, is crying aloud in the ears of the Lord of Hosts, 'Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy servant and martyr, the archbishop of Canterbury, who has been slain, nay, crucified, for the liberties of the Church! Holy father! a thing horrible to be mentioned, a disgraceful crime, an enormous piece of flagitiousness has been perpetrated in your days; a thing at which both the ears shall tingle of each that shall hear of it, the like of which has not been heard in Theman,[2] and has not been seen in Canaan. For another Herod, of the seed of Canaan and not of Judah, the offspring of vipers, sending his lictors from his side, has not been struck with horror at scarring with deep wounds the sign of the passion of our Lord, which he carried on his head, and at disfiguring with shameful marks the heavenly likeness. By reason whereof, as all the Church affirms, the cause and the penalty equally make him to be a martyr. The penalty is our grief, for the sufferings inflicted on him: the cause was the rigour of the ecclesiastical censure, because he contended for the law of his God even unto the death. It is therefore your part, O most merciful father, keeper of the walls of Jerusalem, to apply a remedy to what is past, and to employ foresight for the future. For what place is there that can be safe, if the rage of a tyrant is to stain with blood the Holy of Holies? And is it with impunity to tear in pieces the vicegerents of Christ, the foster-children of the Church? Let then the ecclesiastical laws arouse themselves, let ecclesiastical rights put on their armour. Let the vengeance for the blood of this glorious martyr, which cries aloud from England, enter into your presence. For cry aloud it will, and will arouse not only the earth but the heavens as well. And so consult for healing our sorrows, that you consult both for your own good name and the liberties of the Church. As to the rest, we have thought proper to inform the fatherly affection of your Holiness, that whereas you gave it as your command both to the lord archbishop of Rouen and to ourselves, that we should place under an interdict the

[2] A city of Edom, near Arabia Petræa.

lands that belong to the king of England on this side the sea, if he should not keep the peace which he had promised to our lord of Canterbury of glorious memory; adding also, that if either of us should be unable or unwilling to take part in carrying out the same, the other should nevertheless obey your commands; the above-named archbishop of Rouen, after we had caused your letter to be presented to him, signified to us that he would come to the city of Sens, and would act according to the tenor of your mandate. But when he had come thither, together with the bishops of Lisieux, Evreux, and Worcester, and very many others, both clergy as well as laymen, of the household of the above-named king, after many shiftings and excuses on his part, he made answer, that he was on his road to your presence, and felt unwilling to pour forth too bitter a censure upon the above-named king. But we being sensible that whoever despises obedience to the Apostolic mandates, incurs the guilt of paganism, according to the tenor of your mandate, with the common advice of our brethren, all the bishops, and of the abbats of Saint Denis, Saint Germain de Pres, Pontigny, Vaucouleurs,[3] Le Mans, and several other religious and wise men, have pronounced sentence against his lands on this side the sea, and have in your name enjoined the said archbishop and bishops to cause the same to be observed. For we know that he has neither, as he had promised, restored his possessions, nor had established security for him, as his death gives proof. Through a native of the diocese of Canterbury, whom we sent to him, he has also signified unto us that he had given cause for his death, and that he had had him slain. For this reason, we do supplicate your clemency, that you will ratify the sentence before-mentioned, and, as befits your majesty, and is expedient for the safety of the Church, will cause it to be in suchwise observed, that the honor of God and your own will may be preserved. And as for ourselves, who embrace your Holiness with that duteousness of which you are so well aware, we will by no means by reason hereof allow ourselves to be contemned. We wish you farewell, and as befits your majesty and holiness, so do."

[3] The words in the text are, "et Ponti magni Walcellensis;" it is not easy to say, with certainty, whether one or two abbeys are meant, and whether "Ponti magni" ought not to be "Pontiniaci."

The Letter of Theobald, earl of Blois, to pope Alexander, on the death of the blessed Thomas.

"To his most reverend lord and father, Alexander, by the grace of God, Supreme Pontiff, Theobald, earl of Blois, and procurator of the kingdom of France, health and due obedience with filial subjection. It pleased your majesty, that between the lord archbishop of Canterbury and the king of England, peace should be restored, and renewed concord established. Wherefore, according to the tenor of your mandate, the king of England received him with a cheerful countenance, and with features that bespoke joyousness, and made promises to him of peace and restoration to favour. At this agreement and reconciliation I was present, and in my presence the lord archbishop of Canterbury complained to the king of the coronation of his son, whom with premature aspirations and ardent desire, he had caused to be promoted to the elevation of the royal dignity. The king of England, being guilty of this wrong, and being conscious of his guilt, gave to the archbishop of Canterbury a pledge confirmatory of his right, and promising that he would make satisfaction. The archbishop also made complaint of those bishops who, contrary to the right and the honor of the church of Canterbury, had presumed to intrude a new king upon the seat of royalty; not through zeal for justice, not that they might please God, but that they might propitiate a tyrant. With regard to these, the king granted him free licence and authority to pronounce sentence against them according as might seem fit and proper to you and to himself. These things, in fact, I am prepared to attest, and to substantiate to you either upon oath, or in any other way you may think fit. Upon this, a reconciliation having been made, the man of God fearing nothing, returned, that he might submit his throat to the sword, and expose his neck to the smiter; and on the day after the day of the Holy Innocents, this innocent lamb suffered martyrdom; his righteous blood was shed in the place where the viaticum of our salvation, the blood of Christ, was wont to be sacrificed. Those dogs of the court, the people of the king's household and his domestics, showed themselves true servants of the king, and guiltily shed innocent blood. The detestable circumstances of this monstrous crime I would give you in detail, but I fear, lest it

might be ascribed to me as being done through hatred, and the bearers of these presents will recount it more at large, and with greater precision; from their relation you will learn how great an accumulation of grief, how vast a calamity has befallen the universal Church, and the martyr of Canterbury. This calamity, with due regard to her honor, the mother Church of Rome cannot conceal from herself. For whatever is dared to be done against an only daughter, the same extends to her parent as well, nor without injury to the mother is the daughter made captive. Unto you, therefore, does the blood of the righteous man cry aloud, demanding vengeance. May then, holy father, the Almighty Father aid and counsel you, who gave the blood of His Son to the world, that He might wipe away the guilt of the world, and cleanse the spots of our sins. May He both instil into you a wish for vengeance, and the power of obtaining it, that so the Church, put to confusion by the magnitude of this unheard-of crime, may have reason to rejoice at the condign punishment thereof."

The Letter of William, archbishop of Sens, to our lord the pope, against the king of England, in relation to the death of the blessed Thomas.

"To his most loving father and lord, Alexander, by the grace of God Supreme Pontiff, William, the humble servant of the church of Sens, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, with all service of due obedience. While writing these lines, or rather before I had begun to write them, I stopped short and hesitated, being greatly in doubt in what kind of language I could present to the eyes of your clemency the atrocity of the crime lately perpetrated, and the enormity of the offence so recently committed. And, indeed, I believe that the outcry of the world must have already filled the ears of your Holiness, who have your seat upon the watch-tower of the world, how that this, not king of the English, but enemy rather of the English and of the whole body of Christ, has lately committed wickedness against the holy one, the son of your right hand, whom you had confirmed unto yourself. His departure from this world, and the mode of his departure, even though perchance you may have heard from the diverse or adverse relation of any persons, I will faithfully and conscientiously relate what has been signified unto me by those who were present, and, in

a few words, explain the circumstances of the perpetration of this crime, the enormity of which can hardly be imagined. During the Nativity of our Lord, on the day after the Feast of the Innocents, towards sunset, and about the hour of vespers, the executioners having gained admission, the three, namely, who had been the first to arrive, approached this valiant champion of Christ in a most threatening and insolent manner; the names of whom, that their memories may be visited with everlasting maledictions, I here insert, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, and Reginald Fitz-Urse; these, on their first approach, on being saluted by the man of God, did not return the salutation, inasmuch as, having entered upon the ways of perdition, they manifestly rejected all that was salutary; but, on the contrary, contumeliously and malignantly thundered forth threats against him, if he did not, in obedience to the king's mandate, absolve the bishops who were suspended or excommunicated. On his making answer that this manifestly pertained to your province, as being the sole judge thereon, and that he could not think of claiming any himself where so great an authority was concerned; they immediately, on the king's behalf, denounced him as a traitor, and instantly went forth to their company of soldiers. As they went forth they also ordered, in the king's name, those knights who belonged to the household of the man of God, upon peril of their lives and forfeiture of all their honors, to go forth likewise, and silently and patiently await the result. A similar proclamation of the king was published throughout the city. But this single champion of Christ has, in our days, despised the threats of princes, and was with the greatest difficulty, by the persuasion of the knights, compelled to go forth from the place where he had already, as it were, received a foretaste of death: and this was done that he might not seem unwilling to meet his end. God, therefore, providing the mother church, dedicated in honor of Christ himself, entering the same, the anointed of the Lord was deemed worthy to be sacrificed for the name of Christ in the spot where each day Christ as well is offered up. This priest of the Most High, standing before the altar, and embracing in his arms the cross which he had been accustomed to have carried before him, and praying, voluntarily offered himself as a peace-offering to God between the cross and the horns of the

altar. For the hour of his passion was drawing nigh; on bended knees, with throat extended, and neck bowed down, he received the cup of salvation, and was beheaded by the three executioners above-named, having been first reviled with insults and many reproaches, that in no way he might be defrauded of the example which he had before him in the passion of his Lord. And that, still more, the form thereof might find a remarkable resemblance in his case, at the same hour he prayed for his murderers, adding thereto, and earnestly entreating, that his household might be kept unhurt by the present evils. Therefore, alone, and not without the shedding of blood, did the priest enter into the Holy place. And inasmuch as, since the death of the holy man we have heard, from the frequent relation of many persons, that certain wonderful things, by the working of the Lord, have taken place, they ought not to be entirely omitted. For, it is said, and is steadfastly affirmed, that, after his passion, he appeared in a vision to many, whom he informed that he was not dead, but living, and showed them, not wounds, but only the scars of wounds. Among these, he is said distinctly to have appeared to a certain aged monk, named Neil, but in what way I will not descant upon, in order that too long a narrative may be avoided; but the bearers thereof will faithfully and at large relate the circumstances. The story, too, about the blind man, who, immediately on his passion being ended, rubbed his eyes with the still warm blood and received his eyes and his sight, has been heard by all. There is also a story related by many, not unworthy of credit, relative to the tapers that were placed around his body, which, on being put out, afterwards were lighted again of themselves. And, a thing still more pleasing and miraculous, after all the obsequies of mortality had been performed around his body, while he was lying upon the bier in the choir, about dawn, raising his left hand, he gave the benediction. Arouse yourself, then, man of God, and put on the valour of those whose seat you hold; on the one hand let pity, on the other let indignation, move you to smite the smiter of your son; the one you owe to your son, the other to the tyrant: and so increase the glory upon earth of him whom God thus wondrously glorifies in heaven. But, to the other, award ignominy; who upon earth has so dreadfully persecuted God, and has smitten the sides of your own body, has torn

forth your entrails therefrom, and has trodden them under foot on the earth; who has also, by the hands of I know not what uncircumcised and unclean wretches, so perfidiously, so inhumanly, slaughtered your son, whom alone you loved as though a mother; neither fearing to commit violence upon the father, nor taking compassion upon his age. Wherefore, those to whose ministry you have succeeded, to their zeal succeed as well. And, inasmuch as you see the wickedness of Ahab, let emulation of Elias move you. Ahab slew [Naboth] and took possession; but, if we carefully weigh all the circumstances of the crime perpetrated by Ahab, Ahab is justified before this man. For this crime is one that by far deserves the first place among all the crimes of the wicked that are read of or related; as, all the wickedness of Nero, the perfidiousness of Julian, and even the sacrilegious treachery of Judas does it exceed. For look at this, and consider—what a personage, in what a church, what a time, too, for perpetrating the crime did he made choice of; namely, the Nativity of our Lord, the day after the feast of the Holy Innocents; so that, since the old one, in our days a new Herod has risen up. The protection, too, that was publicly granted to him failed to recall the traitor from the commission of this wickedness. As though, too, of himself he was not sufficiently mad, he has had encouragers, who have given horns to a sinner, those false brethren, men to be detested by all churches throughout the world, namely, that devil Roger, the archbishop of York, Gilbert, bishop of London, and Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, not bishops but apostates;[4] who have not secretly sold your son, their brother, but, in truth, have slain him, fearing neither the curse of the aged father, nor having regard for his sorrows or his age. That their life, both now and always henceforth, may be passed in bitterness, and their memory may be visited with eternal maledictions, may, Holy Father, your authority and your severity equally effect. Holy Father, we bid your Holiness farewell."

In the meantime, Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, Gilles, bishop of Evreux, and Roger, bishop of Worcester, with Richard Barre, and some others of the clerks and household of the king of England, set out to wait upon the Roman Pon-

[4] It is pretty clear that "postaticos" is a misprint for "apostaticos."

tiff, in behalf of the king of England and his kingdom. But the lord archbishop of Rouen, being worn out with infirmities and old age, after having accomplished nearly half the journey, was able to proceed no further, but returned to Normandy to his see, and the above-named bishops, with the king's clerks, proceeded on their journey. On arriving, they obtained with the greatest difficulty of the Supreme Pontiff that two cardinals, Theodinus and Albert, should come on behalf of our lord the pope to Normandy, in order to take cognizance of the dispute which existed between the king and the church of Canterbury, of the death of the martyr of Canterbury, and of other ecclesiastical dignities, and to give judgment thereon, according as God should suggest to them. On this, the persons who had gone to Rome wrote to our lord the king to this effect:—

"To their most dearly beloved lord, Henry, the illustrious king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, Robert, abbat of Vaucouleurs,[5] the archdeacon of Salisbury, Robert, archdeacon of Lisieux, Richard Barre, and master Henry, health and fealty in all things, and in all places obedience. Be it known unto your majesty, that Richard Barre went before us, and, amid great danger and hardships, preceded us to the court of our lord the pope. We four, with the two bishops, the dean of Evreux, and master Henry, with great difficulty arrived at Sienna, where we were detained for some days, as the earl Macharius had closed the roads on every side, so that there were no means of egress for any one. As we four, together with the bishops, who greatly desired to proceed, were unable so to do, being beset with the greatest difficulty of judging how to act, by the common consent of all, we sallied forth secretly at midnight; and thus, over the ridges of mountains, and through places almost inaccessible, with great fear and peril, we at last arrived at Tusculanum.[6] Here we found Richard Barre, anxious, as he expressed himself, to sustain your honor, and skilfully, usefully, and unceasingly striving for the promotion of your interests, but, nevertheless, in great trouble and sorrow, because our lord the pope had not received him, and other persons had not shewn themselves affable and hospitable towards him. As for ourselves, on

[5] Probably "Wallatiæ" is a misprint for "Valculeriæ." It is, however, possible that Valency is the place meant.

[6] Now Frascati.

our arrival, our lord the pope would neither see us, nor admit us to the kiss, nor at his foot. Indeed, most of the cardinals hardly deigned to give us a reception even with a word. In consequence of this, being long racked with anxious cares, in the bitterness of our spirit, we entreated those who were more faithfully attached to you, by every possible means, that, through their intervention, our lord the pope might in some way or other grant us the indulgence of an audience. At length, at their urgent request, the lord abbat of Vaucouleurs and Robert, archdeacon of Lisieux, who were not so strongly suspected, obtained a reception. But when they, on giving the salutation on your behalf, made mention of your name as being a most devoted son of the Church of Rome, the whole court cried aloud with one voice, "Forbear! forbear!" as though it were abominable to our lord the pope to hear mention made of your name. Upon this, they left the court, and returned at a later hour to our lord the pope, and gave him information as to the object of our mission, and what injunctions we had received from your majesty. They also related, in their order, each of the benefits you had conferred on the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the excesses and affronts he had been guilty of against your dignity. The whole of these matters were at first privately mentioned to him, and, afterwards, in the presence of our lord the pope and all the cardinals, they being confronted by two clerks of Canterbury, Alexander, and Gunther of Flanders. The fifth day of the week before Easter now drawing nigh, on which, according to usage of the Roman Church, our lord the pope is wont publicly to absolve or publicly to excommunicate, feeling certain that as to what regarded your grievances and those of your kingdom they had hitherto managed matters with the greatest foresight,[6*] we consulted those whom we knew to be faithful to your majesty; namely, the lord of Portuenza, the lord Jacinto, the lord of Pavia, the lord of Tusculanum, the lord Peter de Mirio (the lord John of Naples being absent), and begged them with the most urgent prayers and entreaties, that they would disclose to us the intentions of our lord the pope towards us, and what determination he purposed to form on our case. However, the information they gave us in answer was nothing but what was ill-boding and

[6*] It is pretty clear that "proni diutissime" is a misprint for "providentissime."

disgraceful to your highness; and we learned from their relation and that of brother Francis, a trustworthy man, interrupted as it was by sobs, that, by the common advice of his brethren, our lord the pope had immutably determined on that day to pronounce sentence of interdict upon you by name, and upon all your dominions on both sides of the sea, and to confirm the sentence that had been pronounced against the bishops. Being, consequently, placed in a position of the greatest difficulty, we made the most stringent efforts, both through the cardinals and through those of our companions who had access to him, and through the people of his household, to induce him to pause in this design, or at least defer it until the arrival of your bishops. When this could not by any means be effected, we, as became us, and as we are bound in duty to you, being neither able nor bound to put up with disgrace to your own person and calamity to the whole of your dominions, having convened all our companions before certain of the cardinals, at length discovered a way for the preservation of your safety and honor, safe, and becoming, and advantageous to the whole of your dominions, as well as necessary for the bishops.[7] Hereby we averted from you, and from your dominions, and from your bishops, the disgrace and peril that were impending, and exposed ourselves for obtaining this liberation to the whole of the danger, believing and having an assured hope that the whole matter will proceed according to what we believe to be your wishes, and according to what we feel assured ought to be your wishes. The lords bishop of Worcester and of Evreux, together with Robert, dean of Evreux, and master Henry, were shortly about to follow, and, indeed, we left them behind, anxious and vexed beyond measure because they had not been able to come on according to their wishes, for the purpose of carrying out the business you had entrusted them with.[7*] However, it was their suggestion, as much as our own, that we should by some means or other precede them, in order to be enabled to prevent the disgrace and mischiefs which our adversaries were preparing

[7] Bribery is probably the method thus covertly alluded to.

[7*] There must be some mistake in this, as master Henry is one of the five by whom the letter is addressed. It appears, however, from the commencement, probable that master Henry was left behind at Sienna, and that he really did not take part in the letter.

for us; for we were assured that serious troubles were in preparation for you at the court, and were in dread of the usual custom of that day. With wishes for your lasting prosperity, we bid your highness farewell: be comforted in the Lord, and let your heart rejoice, inasmuch as, to your glory, the present clouds will be succeeded by serenity. On the Saturday before Palm Sunday we arrived at the court, and the bearer of these presents has left us on Easter Day."

In the meantime, there came into Normandy two cardinals, Gratianus and Vivianus, sent as legates *a latere* by Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, who vexed the king of England by many and various annoyances, and wished to place him and his dominions under interdict. But the king of England being warned of this beforehand, had, before their arrival, appealed to the presence of our lord the Supreme Pontiff, and by these means kept himself and his dominions unhurt by the exercise of their severity.

Still, fearing the power of the Apostolic See, he hastened to the sea-shore, and crossed over from Normandy to England, giving orders that no person who should bring a brief, of whatever rank or order he might be, should be allowed to cross over, either from Normandy to England or from England to Normandy, unless he should first give security that he would seek to inflict neither evil nor injury upon the king or his kingdom.

After this, the said king, collecting together a great fleet of ships, caused them to be laden with provisions and arms, and ordered them to meet at Milford Haven, which is near Pembroke. In the meantime, he also collected a large army of horse and foot, and came to Pembroke, in order to meet his fleet. These being assembled and everything duly arranged, he embarked, with his army, on board the fleet at Milford Haven, on Saturday, the seventeenth day before the calends of November, and on the next day, with joy, effected a successful landing in Ireland, at a place which is called Croch,[8] distant eight miles from the city of Waterford, at the ninth hour of the day; having crossed over with four hundred large ships, laden with warriors, horses, arms, and provisions. At the moment when he disembarked, a white hare sprang forth from a thicket, which was immediately captured and presented to him as an omen of victory.

[8] Cork.

On the day after the arrival of the king of England in Ireland, that is to say, on the fifteenth day before the calends of November, being the second day of the week and the feast of Saint Luke the Evangelist, he and the whole of his troops moved on to Waterford, an episcopal city. Here he found William Fitz-Aldelm, his seneschal, and Robert Fitz-Bernard, with some other persons of his household, whom he had sent before him from England. Here he also stayed for a period of fifteen days, and there came to him, at his command, the king of Cork, the king of Limerick, the king of Ossory, the king of Meath, Reginald de Waterford, and nearly all the principal men of Ireland, with the exception of the king of Connaught, who said that he was the rightful lord of the whole of Ireland. In addition to these, there came to the king of England, while staying here, all the archbishops, bishops, and abbats of the whole of Ireland, and acknowledged him as king and lord of Ireland, taking the oath of fealty to him and his heirs, and admitting his and their right of reigning over them for all time to come; after which, they gave their charters to the same effect. After the example of the clergy, the above-named kings and principal men of Ireland received Henry, the king of England, in a similar manner, as lord and king of Ireland, and did homage to him, and swore fealty to him and his heirs against all men.

It deserves to be known that, in Ireland, there are four archbishops and twenty-eight bishops, the names of whom, at this period, were as follows:—Gelasius was archbishop of Armagh, and primate of the whole of Ireland; under him he had eight suffragan bishops, whose names were as follow:—Odan, bishop,[9] Maurice, bishop of Clogher, Malethias, bishop of Down, Nehemias, bishop of Derry, Gilbert, bishop of Raphoe, Thaddeus, bishop of Connor, Christian, bishop of Ardagh, and Eleutherius, bishop of Clonmacnoise. Donatus, archbishop of Cashel, had under him ten suffragan bishops, whose names were as follow:—Christian, bishop of Lismore, legate of the Apostolic See, the bishop of Emly, the bishop of Cloyne, the bishop of Ardmore, the bishop of Limerick,[10] the bishop of Kildare, the

[9] Probably bishop of Meath: but it is not stated in the text. Nearly all these names are mis-spelt, and it is next to impossible to trace some of them. They are in a state of almost hopeless confusion.

[10] This prelate is probably meant under the title "Lucapniarensis episcopus."

bishop of Waterford, the bishop of Ardfert, the bishop of Ross, and the bishop of Kilfenora. Laurentius, archbishop of Dublin, had under him five suffragan bishops, whose names were as follow:—the bishop of Bistagh, the bishop of Ferns, the bishop of Leighlin, the bishop of Kindare, and the bishop of Ossory.[11] The fourth, being the archbishop of Tuam, had under him five suffragan bishops, whose names were as follow:—the bishop of Kinferns, the bishop of Killala, the bishop of Moy, the bishop of Elphin, and the bishop of Aghadoe.

All the above, both archbishops as well as bishops, acknowledged Henry, king of England, and his heirs, as their kings and lords for ever; which they also confirmed by charter under their hands and seals. After this, the king of England sent Nicholas, his chaplain, and Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, his clerk, together with the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, to the city of Cashel, to hold a synod there, upon the ordinances of the Church.

At this synod it was ordained that children should be brought to the church, and there baptized in clean water, being thrice dipped therein, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And this was to be done by the hands of the priests, except in cases where fear of death prevented it, when it might be done by another person, and in any other place, on such occasion it being allowable to be done by any person, without regard to sex or order. It was also ordained that tithes should be paid to churches out of all possessions: and that all laymen who should think proper to have wives, should have them in conformity with the laws of the Church. The king of England also sent a copy of the charters of the whole of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland to pope Alexander; who, by the Apostolic authority, confirmed to him and his heirs the kingdom of Ireland, according to the tenor of the charters of archbishops and bishops of Ireland.

These things being thus completed at Waterford, the king of England proceeded thence to Dublin, and remained there from the feast of Saint Martin until the beginning of Lent; and here he ordered to be built, near the church of Saint Andrew the Apostle, without the city of Dublin, a royal

[11] In the text "Erupolensis" is perhaps a mistake for "Ossorensis."

palace for his own use, constructed, with wonderful skill, of peeled osiers, according to the custom of that country. Here with the kings and principal men of Ireland, he held the usual festivities on the day of the Nativity of our Lord.

In the meantime, Gilbert, bishop of London, and Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, sent to Rome and received letters of absolution, the tenor of which was as follows:—

The Letter of Pope Alexander to the Archbishop of Bourges.

"Alexander the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, the archbishop of Bourges and the bishop of Nivernois, health, and the Apostolic benediction. We believe that it is not unknown to your brotherhood how Thomas of blessed memory, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, in obedience to our mandate, pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the bishops of London and Salisbury: which we took due care to have ratified and confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See. Now, inasmuch as the aforesaid bishops, being worn out with old age and infirmity of body, and, one of them labouring under a malady, are not able to come to our presence: to you, in whose prudence and fidelity we have full confidence, we have thought proper to entrust their absolution, for which, envoys from Henry, the king of England, and the said bishops have made the most urgent application. Therefore, we do command your brotherhood, by these Apostolic writings, within one month from the time when the said messengers shall have returned home—(as to the approach of the legates whom we have thought proper to send into those parts to take cognizance of this atrocious crime and misdeed which has been perpetrated and of the forgiveness of the king,—that they have passed the Alps you are not unaware), that, after having publicly received their oaths according to the custom of the Church, that they are ready to pay obedience to our mandate, you will absolve them from the ban of excommunication by pronouncing sentence of suspension for the same cause for which they were recently sentenced to excommunication, the said cause being still valid and of full effect. But if you shall be satisfied that the bishop of Salisbury, from labouring under the effects of disease, cannot come to you, then it is our pleasure that you shall attend upon him personally. Or if you shall be

unable to attend upon him, then you are to send proper persons, in whom both you and we ourselves may be able to place full reliance, who, having publicly received his oath, in the presence of the church, that he is ready to pay obedience to our mandates, may thereupon absolve him. But if, brother archbishop, it shall not be in your power to give attention to this matter, then do you, brother bishop, together with the abbat of Pontigny, give your most diligent attention to the injunctions which we have given. Given at Tusculanum, on the eighth day before the calends of May."

In the same year, Avigouth El Emir Amimoli, the emperor of the Africans, crossed the African sea and landed in Spain with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, and, king Lupus, who was a pagan, being dead, took possession of his lands; namely, Murcia and Valentia, and many other cities; and then, by the advice of Ferdinand, king of Saint Jago, entered the lands of Alphonso, king of Castille, and took by storm the cities of Cuenca and Octa,[13] and slaughtered all the Christians whom he captured therein, with the exception of a few, whom he doomed to perpetual slavery.

In the year of grace 1172, being the eighteenth year of the reign of king Henry the Second, the said king was at Dublin, in Ireland, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on Saturday, and there he gave a royal feast. Having stayed there until the beginning of Lent, he proceeded thence to the city of Wexford, where he remained until Easter. While he was staying there, Theodinus and Albert, the cardinals who were sent as legates *a latere* by the Supreme Pontiff, came into Normandy. On their arrival being known, the king hastened to meet them; but, before he left Ireland, he gave, and by his charter confirmed, to Hugh de Lacy the whole of the lands of Meath, with all their appurtenances, to hold in fee and hereditarily of himself and his heirs, by a hundred knights' service; and gave in his charge the city of Dublin, and appointed him justiciary of Ireland. He also gave in charge to Robert Fitz-Bernard the city of Waterford and the city of Wexford, with their appurtenances, and ordered castles to be built therein.

The festival of Easter approaching, the king's household

[13] Probably the place generally called "Octaviolca;" though it is a matter of dispute what is the present name of the place so called.

crossed over from Ireland to England, on Easter Day, and landed at Milford Haven, near Pembroke. The king, however, by reason of the solemnity of the day, was unwilling to embark, but embarked the day after, and landed in Wales, near Saint David's. After this, the king repaired with all haste to Portsmouth, and, taking with him his son Henry, passed over from England to Normandy, and found the above-named cardinals at Caen, and, by their advice, made peace with Louis, king of the Franks, as to the coronation of his daughter; and accordingly, with the consent and advice of the above-named cardinals, sent back the king, his son, to England, and with him Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, Gilles, bishop of Evreux, and Roger, bishop of Worcester, for the purpose of crowning him and Margaret, his wife, the daughter of Louis, king of France: on which, they crowned them in the church of Saint Swithin, at Winchester, on the sixth day before the calends of September, being the Lord's Day. Immediately after the coronation had taken place, his son, the king, with the queen, his wife, and the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Evreux and Worcester, crossed over from England to Normandy.

The Purgation of King Henry for the death of the blessed Thomas.

Henry, the king of England, the father, king Henry, his son, Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, and all the bishops and abbats of Normandy, met at the city of Avranches, in presence of the cardinals, Theodinus and Albert. In their presence, the king of England, the father, on the fifth day before the calends of October, being the fourth day of the week, and the feast of Saints Cosmus and Damianus, the Martyrs, proved his innocence in the church of Saint Andrew the Apostle, by oath, in the presence of the above-named cardinals, and of all the clergy and the people, upon the relics of the Saints, and upon the Holy Gospels, and that he had neither commanded nor wished that the archbishop of Canterbury should be put to death, and that, when he heard thereof, he was greatly concerned. But, inasmuch as he could not apprehend[14] those malefactors who slew Thomas,

[14] Roger of Wendover, however, says that they remained in the king's castle, at Knaresborough, for a whole year after the murder of the archbishop.

archbishop of Canterbury, of blessed memory, and he feared that they had perpetrated that profane deed in consequence of his agitated state of mind and the perturbation in which they had seen him, he made oath that he would give satisfaction in the following manner:—

In the first place, he made oath that he would not withdraw from Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, and his Catholic successors, so long as they should repute him to be a Catholic king.

He also made oath that he would neither prevent appeals nor allow them to be prevented, but that they should be freely made in his kingdom to the Roman Pontiff in causes ecclesiastical; yet so, that if any parties should be suspected by him, they should give him security that they would not seek the injury of him or of his kingdom.

He also made oath that, for a period of three years from the Nativity of our Lord then next ensuing he would assume the cross, and would in the following summer go in person to Jerusalem, unless he should remain at home by permission of Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, or of his Catholic successors: provided, that if in the meantime, by reason of urgent necessity, he should set out for Spain to war against the Saracens, then for so long a period as he should be engaged in that expedition he might defer setting out for Jerusalem.

Besides this, he made oath that in the meantime he would give to the Templars as much money as in the opinion of the brethren of the Temple would suffice for the maintenance of two hundred knights, for the defence of the land of Jerusalem, during a period of one year.

Besides this, he remitted his wrath and displeasure against all those, both clergy and laity, who were in exile for the cause of Saint Thomas, and allowed them freely and peacefully to return home.

He also made oath that the possessions of the church of Canterbury, if any had been taken away, he would restore in full, in the same state in which they were one year before the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, had departed from England.

He also made oath that he would utterly abolish the customs which had been introduced in his time to the prejudice of the churches of his kingdom.

All these articles he made oath that he would observe faithfully and without evil-intent. He also made his son, king Henry, swear to observe these articles, those excepted which only related personally to himself. And, to the intent that the same might be retained in the memory of the Roman Church, the king, the father, caused his seal to be set to the writing in which the above-stated articles were contained, together with the seals of the above-named cardinals.

The Charter of Absolution of our lord the King.

"To Henry, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of the English, Albert titular of Saint Laurentius in Lucinia, and Theodinus, titular of Saint Vitalis, cardinal priests, legates of the Apostolic See, health in Him who giveth health unto kings. That the things which take place may not come to be matter of doubt, both custom suggests and the ordinary requirements of utility demand that the same should be regularly stated at length in writing. For this reason it is that we have thought proper to have committed to writing those injunctions which we have given you, because you entertain a fear that those malefactors who slew Thomas of blessed memory, the late archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded to the commission of that crime in consequence of your agitated state of mind and the perturbation in which they saw you to be. As to which deed, however, you have of your own free-will exculpated yourself in our presence, to the effect that you neither gave command nor wished that he should be put to death; and that, when news reached you of the same, you were greatly concerned thereat. From the ensuing feast of Pentecost, for the period of one year, you shall give as much money as in the opinion of the brethren of the Temple will suffice to maintain two hundred knights for the defence of the land of Jerusalem during a period of one year. Also, from the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing, for a period of three years, you shall assume the cross, and shall in the ensuing summer in person set out for Jerusalem, unless you shall remain at home by the permission of our lord the pope, or of his Catholic successors; provided that if, by reason of urgent necessity, you shall set out for Spain to war against the Saracens, so long a period as shall elapse from the time of your setting out you shall be enabled to defer setting out for Jerusalem. You shall not

prevent appeals, nor allow them to be prevented; but they shall freely be made to the Roman Pontiff, in causes ecclesiastical, in good faith, and without fraud and evil-intent, in order that causes may be considered by the Roman Pontiff, and be brought to a conclusion by him; yet so, that if any parties shall be suspected by you, they shall give you security that they will not seek the injury of you or of your kingdom. The customs which have been introduced in your time, to the prejudice of the churches of your kingdom, you shall utterly abolish. The possessions of the church of Canterbury, if any have been taken away, you shall restore in full, in the same state in which they were one year before the archbishop departed from England. Moreover, to the clerks and to the laity of either sex, you shall restore your protection and favor and their possessions, who, by reason of the before-named archbishop, have been deprived thereof. These things, by the authority of our lord the pope, we do, for the remission of your sins, enjoin and command you to observe, without fraud and evil-intent. Wherefore, to the above effect, in the presence of a multitude of persons, you have, as you venerate the Divine Majesty, made oath. Your son, also, has made oath to the same effect, with the exception only of that which in especial related personally to yourself. You have also both made oath that you will not withdraw from our lord the pope, Alexander, and his Catholic successors, so long as they shall repute you, like your predecessors, to be Catholic kings. And further, that this may be firmly retained in the memory of the Roman Church, you have ordered your seal to be set thereto."

The Letter of the same Cardinals to the archbishop of Ravenna.

"To their venerable and beloved brother in Christ, Gilbert, by the grace of God, archbishop of Ravenna, Albert, by the Divine condescension, titular of Saint Laurentius in Lucinia, and Theodinus, titular of Saint Vitalis, cardinal priests, legates of the Apostolic See, that which God has promised that He will grant unto the watchful. Inasmuch as we believe that you are desirous to hear somewhat relative to our present state and the progress of the business which was entrusted to our charge; we have thought proper by this present writing to inform your brotherhood how God has dealt as towards ourselves and through the ministry of our humble exertions. Know, therefore, that

after the illustrious king of England had learned as a truth that we had arrived in his kingdom, laying aside every obstacle that might retard him, and omitting the transaction of pressing business, he passed over from England into the Norman territories, and instantly sent unto us many messengers of honorable rank, enquiring of us in what place we would prefer to meet and hold a conference with him. It at length pleased us to meet for the purpose of holding a conference at the monastery of Savigny, where we might be aided by the prayers of religious men. We came thither, and thither also came many persons of either order from out of his kingdom to meet us; and we diligently treated, so far as we were able, upon what related to his own salvation and the obedience enjoined by us. As, however, we were unable to agree on all points, he withdrew from us, as though about to cross over to England, and we remained there with the intention of going the following day to the city of Avranches. However, on the next day, there came to us the bishop of Lisieux and two archdeacons, and that being conceded which we demanded, we proceeded to the city before-mentioned. At this place, on the Lord's Day, on which is sung '*Vocem jocunditatis*,'[15] we went forth to meet a considerable number of persons, as they did to meet us; and the king then fulfilled the conditions that had been made, with such extreme humility that, beyond a doubt, this may be believed to be the work of Him who looks down upon the earth and maketh it to tremble. Still, how that he showed himself a fearer of God and an obedient son of the Church, it is not necessary, in the present brief narrative, to relate. For this his actions sufficiently manifest, and will manifest still more fully, according to the hopes that have been given us of the future. In the first place, therefore, as to the death of Thomas, of blessed memory, the late archbishop of Canterbury: not in consequence of our exacting it, but of his own free-will, touching the Holy Gospels, he purged his conscience, making oath to the effect that he had neither commanded nor wished that the said archbishop should be put to death; and that, when he heard thereof, he was greatly concerned. But because what had been done he feared had been done through his instrumentality, he made the following oath as to giving

[15] "The voice of gladness:" the beginning of the introit for the fifth Sunday after Easter.

satisfaction for the same. In the first place, he made oath that he will not withdraw from our lord the pope, Alexander, and his Catholic successors, so long as they shall repute him to be a Catholic king and a Christian. The same he also made his eldest son swear in the charter of absolution for the death of the blessed Thomas. He also promised on oath other things very necessary for the clergy and for the people; all of which we have carefully and in their order as he swore them set forth in the charter of his absolution. He also promised other things of his own free-will to be carried out, which are not necessary in their order to be committed to writing. We have written to you to this effect, that you may know that he is obedient to God, and much more disposed to be duteous to the Divine will than heretofore he has been. In addition to this, you must know that his son made oath to the same effect with himself in relation to the customs above-mentioned. Besides this, he publicly announced that he would repeat again, at Caen, all that had passed there, in presence of a greater assemblage of persons, in order that there might be left to no one any room to doubt his sincerity. He has also released the bishops from the promise which they made to him as to observing the customs, and has promised that he will not exact this in future."

On the following day, the above-named cardinals held a great synod there, together with the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of Normandy, and there they agreed to the decrees underwritten, and enjoined that they should be strictly and inviolably observed by all.

The Decrees published at Avranches by the cardinals Albert and Theodinus.

"Youths are, under no circumstance, to be admitted to the government of those churches, and the administration of those offices, in which there is the cure of souls.

"Further, the sons of priests are not to be placed in the churches of their fathers.

"Further, the laity are not to have a share of offerings made in the church.

"Further, churches are not to be entrusted to the charge of vicars hired by the year.

"Further, the priests of the larger churches, who have

the means of so doing, are to be compelled to have another minister under them.

"Further, priests are not to be ordained without having a sure title.

"Further, churches are not to be let out at a yearly rent.

"Further, let the minister who performs the duties of the church be deprived of no portion of one third part of the tithes.

"Further, let those persons who hold tithes by hereditary right be at liberty to give them to some fitting clerk, whomsoever they may choose; but upon this understanding, that, after him, they are to revert to the church to which of right they belong.

"Let no man while his wife is still living enter into monastic orders, and so, on the other hand, with regard to the wife, unless they shall have both passed the time for satisfying the lusts of the flesh.

"Further, at the Advent of our Lord, to all who shall be able to obey, and especially to the clergy and the knighthood, let fasting and abstinence from flesh be enjoined.

"Further, clerks are not to be appointed judges[16] to administer the jurisdiction of secular powers; and those who shall presume so to do, let them be expelled from their ecclesiastical benefices."

But, as regards the new books relative to those excommunicated, the property of the dead that the priests receive, the benediction of brides, baptism, and the eight-and-forty pounds which are demanded for the absolution of those excommunicated, there was nothing settled, as the bishops of Normandy were unwilling to receive a decree on those subjects. In the same synod, the archbishop of Tours claimed the archbishopric of Dol, as properly belonging to his own archbishopric, affirming that there ought not to be there an archiepiscopal see; but the clergy of Dol stoutly maintained the contrary.

These matters having been thus arranged, about the time of the feast of All Saints, the new king of England, by command of the king, his father, crossed over with his queen from England to Normandy, though much against his will. When

[16] The text has "clerici Judæi," "Jewish clerks." This is clearly an error. The word is probably "judices," "judges."

they had come to him, he immediately sent them to have an interview with the king of France; for the king of France greatly longed to see his daughter and to converse with her. When they came to him in France they were received by him with great honor and joyousness, and stayed with him some days.

From this circumstance great injury resulted to the kingdom of England, and to the kingdom of France as well. For Louis, king of France, who always held the king of England in hatred, counselled the new king of England, as soon as he should arrive in Normandy, to request the king, his father, to give him either the whole of England or the whole of Normandy, where he himself might reside with his daughter. He further advised him, if his father should be willing to grant him neither of those countries, to return, together with his queen, to France to him. In the meantime, the king, dreading the deceit and malice of the king of France, which he had frequently experienced, sent to France for his son and his wife; on which, having received permission from the king of France, agreably to the king's command, they returned into Normandy.

The festival of the Nativity of our Lord now approaching, the king proceeded towards Anjou, and held his court there on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, leaving his son behind, together with his queen, in Normandy.

In the same year, Adam de Port was charged with being a traitor to the king; and, because on the king's summons he would not take his trial, he was outlawed from England.

In the year of grace 1173, being the nineteenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, at Chinon, in Anjou, and queen Eleanor was there with him, while the king, his son, and his wife were in Normandy. After the Nativity, the king, the father, sent for the king, the son, and they proceeded to Montferrat, in Auvergne, where they were met by Hubert, earl of Maurienne, who brought with him Alice, his eldest daughter. The king, the father, obtained her for the sum of four thousand marks of silver, as a wife for his son John, together with the whole of the earldom of Maurienne, in case the above-named earl should not have a son by his wife. But, in case he should have a son, lawfully begotten, then the

above-named earl granted to them and to their heirs for ever Rousillon, with all his jurisdiction therein, and with all its appurtenances, and the whole of the county of Le Belay, as he then held the same; likewise, Pierrecastel, with all its appurtenances, and the whole of the valley of Novalese, and Chambery, with all its appurtenances, and Aix, and Aspermont, and Rochet, and Montemayor, and Chambres, with the borough and the whole jurisdiction thereof. All these lying on this side of the mountains, with all their appurtenances, he granted to them immediately for ever. Beyond the mountains, also, he gave and granted to them and to their heirs for ever, the whole of Turin, with all its appurtenances, the college of Canorech,[17] with all its appurtenances, and all the fees which the earls of Cannes held of him, and their services and fealties. Also, in the earldom of Castro, he granted similar fees, fealties, and services. In the Val D'Aosta he granted to them Castiglione, which the viscount D'Aosta held of him, to hold the same for ever against all men. All these the above-named earl granted to the said son of the king of England for ever, together with his daughter before-mentioned, as freely, fully, and quietly, in men and cities, castles, and other places of defence, meadows, leasowes, mills, woods, plains, waters, vallies, mountains, customs, and all other things, as ever he or his father had held or enjoyed all the same as underwritten therein, or even more fully and freely. Furthermore, the said earl was willing immediately, or whenever it should please our lord the king of England, that homage and fealty should be done by all his people throughout the whole of his lands, saving always their fealty to himself so long as he should hold the same. Moreover, he granted to them and to their heirs for ever, all the right that he had in the county of Grenoble, and whatsoever he might acquire therein. But in case his eldest daughter above-named should happen to die, whatever he had granted with the eldest, he did thereby grant the whole of the same, as therein written, together with his second daughter, to the son of the illustrious king of England.

That the covenants above-written should be kept between our lord the king of England and the earl of Maurienne, both the earl of Maurienne himself, and the count de Cevennes, and nearly all the other nobles of his territory, made oath; to

[17] Holinshed calls this place "Gavoreth."

the effect that the earl of Maurienne would inviolably observe the said covenants; and if he should in any way depart therefrom, they made oath that, on the summons of our lord the king of England, or of his messenger, and even without any such summons, so soon as they should happen to know that the earl had so departed, they would, from the time of knowing thereof, surrender themselves as hostages to our lord the king of England, in his own realm, wherever he should think fit, and would remain in his custody until such time as they should have prevailed upon the earl to perform the king's pleasure, or have made an arrangement with the king, to his satisfaction.

Furthermore, Peter, the venerable archbishop of Tarentaise, Ardune, bishop of Cevennes, William, bishop of Maurienne, and the abbat of Saint Michael, the Holy Evangelists being placed before them, at the command of the earl, steadfastly promised that, at the will and pleasure of the king, and at such time as he should think fit, they would excommunicate the person of the earl, and place his lands under interdict, if the earl should not observe the agreement so made between them; that they would also do the same as to the persons of the earl's liegemen, and as to the lands of those through whom it should be caused, that the agreement so made between the king and the earl was not observed, and would hold those who should refuse to keep the peace and their lands under interdict, until satisfaction should have been made to our lord the king.

Our lord the king made these covenants and the grants above-written, with and to the earl of Maurienne, and by his command the following made oath that by him the same should be observed: William, earl of Mandeville, William, earl of Arundel, Ralph de Fay, William de Courcy, William de Hinnez, Fulk Paynel, Robert de Briencourt, William Mainegot, Theobald Chabot, William de Munlufzun, Peter de Montesson, and Geoffrey Forrester.

In addition thereto, it was to be understood that the earl might give his second daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, without too greatly diminishing the earldom, after his eldest daughter should have been married to the king's son, either her lawful age allowing thereof, or through the dispensation of the Church of Rome; and that it should be lawful for her parents or for other persons to give from the lands, for the safety

of her soul, without too greatly diminishing the earldom. Also, that the king should make payment immediately to the earl of one thousand marks of silver; and that as soon as he should receive the earl's daughter, the latter should have at least another thousand marks of silver; and that whatever should remain unpaid of the five thousand marks, the earl should receive the same when the marriage should have taken place between the king's son and the earl's daughter, either by reason of lawful age or throughthe dispensation of the Church of Rome. But, if our lord the king, which God forbid, should chance to die first, or should depart from his territories, then, neither he nor they who, at his command had made oath and had given any security to the earl, should be bound by the covenants above-written, but only our lord the king, the king's son and his people.

Accordingly, a few days having elapsed, there came into the territories of the king of England, on behalf of the earl of Maurienne, the marquis of Montferrat, Geoffrey de Plozac, and Merlo, his son, the chancellor of earl Richard, and Berlo de Cambot, and Peter de Bouet, his castellans, together with Peter de Saint Genese, and Peter de Turin, knights, and Geoffrey de Aquabella, and Ralph de Varci, burgesses. Touching the Holy Evangelists, these persons made oath that they would strictly cause the earl to observe the covenants made between the king and the earl, as to the son of the king and the daughter of the earl, in such manner as they had been lawfully entered into, written, and understood. And, if he should not observe the same, they made oath that, on the summons of the king or of his messenger, or even without any such summons, if they should happen to know that the earl had departed therefrom, they would, from the time of knowing thereof, surrender themselves as hostages to the king in his own realm, and would remain in his custody until such time as they should have prevailed upon the earl to perform the king's pleasure, or have made an arrangement with our lord the king to his satisfaction. The before-named envoys also made oath that the earl should not give his second daughter in marriage until his eldest daughter should have been united in marriage with the king's son, either by reason of being of lawful age, or through the dispensation of the Church of Rome; unless by the consent and desire of our lord

the king he should in the meantime have given her in marriage to some other person. They also made oath that, if the earl's daughter, or, which God forbid, the king's son, should chance to die before a marriage should have taken place between them, then the earl should repay to the king the whole of the money, or act according to the king's will and pleasure relative thereto, or pay it over to him to whom the king should assign the same; and that they, the parties making the said oath, would, if the king should so wish, and at such time as he should so wish, surrender themselves as hostages in his realm and into his power until such time as the same should be paid. They likewise made oath that they would use their best endeavours to obtain the grant of Umbert the Younger, in order that thereby the king's son might have Rousillon and Pierrecastel, and whatever had been granted to him by the earl in the county of Le Belay. But if Umbert should happen to refuse to grant the same, then they made oath that the earl should give him lands in lawful exchange thereof, according to the arbitration of the abbat of Cluse, and of Reginald, archdeacon of Salisbury, or of other lawful persons thereto appointed by the king, if they should not be able to be present.

After this, the king of England, the father, and the king, the son, came together to Limoges; and thither Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, came, and there did homage to both the kings of England, and to Richard, earl of Poitou, for Toulouse, to hold the same of them by hereditary right, by the service of appearing before them at their summons, and staying with them and serving for forty days, without any cost on their part; but if they should wish to have him longer in their service, then they were to pay his reasonable expenses. And further, the said earl of Saint Gilles was to give them from Toulouse and its appurtenances one hundred marks of silver, or else ten chargers worth ten marks a-piece.

There also came to Limoges the earl of Maurienne, and desired to know how much of his own territory the king of England intended to grant to his son John; and on the king expressing an intention to give him the castle of Chinon, the castle of Lodun, and the castle of Mirabel, the king, his son, would in nowise agree thereto, nor allow it to be done. For he was already greatly offended that his father was unwilling to assign

to him some portion of his territories, where he, with his wife, might take up their residence. Indeed, he had requested his father to give him either Normandy, or Anjou, or England, which request he had made at the suggestion of the king of France, and of those of the earls and barons of England and Normandy who disliked his father: and from this time it was that the king, the son, had been seeking pretexts and an opportunity for withdrawing from his father. And he had now so entirely revolted in feeling from obeying his wishes, that he could not even converse with him on any subject in a peaceable manner.

Having now gained his opportunity, both as to place and occasion, the king, the son, left his father, and proceeded to the king of France. However, Richard Barre, his chancellor, Walter, his chaplain, Ailward, his chamberlain, and William Blund, his apparitor, left him, and returned to the king, his father. Thus did the king's son lose both his feelings and his senses; he repulsed the innocent, persecuted a father, usurped authority, seized upon a kingdom; he alone was the guilty one, and yet a whole army conspired against his father; "so does the madness of one make many mad."[17] For he it was who thirsted for the blood of a father, the gore of a parent!

In the meantime, Louis, king of the Franks, held a great council at Paris, at which he and all the principal men of France made oath to the son of the king of England that they would assist him in every way in expelling his father from the kingdom, if he should not accede to his wishes: on which he swore to them that he would not make peace with his father, except with their sanction and consent. After this, he swore that he would give to Philip, earl of Flanders, for his homage, a thousand pounds of yearly revenues in England, and the whole of Kent, together with Dover castle, and Rochester castle; to Matthew, earl of Boulogne, for his homage, the Soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the earldom of Mortaigne, with the honor of Hay; and to Theobald, earl of Blois, for his homage, two hundred[18] pounds of yearly revenues in Anjou, and the castle of Amboise, with all the jurisdiction which he had claimed to hold in Touraine; and he

[17] "Unius dementia dementes efficit multos."

[18] A various reading makes it five hundred.

also quitted claim to him of all right that the king his father and himself had claimed in Chateau Regnaud. All these gifts, and many besides that he made to other persons, he confirmed under his new seal, which the king of France had ordered to be made for him.

Besides these, he made other gifts, which, under the same seal, he confirmed; namely, to William, king of Scotland, for his assistance, the whole of Northumberland as far as the river Tyne. To the brother of the same king he gave for his services the earldom of Huntingdon and of Cambridgeshire, and to earl Hugh Bigot, for his services, the castle of Norwich.

Immediately after Easter, in this year, the whole of the kingdom of France, and the king, the son of the king of England, Richard his brother, earl of Poitou, and Geoffrey, earl of Bretagne, and nearly all the earls and barons of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Brittany, arose against the king of England the father, and laid waste his lands on every side with fire, sword, and rapine: they also laid siege to his castles, and took them by storm, and there was no one to relieve them. Still, he made all the resistance against them that he possibly could: for he had with him twenty thousand Brabanters, who served him faithfully, but not without large pay which he gave them.

Then seems to have been fulfilled this prophecy of Merlin, which says: "The cubs shall awake and shall roar aloud, and, leaving the woods, shall seek their prey within the walls of the cities; among those who shall be in their way they shall make great carnage, and shall tear out the tongues of bulls. The necks of them as they roar aloud they shall load with chains, and shall thus renew the times of their forefathers."

Upon this, the king wrote letters of complaint to all the emperors and kings whom he thought to be friendly to him, relative to the misfortunes which had befallen him through the exalted position which he had given to his sons, strongly advising them not to exalt their own sons beyond what it was their duty to do. On receiving his letter, William king of Sicily wrote to him to the following effect:

"To Henry, by the grace of God the illustrious king of the English, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, William, by the same grace, king of Sicily, the dukedom of Apulia, and the principality of Capua, the enjoyment

of health, and the wished-for triumph in victory over his enemies. On the receipt of your letter, we learned a thing of which indeed we cannot without the greatest astonishment make mention, how that, forgetting the ordinary usages of humanity and violating the law of nature, the son has risen in rebellion against the father, the begotten against the begetter, the bowels have been moved to intestine war, the entrails have had recourse to arms, and, a new miracle taking place, quite unheard of in our times, the flesh has waged war against the blood, and the blood has sought means how to shed itself. And, although for the purpose of checking the violence of such extreme madness, the inconvenience of the distance does not allow of our power affording any assistance, still, with all the loving-kindness we possibly can, the expression of which, distance of place does not prevent, sincerely embracing your person and honor, we sympathize with your sorrow, and are indignant at your persecution, which we regard as though it were our own. However, we do hope and trust in the Lord, by whose judgment the judgments of kings are directed, that He will no longer allow your sons to be tempted beyond what they are able or ought to endure; and that He who became obedient to the Father even unto death, will inspire them with the light of filial obedience, whereby they shall be brought to recollect that they are your flesh and blood, and, leaving the errors of their hostility, shall acknowledge themselves to be your sons, and return to their father, and thereby heal the disruption of nature, and that the former union, being restored, will cement the bonds of natural affection."

Accordingly, immediately after Easter, as previously mentioned, the wicked fury of the traitors burst forth. For, raving with diabolical frenzy, they laid waste the territories of the king of England on both sides of the sea with fire and sword in every direction. Philip, earl of Flanders, with a large army, entered Normandy, and laid siege to Aumarle, and took it. Proceeding thence, he laid siege to the castle of Drincourt, which was surrendered to him; here his brother Matthew, earl of Boulogne, died of a wound which he received from an arrow when off his guard. On his decease, his brother Peter, the bishop elect of Cambray, succeeded him in the earldom of Boulogne, and renouncing his election, was made a knight, but died shortly after without issue.

In the meantime, Louis, king of the Franks, and the king of England, the son, laid siege to Verneuil; but Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, who were the constables thereof, defended the town of Verneuil boldly and with resolute spirit. In consequence of this, the king of France, after remaining there a whole month, with difficulty took a small portion of the town on the side where his engines of war had been planted. There were in Verneuil, besides the castle, three burghs; each of which was separated from the other, and enclosed with a strong wall and a foss filled with water. One of these was called the Great Burgh, beyond the walls of which were pitched the tents of the king of France and his engines of war. At the end of this month, when the burghers in the Great Burgh saw that food and necessaries were failing them, and that they should have nothing to eat, being compelled by hunger and want, they made a truce for three days with the king of France, for the purpose of going to their lord the king of England, in order to obtain succour of him; and they made an agreement that if they should not have succour within the next three days, they would surrender to him that burgh. The peremptory day for so doing was appointed on the vigil of Saint Laurence.

They then gave hostages to the king of France to the above effect, and the king of France, the king of England, the son, and earl Robert, the brother of the king of France, earl Henry de Trois, Theobald, earl of Blois, and William, archbishop of Sens, made oath to them, that if they should surrender the burgh to the king of France at the period named, the king of France would restore to them their hostages free and unmolested, and would do no injury to them, nor allow it to be done by others. This composition having been made to the above effect, the burgesses beforementioned came to their lord the king of England, and announced to him the agreement which they had made with the king of France and the king his son.

On hearing of this, the king of England collected as large an army as he possibly could from Normandy and the rest of his dominions, and came to Breteuil, a castle belonging to Robert, earl of Leicester, which the earl himself, taking to flight on his approach, left without any protection. This the king entirely reduced to ashes, and the next day, for the purpose of engaging with the king of France, proceeded to a

high hill, near Verneuil, with the whole of his army, and drew up his troops in order of battle. This too was the peremptory day upon which that portion of Verneuil was to be surrendered if it did not obtain succour.

Upon this, Louis, king of the Franks, sent William, archbishop of Sens, earl Henry, and earl Theobald, to the king of England, the father, who appointed an interview to be held between them on the morrow; and the king of England, to his misfortune, placed confidence in them; for he was deceived. For on the morrow the king of France neither came to the interview, nor yet sent any messenger. On this, the king of England sent out spies to observe the position of the king of France and his army; but while the spies were delaying their return, that portion of Verneuil was surrendered to the king of France to which he had laid siege. However, he did not dare retain it in his hands, having transgressed the oath which he had made to the burghers. For he neither restored to them their hostages, nor preserved the peace as he had promised; but, entering the town, made the burghers prisoners, carried off their property, set fire to the Burgh, and then, taking to flight, carried away with him the burghers before-mentioned into France.

When word was brought of this to the king of England, he pursued them with the edge of the sword, slew many of them, and took considerable numbers, and at nightfall arrived at Verneuil, where he remained one night, and ordered the walls which had been levelled to be rebuilt. But, in order that these events may be kept in memory, it is as well to know that this flight of the king of France took place on the fifth day before the ides of August, being the fifth day of the week, upon the vigil of Saint Laurence, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by punishing the crime of perfidy, so speedily avenged the indignity done to his Martyr.

On the following day, the king of England, the father, left Verneuil, and took the castle of Damville, which belonged to Gilbert de Tilieres, and captured with it a great number of knights and men-at-arms. After this, the king came to Rouen, and thence dispatched his Brabanters, in whom he placed more confidence than the rest, into Brittany, against Hugh, earl of Chester, and Ralph de Fougeres, who had now gained possession of nearly the whole of it. When these troops ap-

proached, the earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougeres went forth to meet them. In consequence of this, preparations were made for battle; the troops were drawn out in battle array, and everything put in readiness for the combat. Accordingly, the engagement having commenced, the enemies of the king of England were routed, and the men of Brittany were laid prostrate and utterly defeated. The earl, however, and Ralph de Fougeres, with many of the most powerful men of Brittany, shut themselves up in the fort of Dol, which they had taken by stratagem;[19] on which, the Brabanters besieged them on every side, on the thirteenth day before the calends of September, being the second day of the week. In this battle there were taken by the Brabanters seventeen knights remarkable for their valour, whose names were as follows: Hascuil de Saint Hilaire, William Patrick, Patrick de la Laude, Haimer de Falaise, Geoffrey Farcy, William de Rulent, Ralph de Sens, John Boteler, Vicaire de Dol, William des Loges, William de la Motte, Robert de Treham, Payen Cornute, Reginald Pincun, Reginald de Champ Lambert, and Eudo Bastard.[19*] Besides these, many others were captured, both horse and foot, and more than fifteen hundred of the Bretons were slain.

Now, on the day after this capture and slaughter, "Rumour, than which nothing in speed more swift exists,"[20] reached the ears of the king of England, who, immediately setting out on his march towards Dol, arrived there on the fifth day of the week, and immediately ordered his stone-engines, and other engines of war, to be got in readiness. The earl of Chester, however, and those who were with him in the fort, being unable to defend it, surrendered it to the king, on the seventeenth day before the calends of September, being the Lord's Day; and, in like manner, the whole of Brittany, with all its fortresses, was restored to him, and its chief men were carried into captivity. In the fortress of Dol many knights and yeomen were taken prisoners, whose names were as follow: Hugh, earl of Chester, Ralph de Fougeres, William de Fougeres, Hamo[21]

[19] Our author evidently intends a pun here. "Incluserunt se infra turrim Doli, quam dolo ceperant."

[19*] There are but sixteen named here.

[20] A quotation from Virgil—

"Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum
Mobilitate viget."

[21] Most of these names are evidently corrupt. After this name follows "Ceones," evidently part of some other name.

L'Espine, Robert Patrick, Ingelram Patrick, Richard de Lovecot, Gwigain Guiun, Oliver de Roche, Alan de Tintimac, Ivel, son of Ralph de Fougeres, Gilo de Castel Girun, Philip de Landewi, William de Gorham, Ivel de Mayne, Geoffrey de Buissiers, Reginald de Marche Lemarchis, Hervey de Nitri, Hamelin de Eni, William de Saint Brice, William de Chastelar, William de Orange, Ralph Waintras, Robert Boteler, Henry de Grey, Grimbald Fitz-Haket, Geoffrey Abbat, John Guarein, John de Breerec, Hugh Avenel, Hamelin de Pratelles, Swalo de la Bosothe, Secard Burdin, Walter Bruno, John Ramart, Hugh de Bussay, Jerdan de Masrue, Henry de Saint Hilaire, the brothers Hascuil, Bartholomew de Busserie, Herbert de Buillon, Bauran de Tanet, Roland Fitz-Ralph, Roellin Fitz-Ralph, Geoffrey de Minihac, Guido Butefact, Celdewin Guiun, Ivel de Pont, Hamelin Abbat, Robert de Baioches, Elias d'Aubigny, Reginald Cactus, John de Curtis, Philip de Luvenni, Henry de Wastines, Henry de Saint Stephen, William Deschapelles, Roger des Loges, Bencellard de Serland, William de Bois Berenger, John de Ruel, Oliver de Montsorel, Hamund de Rochefort, Robert de Lespiney, John des Loges, Geoffrey Carlisle, Ralph de Tomal, Ralph le Poters, Gilbert de Croi, Ralph Pucin, Matthew de Praels, Richard de Cambrai, William le Francais, Oliver Rande, Ralph Ruffin,—Springard, Roger de Chevereul, William des Loges, and many others, the names of whom are not written in this book.

After these victories which God granted to the king of England, the son of the empress Matilda, the king of France and his supporters fell into despondency, and used all possible endeavours, that peace might be made between the king of England and his sons. In consequence of this, there was at length a meeting between Gisors and Trie, at which Louis, king of the Franks, attended, accompanied by the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons of his realm, and bringing with him Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, the sons of the king of England. Henry, king of England, the father, attended, with the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons of his dominions.

A conference was accordingly held between him and his sons, for the purpose of establishing peace, on the seventh day before the calends of October, being the third day of the week. At this conference, the king, the father, offered to the king, his

son, a moiety of the revenues of his demesnes in England, and four fitting castles in the same territory; or, if his son should prefer to remain in Normandy, the king, the father, offered a moiety of the revenues of Normandy, and all the revenues of the lands that were his father's, the earl of Anjou, and three convenient castles in Normandy, and one fitting castle in Anjou, one fitting castle in Maine, and one fitting castle in Touraine. To his son Richard, also, he offered a moiety of the revenues of Aquitaine, and four fitting castles in the same territory. And to his son Geoffrey he offered all the lands that belonged, by right of inheritance, to the daughter of duke Conan, if he should, with the sanction of our lord the pope, be allowed to marry the above-named lady. The king, the father, also submitted himself entirely to the arbitration of the archbishop of Tarento and the legates of our lord the pope, as to adding to the above as much more of his revenues, and giving the same to his sons, as they should pronounce to be reasonable, reserving to himself the administration of justice and the royal authority.

But it did not suit the purpose of the king of France that the king's sons should at present make peace with their father: in addition to which, at the same conference, Robert, earl of Leicester, uttered much opprobrious and abusive language to the king of England, the father, and laid his hand on his sword for the purpose of striking the king; but he was hindered by the byestanders from so doing, and the conference was immediately brought to a close.

On the day after the conference, the knights of the king of France had a skirmish with the knights of the king of England, between Curteles and Gisors; in which fight Ingelram, castellan of Trie, was made prisoner by earl William de Mandeville, and presented to the king, the father. In the meantime, Robert, earl of Leicester, having raised a large army, crossed over into England, and was received by earl Hugh Bigot in the castle of Fremingham,[22] where he supplied him with all necessaries. After this, the said Robert, earl of Leicester, laid siege to Hakeneck, the castle of Ranulph de Broc, and took it; for, at this period, Richard de Lucy, justiciary of England, and Humphrey de Bohun, the king's constable, had marched with a large army into Lothian, the territory of the king of Scotland, for the purpose of ravaging it.

[23] Framlingham, in Suffolk.

When, however, they heard of the arrival of the earl of Leicester in England, they were greatly alarmed, and laying all other matters aside, gave and received a truce from the king of Scotland, and, after hostages were delivered on both sides for the preservation of peace until the feast of Saint Hilary, hastened with all possible speed to Saint Edmund's. Thither also came to them Reginald, earl of Cornwall, the king's uncle, Robert, earl of Gloucester, and William, earl of Arundel, On the approach of the festival of All Saints, the above-named earl of Leicester withdrew from Fremingham for the purpose of marching to Leicester, and came with his army to a place near St. Edmund's, which is known as Fornham, situate on a piece of marshy ground, not far from the church of Saint Genevieve. On his arrival being known, the earls, with a considerable force, and Humphrey de Bohun with three hundred knights, soldiers of the king, went forth armed for battle to meet the earl of Leicester, carrying before them the banner of Saint Edmund the king and Martyr as their standard. The ranks being drawn up in battle array, by virtue of the aid of God and of his most glorious Martyr Saint Edmund, they attacked the line in which the earl of Leicester had taken his position, and in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the earl of Leicester was vanquished and taken prisoner, as also his wife and Hugh des Chateaux, a nobleman of the kingdom of France, and all their might was utterly crushed.

There fell in this battle more than ten thousand Flemings, while all the rest were taken prisoners, and being thrown into prison in irons, were there starved to death. As for the earl of Leicester and his wife and Hugh des Chateaux, and the rest of the more wealthy men who were captured with them, they were sent into Normandy to the king the father; on which the king placed them in confinement at Falaise, and Hugh, earl of Chester, with them.

On the feast of Saint Martin, king Henry, the father, entered Anjou with his army, and shortly after Geoffrey, lord of Hay, surrendered to him the castle of Hay. After this there were surrendered to him the castle of Pruilly and the castle of Campigny, which Robert de Ble had held against him. In this castle there were many knights and men-at-arms taken prisoners, whose names were as follow: Haimeric de Ble, Baldwin de Brisehaie, Hugh de Laloc, Hugh de Danars, Hugh Delamotte,

William de Rivan, Simon de Bernezai, John Maumonie, Hubert Ruscevals, William Maingot, Saer de Terreis, John de Champigny, Walter de Powis, Brice de Ceaux, Haimeric Ripant, Robert L'Anglais, Grossin Champemain, Isambert Wellun, Geoffrey Carre, Payen Juge, William Bugun, Castey, vassal of Saer de Terreis, Guiard, vassal of John Maumonie, Roger, vassal of William Rivan, Peter, vassal of John de Champigny, Philip, vassal of Hugh le Davis, Russell, vassal of Hubert Ruscevals, Vulgier and Haimeric, vassals of Peter de Posey, Osmund, Everard, and Geoffrey, vassals of Haimeric de Ble, Gilbert and Albinus, vassals of Hugh de Laloc, Brito and Geoffrey, vassals of Walter Powis, Haimeric and Peter, vassals of Hugh Delamotte, and Brito and Sunennes, vassals of Simon de Bernezai.

In the same year, Louis, king of the Franks, knighted Richard, the son of king Henry. In this year, also, Robert the prior of Dare, who was bishop elect of the church of Arras, renounced that election, and was elected bishop of the diocese of Cambrai, but before he was consecrated was slain by his enemies. In the same year, Henry, king of England, contrary to the prohibition of his son, king Henry, and after appeal made to our lord the pope, gave the archbishopric of Canterbury, to Richard prior of Dover, the bishopric of Bath to Reginald, son of Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, the bishopric of Winchester to Richard de Ivechester, archdeacon of Poitou, the bishopric of Hereford to Robert Folliot, the bishopric of Ely to Geoffrey Riddel, archdeacon of Canterbury, and the bishopric of Chichester to John de Greneford. After this, at the time of the feast of Saint Andrew, the king of England, the father, took Vendôme by storm, which was held against him by Bucard de Lavardin, who had expelled therefrom his father, the earl of Vendôme.

In the year of grace 1174, being the twentieth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Henry spent the festival of the Nativity of our Lord at Caen in Normandy, and a truce was made between him and Louis, king of the Franks, from the feast of Saint Hilary until the end of Easter. In the same year, and at the time abovenamed, Hugh, bishop of Durham, at an interview held between himself and William, king of the Scots, on the confines of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, namely at Revedeur, gave

to the above-named king of the Scots three hundred marks of silver from the lands of the barons of Northumberland, for granting a truce from the feast of Saint Hilary until the end of Easter.

In the meantime, Roger de Mowbray fortified his castle at Kinardeferie, in Axholme;[23] and Hugh, bishop of Durham, fortified the castle of Alverton.[24] After Easter, breaking the truce, Henry, the son of the king of England, and Philip, earl of Flanders, having raised a large army, determined to come over to England.

In the meantime, William, king of the Scots, came into Northumberland with a large force, and there with his Scotch and Galloway men committed execrable deeds. For his men ripped asunder pregnant women, and, dragging forth the embryos, tossed them upon the points of lances. Infants, children, youths, aged men, all of both sexes, from the highest to the lowest, they slew alike without mercy or ransom. The priests and clergy they murdered in the very churches upon the altars. Consequently, wherever the Scots and the Galloway men came, horror and carnage prevailed. Shortly after, the king of the Scots sent his brother David to Leicester, in order to assist the troops of the earl of Leicester; but before he arrived there, Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and Richard de Lacy, justiciary of England, had burned the city of Leicester to the ground, together with its churches and buildings, with the exception of the castle.

After Pentecost, Anketill Mallory, the constable of Leicester, fought a battle with the burgesses of Northampton, and defeated them, taking more than two hundred prisoners, and slaying a considerable number. Shortly after, Robert, earl of Ferrers, together with the knights of Leicester, came at daybreak to Nottingham, a royal town, which Reginald de Lucy had in his charge; and having taken it, sacked it, and then set it on fire, carrying away with him the burgesses thereof.

At this period, Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln, son of king Henry,[25] took the castle of Kinardeferie, and levelled it with the ground. Also, Robert[26] de Mowbray, the con-

[23] In Lincolnshire.
[24] North Allerton, in Yorkshire.
[25] His eldest illegitimate son.
[26] Called above, Roger; which is the name given by the other chroniclers.

stable of the same castle, while going towards Leicester to obtain assistance, was taken prisoner on the road, by the people of Clay, and detained. Earl Hugh Bigot also took the city of Norwich by storm, and burned it. In addition to this, the bishop elect of Lincoln, with Roger, the archbishop of York, laid siege to Malasert, a castle belonging to Roger de Mowbray, and took it, with many knights and men-at-arms therein, and gave it into the charge of the archbishop of York. Before he departed, he also fortified the castle of Topcliffe, which he delivered into the charge of William de Stuteville.

In the meantime, Richard, the archbishop elect of Canterbury, and Reginald, the bishop elect of Bath, set out for Rome, for the purpose of confirming their own elections and those of the other bishops elect of England. To oppose them, king Henry, the son, sent to Rome Master Berter, a native of Orleans. When the said parties had come into the presence of pope Alexander, and the cardinals, and our lord the pope had greatly censured the absence of the other bishops elect of England, and the archbishop elect of Canterbury had done all in his power to exculpate them, our lord the pope asked, with still greater earnestness, why the bishop elect of Ely had not come; on which Berter of Orleans made answer: "My lord, he has a Scriptural excuse;"[26] to whom the pope made answer: "Brother, what is the excuse?" on which the other replied: "He has married a wife, and therefore cannot come." In the end, however, although there was a great altercation and considerable bandying of hard language on both sides before our lord the pope and the cardinals, our lord the pope confirmed the election of the archbishop of Canterbury: on which, Reginald, the bishop elect of Bath, wrote to his master the king of England to the following effect:

"To Henry, the illustrious king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, his most dearly beloved lord, Reginald, by the grace of God, bishop elect of Bath, health in Him who gives health to kings. Be it known to the prudence of your majesty, that, at the court of our lord the pope, we found determined opponents from the kingdom of France, and others still more determined from your own territories. In consequence of this, we were obliged to submit to many hardships there, and to make a tedious stay, till at last, at our repeated entreaties, by the co-operation of

[26] Alluding to St. Luke xiv. 20.

the Divine grace, the obduracy of our lord the pope was so far softened, that, in the presence of all, he solemnly confirmed the election of the lord archbishop elect of Canterbury; and after having so confirmed his election, consecrated him on the Lord's day following. On the third day after his consecration, he gave him the pall, and a short period of time having intervened, conferred on him the dignity of the primacy. In addition to this, it being our desire that he should have full power of inflicting ecclesiastical vengeance upon those men of your realms who have iniquitously and in the treachery of their wickedness, raised their heel against your innocence, we did, after much solicitation, obtain the favour of the bestowal by our lord the pope of the legateship on the same province. As for my own election, and those of the others, they are matters still in suspense; and our lord the pope has determined to settle and determine nothing with regard to us, until such time as your son shall have been brought to a reconciliation. However, we put our trust in the Lord that the interests of myself, and of all the other bishops elect, may be safely entrusted to the prudent care of my lord the archbishop of Canterbury."

In the same year, at the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, Richard de Lucy laid siege to the castle of Huntingdon, on which the knights of that castle burned the town to the ground. Richard de Lucy then erected a new castle before the gates of the said castle of Huntingdon, and gave it in charge to earl Simon.

In the meanwhile, William, king of the Scots, laid siege to Carlisle, of which Robert de Vals had the safe keeping; and, leaving a portion of his army to continue the siege, with the remainder of it he passed through Northumberland, ravaging the lands of the king and his barons. He took the castle of Liddel, the castle of Burgh, the castle of Appleby, the castle of Mercwrede, and the castle of Irebothe, which was held by Odonel de Umfraville, after which he returned to the siege of Carlisle. Here he continued the siege, until Robert de Vals, in consequence of provisions failing him and the other persons there, made a treaty with him on the following terms, namely, that, at the feast of Saint Michael next ensuing, he would surrender to him the castle and town of Carlisle, unless, in the meantime, he should obtain succour from his master the king of England.

On this, the king of the Scots, departing thence, laid siege to the castle of Prudhoe, which belonged to Odonel de Umfraville, but was unable to take it. For Robert de Stuteville, sheriff of York, William de Vesci, Ranulph de Glanville, Ralph de Tilly, constable of the household of the archbishop of York, Bernard de Baliol, and Odonel de Umfraville, having assembled a large force, hastened to its succour.

On learning their approach, the king of Scotland retreated thence, and laid siege to the castle of Alnwick, which belonged to William de Vesci, and then, dividing his army into three divisions, kept one with himself, and gave the command of the other two to earl Dunecan and the earl of Angus, and Richard de Morville, giving them orders to lay waste the neighbouring provinces in all directions, slaughter the people, and carry off the spoil. Oh, shocking times! then might you have heard the shrieks of women, the cries of the aged, the groans of the dying, and the exclamations of despair of the youthful!

In the meantime, the king of England, the son, and Philip, earl of Flanders, came with a large army to Gravelines, for the purpose of crossing over to England. On hearing of this, the king of England, the father, who had marched with his army into Poitou, and had taken many fortified places and castles, together with the city of Saintes, and two fortresses there, one of which was called Fort Maror, as also the cathedral church of Saintes, which the knights and men-at-arms had strengthened against him with arms and a supply of provisions, returned into Anjou, and took the town of Ancenis, which belonged to Guion de Ancenis, near Saint Florence. On taking it, he strengthened it with very strong fortifications, and retained it in his own hands, and then laid waste the adjoining parts of the province with fire and sword; he also rooted up the vines and fruit-bearing trees, after which he returned into Normandy, while the king, his son, and Philip, earl of Flanders, were still detained at Gravelines, as the wind was contrary, and they were unable to cross over. On this, the king of England, the father, came to Barbefleet,[27] where a considerable number of ships had been assembled against his arrival, and, praised be the name of the Lord! as it pleased the Lord, so did it come to pass; who, by His powerful might, changed the wind to a favourable quarter,

[27] Harfleur.

and thus suddenly granted him a passage over to England. Immediately on this, he embarked, and, on the following day, landed at Southampton, in England, on the eight day before the ides of July, being the second day of the week, bringing with him his wife, queen Eleanor, and queen Margaret, daughter of Louis, king of the Franks, and wife of his son Henry, with Robert, earl of Leicester, and Hugh, earl of Chester, whom he immediately placed in confinement.

On the day after this, he set out on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas the Martyr, archbishop of Canterbury. On his approach, as soon as he was in sight of the church, in which the body of the blessed martyr lay buried, he dismounted from the horse on which he rode, took off his shoes, and, barefoot, and clad in woollen garments, walked three miles to the tomb of the martyr, with such humility and compunction of heart, that it may be believed beyond a doubt to have been the work of Him who looketh down on the earth, and maketh it to tremble. To those who beheld them, his footsteps, along the road on which he walked, seemed to be covered with blood, and really were so; for his tender feet being cut by the hard stones, a great quantity of blood flowed from them on to the ground. When he had arrived at the tomb, it was a holy thing to see the affliction which he suffered, with sobs and tears, and the discipline to which he submitted from the hands of the bishops and a great number of priests and monks. Here, also, aided by the prayers of many holy men, he passed the night, before the sepulchre of the blessed Martyr, in prayer, fasting, and lamentations. As for the gifts and revenues which, for the remission of his sins, he bestowed on this church, they can never under any circumstance be obliterated from the remembrance thereof. In the morning of the following day, after hearing mass, he departed thence, on the third day before the ides of July, being Saturday, with the intention of proceeding to London. And, inasmuch as he was mindful of the Lord in his entire heart, the Lord granted unto him the victory over his enemies, and delivered them captive into his hands.

For, on the very same Saturday on which the king left Canterbury, William, king of the Scots, was taken prisoner at Alnwick by the above-named knights of Yorkshire, who had pursued him after his retreat from Prudhoe. Thus, even thus; "How rarely is it that vengeance with halting step

forsakes the pursuit of the wicked!"[28] Together with him, there were taken prisoners Richard Cumin, William de Mortimer, William de l'Isle, Henry Revel, Ralph de Ver, Jordan le Fleming, Waltheof Fitz-Baldwin de Biere, Richard Maluvel, and many others, who voluntarily allowed themselves to be made prisoners, lest they might appear to have sanctioned the capture of their lord.

On the same day, Hugh, count de Bar sur Seine, nephew of Hugh, bishop of Durham, effected a landing at Herterpol[29] with forty knights and five hundred Flemings, for whom the beforenamed bishop had sent; but in consequence of the capture of the king of Scotland, the bishop immediately allowed the said Flemings to return home, having first given them allowance and pay for forty days. Count Hugh, however, together with the knights who had come with him, he made to stay, and gave the castle of Alverton[30] into their safe keeping.

These things having taken place, Uctred, the son of Fergus, and Gilbert his brother, the leaders of the men of Galloway, immediately upon the capture of their lord the king of the Scots, returned to their country, expelled the king's thanes from their territories, and slew without mercy those of English or French origin whom they found therein. The fortresses and castles which the king of the Scots had fortified in their territories they laid siege to, and, capturing them, levelled them with the ground. They also earnestly entreated the king of England, the father, at the same time presenting him many gifts, to rescue them from the rule of the king of Scotland, and render them subject to his own sway.

In the meantime, Louis, king of the Franks, hearing that the king of England, the father, had crossed over, and that the king of Scots was taken prisoner, with whose misfortunes he greatly condoled, recalled the king of England the son, and Philip, earl of Flanders, who were still staying at Gravelines; and after they had returned to him, laid siege to Rouen on all sides, except that on which the river Seine flows.

The king, the father, on hearing of the capture of the king of the Scots, rejoiced with exceeding great joy, and after a thanksgiving to Almighty God and the blessed martyr Thomas, set out

[28] "Raro antecedentem scelestum deserit pœna pede claudo."
[29] Hartlepool. [30] North Allerton.

for Huntingdon, and laid siege to the castle, which was surrendered to him on the Lord's day following, being the twelfth day before the calends of August. The knights and men-at-arms who were in the castle threw themselves on the king's mercy, safety being granted to life and limb. Immediately upon this, the king departed thence with his army towards Fremingham,[31] the castle of earl Hugh Bigot; where the earl himself was, with a large body of Flemings. The king, on drawing nigh to Fremingham, encamped at a place which is called Seleham, and remained there that night. On the following day, earl Hugh Bigot came to him, and, making a treaty of peace with him, surrendered to him the castle of Fremingham, and the castle of Bungay, and with considerable difficulty obtained the king's permission that the Flemings who were with him might without molestation return home. At this place, the horse of Tostes de Saint Omer, a knight of the Temple, struck the king on the leg, and injured him considerably. On the following day, namely, on the seventh day before the calends of August, the king departed from Seleham, and proceeded to Northampton; on his arrival at which place William, king of the Scots, was brought to him, with his feet fastened beneath a horse's belly. There also came to him Hugh, bishop of Durham, who delivered to him possession of the castle of Durham, the castle of Norham, and the new castle of Alverton, which he had fortified, and, after considerable difficulty, obtained permission that his nephew, the count de Bar, and the knights who had come with him, might return to their own country. Roger de Mowbray also came thither to him, and surrendered to him the castle of Tresk,[32] and the earl of Ferrers delivered up to him the castles of Tutesbury,[33] and of Duffield; Anketill Mallory also and William de Dive, constables of the earl of Leicester, surrendered to him the castles of Leicester, of Mountsorrel, and of Groby.

Thus then, within the space of three weeks, was the whole of England restored to tranquillity, and all its fortified places delivered into the king's hands. These matters being arranged to his satisfaction, he speedily crossed over from England to Normandy, and landed at Barbefleet on the sixth day before the ides of August, being the fifth day of the week,

[31] Framlingham, in Suffolk. [32] Thirsk. [33] Tutbury.

taking with him his Brabanters and a thousand Welchmen, together with William, king of the Scots, Robert, earl of Leicester, and Hugh, earl of Chester, whom he placed in confinement, first at Caen, and afterwards at Falaise.

On the same day on which the king landed at Barbefiet, he met on the sea-shore Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, on his return from Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, with the pall and legateship and primacy of the whole of England, together with Reginald, bishop of Bath, whom the said archbishop had consecrated at Saint John de Maurienne, on their return from Rome. The king, however, did not wish to detain them with him, but sent them on to England. After this, on the Lord's day next ensuing, the king, the father, arrived with his Brabanters and Welchmen at Rouen, which the king of France and the king of England, the son, were besieging on one side, while on the other there was free egress and ingress. On the following morning, the king sent his Welchmen beyond the river Seine; who, making way by main force, broke through the midst of the camp of the king of France, and arrived unhurt at the great forest, and on the same day slew more than a hundred of the men of the king of France.

Now, the king of France had been staying there hardly a month, when, lo! the king of England, the father, coming from England, opened the gates of the city, which the burgesses had blocked up, and sallying forth with his knights and men-at-arms, caused the fosses which had been made between the army of the king of France and the city, to be filled up with logs of timber, stones, and earth, and to be thus made level. As for the king of France, he and his men remained in their tents, and were not inclined to come forth. The rest of the people of the king of England took up their positions for the defence of the walls, but no one attacked them; however, a part of the army of the king of France made an attempt to destroy their own engines of war.

On the following day, early in the morning, the king of France sent the weaker portion of his army into his own territories; and, with the permission of the king of England, followed them on the same day to a place which is called Malaunay, and lies between Rouen and the town called Tostes; having first given security by the hand of William, archbishop of Sens, and of earl Theobald, that on the following day

he would return to confer with the king of England on making peace between him and his sons. The king of France, however, did not keep his engagement and his oath, and did not come on the following day to the conference, but departed into his own territories.

However, after the expiration of a few days, he again sent the above-named archbishop of Sens and earl Theobald to the king of England, appointing a day for the conference, to be held at Gisors, on the Nativity of Saint Mary. When they met there they could not come to an agreement, on account of Richard, earl of Poitou, who was at this time in Poitou, besieging the castles and subjects of his father. In consequence of this, they again held another conference between them, upon the festival of Saint Michael, between Tours and Amboise, on which occasion they agreed to a truce on these terms: that the said Richard, earl of Poitou, should be excluded from all benefit of the truce, and that the king of France and the king of England, the son, should give him no succour whatever. Upon these arrangements being made on either side, the king of England, the father, moved on his army into Poitou; on which, Richard, earl of Poitou, his son, not daring to await his approach, fled from place to place. When he afterwards came to understand that the king of France, and the king, his brother, had excluded him from the benefit of the truce, he was greatly indignant thereat; and, coming with tears, he fell on his face upon the ground at the feet of his father, and imploring pardon, was received into his father's bosom. These events took place at Poitou, on the eleventh day before the calends of October, being the second day of the week; and thus, the king and his son Richard becoming reconciled, they entered the city of Poitou.

After this, they both set out together for a conference held between Tours and Amboise, on the day before the calends of October, being the second day of the week and the day after the feast of Saint Michael. Here the king, the son, and Richard and Geoffrey, his brothers, by the advice and consent of the king and barons of France, made the treaty of peace underwritten with the king their father:

"Be it known unto all present as well as to come, that, by the will of God, peace has been made between our lord the king and his sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, on the

following terms:—Henry, the king, the son of the king, and his brothers aforesaid, have returned unto their father and to his service as their liege lord, free and absolved from all oaths whatsoever which they have made between themselves, or with any other persons, against him, or against his subjects. All liegemen and barons who, for their sake, have abandoned their fealty to their father, they have released from all oaths whatsoever which they have made to themselves; and, freely acquitted from all oaths and absolved from all covenants which they had made to them, the same have returned to their homage and allegiance to our lord the king. Also, our lord the king, and all his liegemen and barons, are to receive possession of all their lands and castles which they held fifteen days before his sons withdrew from him. So, in like manner, his liegemen and barons who withdrew from him and followed his sons, are to receive possession of their lands which they had fifteen days before they withdrew from him. Also, our lord the king has laid aside all displeasure against his barons and liegemen who withdrew from him, so that by reason thereof he will do no evil to them, so long as they shall faithfully serve him as their liege lord. And, in like manner, the king, his son, has pardoned all, both clerks as well as laymen, who took part with his father, and has remitted all displeasure against them, and has given security into the hand of our lord the king, his father, that he will not do, or seek to do, in all his life any evil or harm to those who obeyed him, by reason of their so doing. Also, upon these conditions, the king gives to the king, his son, two suitable castles in Normandy, at the option of his father, and fifteen thousand pounds, Anjouin, yearly revenue. Also, to his son Richard he gives two suitable mansions in Poitou, whence evil cannot ensue to the king, and a moiety of the revenues of Poitou in ready money. To his son Geoffrey he gives, in ready money, the moiety of what he would receive in Brittany on his marriage with the daughter of earl Conan, whom he is to take to wife; and after, by the license of the Roman Church, he shall have taken her to wife, then he shall have the whole of the revenues accruing by that marriage, in such manner as is set forth in the deed executed by earl Conan. But, as to the prisoners who have made a composition with our lord the king before this treaty was made with our lord the king, namely, the

king of Scotland, the earl of Leicester, the earl of Chester, and Ralph de Fougeres, and their pledges, and the pledges of the other prisoners whom he had before that time, they are to be excepted out of this treaty. The other prisoners are, however, to be set at liberty on both sides; but upon the understanding, that our lord the king shall take hostages as pledges from such of his prisoners as he shall think fit, and as shall be able to give the same; and from the rest he shall take security by the assurance and oaths of themselves and of their friends. As for the castles which have been built or fortified in the territories of our lord the king since the war began, they are, subject to the king's wishes thereon, to be reduced to the same state in which they were fifteen days before the war began. Further, be it known, that king Henry, the son, has covenanted with our lord the king, his father, that he will strictly observe all gifts in almoign which he has given, or shall give, out of his lands, and the gifts of lands which he has given, or shall give, to his liegemen for their services. He has also covenanted that he will strictly and inviolably confirm the gifts which the king, his father, has made to his brother John; namely, a thousand pounds of yearly revenues out of his demesne lands and escheats in England at his own option, together with their appurtenances; also the castle of Nottingham with the county thereof, and the castle of Marlborough with its appurtenances; also, in Normandy, one thousand pounds, Anjouin, of yearly revenue, and two castles in Normandy at the option of his father; and in Anjou and the lands which belonged to the earl of Anjou, one thousand pounds, Anjouin, of revenue, as also one castle in Anjou, one castle in Touraine, and one castle in Maine. It has also been covenanted by our lord the king, in the love which he bears to his son, that all those who withdrew from him after his son, and offended him by such withdrawal, may return into the territories of our lord the king under his protection. Also, for the chattels which on such withdrawal they carried away, they shall not be answerable: as to murder, or treason, or the maiming of any limb, they are to be answerable according to the laws and customs of the land. Also, as to those who before the war took to flight for any cause, and then entered the service of his son, the same may, from the love he bears to his son, return in peace, if they give pledge and surety that they

will abide their trial for those offences of which, before the war, they have been guilty. Those, also, who were awaiting trial at the time when they withdrew to his son, are to return in peace, upon condition that their trials are to be in the same state as when they withdrew. Henry, the king, the son of our lord the king, has given security into the hands of his father that this agreement shall on his part be strictly observed. And, further, Henry, the king's son, and his brothers, have given security that they will never demand of our lord the king, contrary to the will and good pleasure of our lord the king, their father, anything whatever beyond the gifts above-written and agreed upon, and that they will withdraw neither themselves nor their services from their father. Also, Richard, and Geoffrey, his brother, have done homage to their father for those things which he has given and granted unto them; and, whereas his son, Henry, was ready and willing to do homage to him, our lord the king was unwilling to receive the same of him, because he was a king; but he has received security from him for the same."

In the same year, a dissension arose between Uctred and Gilbert, the sons of Fergus, and chieftains of the men of Galloway, on which Malcolm, the son of Gilbert, took Uctred by treachery, and, after depriving him of his virility and putting out his eyes, caused him to be put to death.

In this year, also, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated, in England, at Canterbury, Richard, bishop of Winchester, Robert Folliot, bishop of Hereford, Geoffrey Riddel, bishop of Ely, and John, bishop of Chichester. In the same year, nearly the whole of the city of Canterbury was burned to the ground, together with the metropolitan church of the Holy Trinity. In this year, also, died William Turbe, bishop of Norwich.

In the same year, peace and final reconciliation were established between Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, upon the following terms: "The chapel and burial-ground of Alverton shall remain in the hands of the prior of Hexham, on condition that the archbishop shall not insist on any person being buried there, nor shall the bishop hinder it. The church of Hexham shall receive the chrism and oil from the bishop of Durham, according to its present usage: the prior of Hexham shall also attend the synod of Durham. The

clerks and canons of Hexham shall receive ordination from the bishop of Durham. The parishioners of Hexham, at the time of Pentecost, if they shall think fit, shall visit the church of Durham without any compulsion on the part of the bishop or of his people, and without any prohibition on the part of the archbishop or of his people. Also, if their people shall presume to act contrary to this, their masters themselves shall correct them. The prior of Hexham shall try all ecclesiastical causes of that parish, without power to inflict fines, though with liberty to impose penance. On the decease of the present prior, Richard, the bishop of Durham, shall have the same authority in the appointing of another prior, which the said prior, Richard, and the prior of Gisburne, and Peter, brother of the prior of Bridlington, have sworn that the church of Durham had in the appointing of the said prior, Richard, if indeed they shall have sworn that it had any. The archbishop shall not demand synodal fees of the churches of Saint Cuthbert, the names of which, in the archdeaconry of Cleveland, are as follow: the church of Hemmingburgh, the church of Schepwick, the church of Alverton, the church of Bretteby, the church of Osmunderley, the church of Seigestun, the church of Lee, the church of Oterington, the church of Crake, and the church of Holteby; in the archdeaconry of York; the church of All Saints in Ousegate, the church of Saint Peter the Little, and half of the church of the Holy Trinity, in Sudersgate;[34] and, in the archdeaconry of the treasurer; the church of Hoveden,[35] the church of Welleton, the church of Brentington, and the church of Walkinton. But if the clergy of the said churches, or the laity of the demesne manors of Saint Cuthbert, situate in Yorkshire, shall be guilty of anything that deserves ecclesiastical correction, the same shall be amended by the archbishop, such a summons being first issued, that the bishop or his officer shall be able to be present thereat." The above articles were confirmed by the archbishop and the bishop, who mutually gave their word that they would, without fraud or deceit, observe the same so long as they two should live, and without prejudice to the church of either after the decease of the other. In addition to which, the archbishop similarly gave his word to the bishop that he would in no

[34] Perhaps that part of York now called Skeldergate.

[35] Howden, in Yorkshire, the native place of our author.

matter annoy him or his church, or any one in his bishopric, until the cause should have been first taken open cognizance of in due course of judgment.

In the year of grace 1175, being the twenty-first year of the reign of king Henry the Second, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Argenton, in Normandy, during the festival of the Nativity of our Lord. At the Purification of Saint Mary, he and the king, his son, were at Le Mans, whence they returned into Normandy, and held a conference with Louis, king of the Franks, at Gisors. Having come thence to Bure in Normandy, the king, the son, in order that he might remove all mistrust from his father's mind, did homage to him as his liegeman, and swore fealty to him against all men, in the presence of Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, William, earl of Mandeville, and Richard de Humez, his constable, and many other persons of the household of both kings.

At the festival of Easter, the two kings were at Cæsar's Burgh,[35] and, after Easter, they proceeded to Caen to meet Philip, earl of Flanders, who shortly before had assumed the cross of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The king, the father, prevailed upon him to release the king, the son, from all covenants which he had made with him during the period of the hostilities; and the earl of Flanders delivered into the king's hands the documents of the king, the son, which he had relative to the above-named covenants. On this, they confirmed to the earl the yearly revenues which he had been in the habit of receiving in England before the war.

The king, the father, also sent his son Richard into Poitou, and his son Geoffrey into Brittany, with orders that the castles which had been built or fortified during the time of the war, should be reduced to the same state in which they were fifteen days before the war began. After this, the king, the father, and the king, the son, crossed over, and landed in England, at Portsmouth, on the seventh day before the ides of May, being the sixth day of the week. On coming to London, they found Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, about to hold a synod at Westminster on the Lord's day before the Ascension of our Lord; to which synod came nearly all the bishops and abbats of the province of Canterbury. Before the kings above-named,

[35] Cherbourg.

and the bishops and abbats, Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, standing on an elevated place, published the decrees underwritten:

"Synods are called together in the Church of God, in conformity with the ancient usage of the fathers, in order that those who are appointed to the higher office of the pastoral charge, may, by institutions based upon rules subjected to their common consideration, reform the lives of those submitted to their care, and, with a judgment better informed, be able to check those enormities which are incessantly springing up. We therefore, rather adhering to the rules of our forefathers who adhered to the true faith, than devising anything new, have thought it advisable that certain definite heads should be published by us; which by all of our province we do enjoin to be strictly and inviolably observed. For all those who shall presume to contravene the enactments of this holy synod, we deem to be transgressors of the sacred canons.

[37] "If any priest or clerk in holy orders, having a church or ecclesiastical benefice, shall publicly keep a harlot, and after being warned thereon a first, second, and third time, shall not put away his harlot, and entirely separate himself from her, but shall rather think fit to persist in his uncleanness, he shall be deprived of all ecclesiastical offices and benefices. But if any persons below the rank of sub-deacons shall have contracted marriage, let them not by any means be separated from their wives, except with their common consent that they shall do so and enter a religious order, and there let them with constancy remain in the service of God. But if any persons of the rank of sub-deacon or above the same, shall have contracted marriage, let them leave their wives, even though they should be unwilling and reluctant. Also, on the authority of the same epistle we have decreed, that the sons of priests are not, henceforth, to be instituted as clergymen in the churches of their fathers; nor are they, under any circumstances whatsoever, to hold the same without the intervention of some third person.

[38] "Clerks in holy orders are not to enter taverns for the purpose of eating and drinking, nor to be present at public drinkings, unless when travelling, and compelled by necessity. And if

[37] Taken from the decretal epistle of pope Alexander III. to Roger, bishop of Worcester. [38] From the decrees of the council of Carthage.

any one shall be guilty of so doing, either let him put an end to the practice, or suffer deprivation.

[39] "Those who are in holy orders are not allowed to give judgment on matters of life and death. Wherefore, we do forbid them either themselves to take part in dismemberment, or to order it to be done by others. And if any one shall be guilty of doing such a thing, let him be deprived of the office and position of the orders that have been granted to him. We do also forbid, under penalty of excommunication, any priest to hold the office of sheriff, or that of any secular public officer.[40]

[41] "Clerks who allow their hair to grow, are, though against their will, to be shorn by the archdeacon. They are also not to be allowed to wear any garments or shoes, but such as are consistent with propriety and religion. And if any one shall presume to act contrary hereto, and on being warned shall not be willing to reform, let him be subject to excommunication.

[42] "Inasmuch as certain clerks, despairing of obtaining ordination from their own bishops, either on account of ignorance, or irregularity of life, or the circumstances of their birth, or a defect in their title, or youthful age, are ordained out of their own province, and sometimes even by bishops beyond sea, or else falsely assert that they have been so ordained, producing unknown seals to their own bishops; we do enact that the ordination of such shall be deemed null and void, and, under pain of excommunication, we do forbid that they shall be employed by any one in the performance of his duties. The bishop also, within our jurisdiction, who knowingly and wilfully shall ordain any such person or employ him after the conferring of such orders,[43] for so ordaining or employing him, let him know that he is suspended from his office until he shall have made due satisfaction. Likewise, inasmuch as the Church of God, according to the verity of the Gospel, ought to be the house of prayer, and not a den of thieves, and market for blood; under pain of excommunication we do forbid[44]

[39] From the decrees of the council of Toledo.

[40] "Præpositi," though a very general appellation, probably means here, reeve, mayor or provost. [41] From the decrees of the council of Agatha.

[42] From various decrees of popes Urban and Innocent, and of the councils of Chalcedon and Carthage.

[43] There is not improbably an omission in the text here.

[44] Some words are evidently omitted here.

secular causes, in which the shedding of blood or bodily punishment is likely to be the result, to be tried in churches or in churchyards. For it is absurd and cruel for judgment of bloodshed to be discussed in the place which has also been appointed a place of refuge for the guilty.

[45] "It has been told us, that it is the custom in some places for money to be given for receiving the chrism, as also for baptism and the communion. This as a[46] simoniacal heresy a holy council held in detestation, and visited with excommunication. We do therefore enact, that in future nothing shall be demanded either for ordination, or for the chrism, or for baptism, or for extreme unction, or for burial, or for the communion, or for dedication; but the gifts of Christ are to be bestowed freely with a gratuitous dispensation. If any person shall presume to act in defiance hereof, let him be excommunicated.

[47] "Let no prelate, on receiving a monk, or canon, or nun, presume to take or demand money from those who come to adopt the monastic life, under pretence of any agreement whatsoever.

[48] "Let it be allowable for no one under the name of a dowry to transfer a benefice to any person, or to exact money or any emolument on the pretext of an agreement for the presentation of any person thereto. If he shall do so, and upon trial shall confess or be convicted of the same, relying both on our own and on the royal authority, we do enact that he shall be for ever deprived of the patronage of the said church.

[49] "According to the decrees of the fathers, we do, under penalty of excommunication, forbid that monks or clerks shall carry on business for the sake of profit, and that monks shall hold farms of the clergy or of the laity, or that the laity shall hold the benefices of the Church to farm.

[50] "Whoever would appear to belong to the clergy, let them not take up arms, nor yet go about in armour; but by their religious habits, let them reconcile the name of their profession to the religious character of their manners. If they despise this injunction, then, as contemners of the holy canons and profaners of the ecclesiastical authority, let them be mulcted with the loss of their proper rank: inasmuch as they cannot serve both God and the world.

[45] From the decrees of the council of Trebour. [46] The text is evidently corrupt here. [47] From the decrees of pope Urban.
[48] A new decree. [49] From the decrees of the Fathers.
[50] By decree of the council of Meaux.

[51] "Also, with regard to vicars, who on their promise and oath are bound to their parsons, we have thought proper to enact, that if, despising their promise or the obligation of their oath, they shall falsely take upon themselves the character of parson, and set themselves up against their parsons, and if they shall upon trial confess thereto or be convicted thereof, then for the future they are not to be admitted in the same bishopric to the discharge of the duties of their office.

[52] "All tithes of the land, whether of corn or of fruit, are the Lord's, and are sanctified unto Him. But, inasmuch as many are found unwilling to give tithes, we do enact, that according to the commands of our lord the pope, they shall be admonished a first, second, and third time, to give tithes in full of corn, wine, fruits of trees, young of animals, wool, lambs, butter, cheese, flax, hemp, and other things which are renewed yearly; and if, upon being admonished, they do not make amends, let them understand that they are subject to excommunication.

"And further, let the imperial sanction put a check upon litigation, and the audacity of those who inconsiderately appeal to law, by condemning them to pay the costs, and various other remedies. And inasmuch as this is known to be in unison with the holy institutions, we do order, that for the future, in such actions for the recovery of money as shall be tried among clerks, the party who is the loser shall be condemned to pay costs to his opponent. As for him who shall not be able to make such payment, I leave him to be punished at the discretion of his bishop.

[53] "We do find in the holy list only ten prefaces [54] that are to be received: the first on the first Sunday after Easter,[55] '*Et te quidem omni tempore.*'[1] The second on Ascension Day,

[51] From a decree of pope Alexander the Third, addressed to the bishop of Norwich. [52] From the decrees of the council of Rouen.

[53] From a decree of pope Pelagius. [54] The preface or introduction to the canon of the mass.

[55] In the text "in Albis Paschalibus." This was the Sunday more generally called "Dominica in Albis," the word "depositis" being understood: as on that day, according to the Roman ritual, those lately baptized laid aside the white garments which they had assumed on the Sunday before Easter.

[1] This preface, according to the Roman ritual, is read from Holy Saturday until the Ascension; it begins, "It is truly meet and just, right and available to salvation to praise thee, O Lord."

'*Qui post resurrectionem.*'[2] The third at Pentecost, '*Qui ascendens super omnes cœlos.*'[3] The fourth upon the nativity, '*Quia per incarnnti Verbi mysterium.*'[4] The fifth upon the Epiphany of our Lord, '*Quia cum renigenitus tuus.*'[5] The sixth upon the festivals of the Apostles, '*Et te Domine supplicitur exorare.*'[6] The seventh on the Holy Trinity, '*Qui cum renigenito tuo.*'[7] The eighth upon the Cross, '*Qui salutem humani generis.*'[8] The ninth is only to be repeated during the fast of Lent, '*Qui corporali jejunio.*'[9] The tenth upon the blessed Virgin, '*Et te in veneratione beatæ Mariæ.*'[10] Upon the authority therefore of this decree, and of our lord, the pope Alexander, we do strictly enjoin, that no person shall, under any circumstances whatever, presume to add anything to the prefaces above-mentioned.

[56] "We do forbid any one to give the Eucharist to any person dipped into the chalice as being a requisite part of the commu-

[2] This preface is read from Ascension Day till Whitsun Eve. It begins: "Who after his resurrection appeared openly to all his disciples, and in their presence ascended into heaven."

[3] This is read from Whitsun Eve till Trinity Sunday; and in votive masses of the Holy Ghost. It begins, "Who ascending above all the heavens, and sitting at thy right hand, sent down the promised Holy Spirit upon the children of adoption."

[4] This is read from Christmas day till the Epiphany; on Corpus Christi and during its octave; and on our Lord's transfiguration. It begins, "Since by the mystery of the word make flesh, a new ray of thy glory has appeared to the eye of our souls."

[5] This is read on the Epiphany and during its octave. It begins, "Because when thy only begotten son appeared in the substance of our mortal flesh."

[6] This begins, "It is truly meet and just, right and available to salvation humbly to beseech thee."

[7] This is read on Trinity Sunday, and every other Sunday in the year that has no proper preface. It begins, "Who together with thy only begotten son and the Holy Ghost art one God and one Lord."

[8] This is read from Passion Sunday till Maunday Thursday, and in masses of the Holy Cross and of the Passion. It begins, "Who hast appointed the salvation of mankind to be wrought on the wood of the cross."

[9] This is read in Lent till Passion Sunday. It begins, "Who by this bodily fast extinguishest our vices."

[10] This is read on festivals of the Virgin Mary, the purification excepted. It begins, "And that we should praise, bless and glorify thee on the [*festival then celebrated*] of the blessed Virgin Mary, ever a Virgin."

[56] From a decree of pope Julius.

nion. For we do not read that Christ gave the bread to the others, having first dipped it, but only to that one of the disciples, whom the sop, when dipped, was to show to be his betrayer, and not that it formed any characteristic of the institution of this Sacrament.

[57] "We do command that the Eucharist shall not be consecrated in any other than a chalice of gold or silver, and from henceforth we do forbid any bishop to bless a chalice of pewter.

[58] "Let no one of the faithful, of what rank soever, be married in secret, but, receiving the benediction from the priest, let him be publicly married in the Lord. Therefore, if any priest shall be found to have united any persons in secret, let him be suspended from the duties of his office for the space of three years.

[59] "Where there is not the consent of both parties, it is not a marriage; therefore, those who give female children in the cradle to male infants effect nothing thereby, unless both of the children shall agree thereto after they have arrived at the years of discretion. On the authority therefore of this decree, we do forbid that in future any persons shall be united in marriage, of whom either the one or the other shall not have arrived at the age appointed by the laws, and set forth by the canons, unless it shall at any time chance to happen that by reason of some urgent necessity, a union of such a nature ought to be tolerated for the sake of peace."

In this synod, also the clerks of Roger, archbishop of York, asserted the right of the church of York to carry the cross in the province of Canterbury. They also asserted, on the same occasion, on behalf of the archbishop of York, that the bishopric of Lincoln, the bishopric of Chester, the bishopric of Worcester, and the bishopric of Hereford, ought by right to belong to the metropolitan church of York; and they summoned the said archbishop of Canterbury on this question to the presence of the Roman Pontiff. They also summoned the archbishop of Canterbury before the Roman Pontiff, for the alleged injustice of the sentence of excommunication which he had pronounced against the clergy of the archbishop of York, who, with his sanction, officiated in the church of Saint Oswald, at Gloucester, because they had refused to come to him upon his

[57] From a decree of the council of Rheims. [58] From a decree of pope Ormisdas. [59] From a decree of pope Nicholas.

summons in the same manner as the clergy of his own province did.

At this synod also, the clergy of the church of Saint Asaph requested the archbishop of Canterbury, that by virtue of the obedience due to him, he would order Godfrey, bishop of the church of Saint Asaph, to return to that see, with the pontifical dignity of which he was invested, or else that the above-named archbishop would appoint another bishop in his place. For this Godfrey had left his bishopric, being compelled so to do by poverty, and the hostile invasions of the Welch; and coming into England, had been kindly and honorably received by the most Christian king Henry; who also gave the vacant abbacy of Abingdon into his charge, until such time as he should be at liberty to return to his own see.

In consequence of this application, the said archbishop of Canterbury, at the instance of the before-named clergy, and by the advice of Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, as also by the counsel of his venerable brother bishops, at this synod, called upon the said Godfrey, in virtue of his obedience, either to return to his own see, or else freely and absolutely to deliver up the pastoral care which had been placed in his hands.

Upon this, Godfrey, being in hopes that the abbacy of Abingdon, which had been delivered into his charge, would remain in his hands, no one compelling him so to do, resigned his bishopric into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, freely and absolutely delivering up to him the ring and pastoral staff. And so, being deceived, he lost them both; for the king gave the bishopric of Saint Asaph to Master Ada, a Welchman, and the abbacy of Abingdon to a certain monk.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, at this period surrendered to the king of England the castle of Bristol, of which the king had never before been able to gain possession. In the same year, on the octave of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, both the kings came to Woodstock, and were met there by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, bishop of Winchester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, Roger, bishop of Worcester, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, John, bishop of Chichester, Walter, bishop of Rochester, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, who had come thither on business of their own. There also came thither all

the abbats of the province of Canterbury; and they held a great synod on the election of a pastor to the pontifical see of the church of Norwich, and on the election of pastors to the abbeys which were then vacant throughout England; namely, the abbey of Grimsby, the abbey of Croyland, the abbey of Thorney, the abbey of Westminster, the abbey of Saint Augustine, at Canterbury, the abbey of Battle, the abbey of Hyde at Winchester, the abbey of Abingdon, the abbey of Abbotsbury, and the abbey of Michelney.[60] John of Oxford, the king's clerk, was elected to the bishopric of Norwich, and was consecrated by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury. The abbeys before-mentioned were also distributed among religious men, as seemed good to our lord the king and the above-named archbishop.

In the same year, pope Alexander confirmed the election of Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln. In this year, also, the king, the father, impleaded all the clergy and laity of his kingdom who, in the time of the wars, had committed offences against him in his forests, and as to the taking of venison, and exacted fines of them all, although Richard de Lucy gave a warranty that all this was done with his sanction, and by command of the king, sent from beyond sea.

After this, the two kings proceeded to York, where they were met by William, king of the Scots, and his brother David, together with nearly the whole of the bishops and abbats, and other principal men of his dominions. And at this place was renewed the treaty and final reconciliation which the said king of Scotland had made with his lord the king of England, the father, at Falaise, while he was his prisoner, in presence of the king, his son, Roger, archbishop of York, Hugh, bishop of Durham, and the earls and barons of England, as also of the bishops and abbats, earls and barons of the kingdom of Scotland. This charter of confirmation thereof was read to the following effect in the church of Saint Peter, at York:—

"William, king of Scotland, becomes the liegeman of our lord the king, against all the men of Scotland and for all the rest of his dominions; and has done fealty to him as his liege lord, in the same manner in which other men, his own liegemen, are wont to do unto himself. In like manner he has done homage

[60] In Somersetshire.

to king Henry, his son, saving always his fealty to our lord the king, his father.

"All the bishops, abbats, and clergy of the king's territory of Scotland, as also their successors, shall do fealty to our lord the king as their liege lord, according to his pleasure, and to his son, king Henry, and their heirs, in such manner as his other bishops are wont to do unto him.

"Also, the king of Scotland, and David, his brother, and the barons and the rest of his subjects, have agreed that the Church of Scotland shall from henceforth pay such obedience to the Church of England as it ought in duty to pay, and was wont to pay in the times of the kings of England, his predecessors.

"In like manner Richard, bishop of Saint Andrews, Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, Geoffrey, abbat of Dunfermline, and Herbert, prior of Coldingham, have agreed that the Church of England shall again have that authority over the Church of Scotland which of right it ought to have, and that they will not oppose the rights of the Church of England. And they have given security as to this agreement, in that they have as lieges done fealty to our lord the king and to his son Henry.

"The same shall be done by the rest of the bishops and the clergy of Scotland, according to the covenants made between our lord the king and the king of Scotland, and his brother David and his barons. The earls also, and barons and other subjects of the kingdom of the king of Scotland, from whom our lord the king shall wish to receive the same, shall do homage to him against all men and fealty as their liege lord, in such manner as his other subjects are wont to do, as also to his son king Henry and his heirs, saving always their fealty to our lord the king, his father. In like manner the heirs of the king of Scotland and of his barons and of his subjects shall do homage and allegiance to the heirs of our lord the king against all men.

"Further, from henceforth the king of Scotland and his subjects shall harbour no fugitive from the territories of our lord the king by reason of felony, either in Scotland or in any other of his territories, unless he shall be willing forthwith to take his trial in the court of our lord the king and to abide by the judgment of the court. But the king of Scotland and his men shall arrest him with all possible speed, and shall deliver him up to our lord the king, or to his justiciaries or bailiffs in England.

"And if any fugitive from the territories of the king of Scotland, by reason of felony, shall be in England, unless he shall be willing to take his trial in the court of the king of Scotland, and abide by the judgment of the court, he shall not be harboured in the lands of the king, but shall be delivered unto the men of the king of Scotland, when he shall have been found by the bailiffs of our lord the king.

"Further, the men of our lord the king shall hold their lands which they have held and ought to hold, against our lord the king and his men, and against the king of Scotland and his men. And the men of the king of Scotland shall hold their lands which they have held and ought to hold, against our lord the king and his men.

"By way of security for the strict observance of the said covenants and final agreement so made with our lord the king and his son Henry and their heirs, on part of the king of Scotland and his heirs, the king of Scotland has delivered unto our lord the king the castle of Roxburgh, the castle of Berwick, the castle of Geddewerde,[61] the castle of the Maidens,[62] and the castle of Striveline,[63] unto the mercy of our lord the king. In addition to which, for the purpose of ensuring the performance of the said covenants and final agreement, the king of Scotland has delivered unto our lord the king his brother David as a hostage, as also earl Dunecan, earl Waltheof, earl Gilbert, the earl of Angus, Richard de Morville, his constable, Nes Fitzwilliam, Richard Cumin, Walter Corbet, Walter Olifard,[64] John de Vals, William de Lindesey, Philip de Colville, Philip de Baluines, Robert Frenbert, Robert de Burneville, Hugh Giffard, Hugh Riddel, Walter de Berkeley, William de la Haie, and William de Mortimer. But when the castles shall have been delivered up, William, king of Scotland, and his brother David shall be set at liberty. The earls and barons above-named shall, after each of them shall have delivered up his hostage, namely, a lawful son, those who have one, and the rest their nephews or next heirs, and after the castles, as above-mentioned, shall have been surrendered, be set at liberty.

"Further, the king of Scotland and his before-named barons

[61] Jedburgh. [62] "Castellum puellarum." The castle of Edinburgh was so called. [63] Stirling. [64] Probably Oliphant.

have pledged their word that with good faith and without evil intent, and with no excuse whatever, they will cause the bishops and barons and other men of their land who were not present when the king of Scotland made this treaty with our lord the king, to make the same allegiance and fealty to our lord the king and to his son Henry, which they themselves have made, and, like the barons and men who were here present, to deliver as hostages to our lord the king whomsoever he shall think fit.

"Further, the bishops, earls, and barons have agreed with our lord the king and his son Henry, that if the king of Scotland, by any chance, shall withdraw from his fealty to our lord the king and to his son, and from the aforesaid covenants, in such case they will hold with our lord the king, as with their liege lord, against the king of Scotland, and against all men at enmity with the king; and they will place the dominions of the king of Scotland under interdict, until he shall return to his fealty to our lord the king.

"That the covenants aforesaid shall be strictly observed, and in good faith, and without evil intent, by William, king of Scotland and David his brother, and by his barons above-named, and their heirs, the king of Scotland himself, and David his brother, and all his said barons, have pledged themselves as liegemen of our lord the king against all men, as also of his son Henry, saving their fealty to his father; the following being witnesses hereto: Richard, bishop of Avranches, John, dean of Salisbury, Robert, abbat of Malmesbury, Ralph, abbat of Mundeburg, Herbert, archdeacon of Northampton, Walter de Coutances, Roger, the king's chaplain, Osbert, clerk of the chamber, Richard, son of our lord the king, earl of Poitou, Geoffrey, son of our lord the king, earl of Brittany, William, earl of Essex, Hugh, earl of Chester, Richard de Humezt, constable and earl of Mellent, Jordan Thessun, Humphrey de Bohun, William de Courcy, seneschal, and Gilbert Malet, seneschal of Falaise."

The aforesaid having been recited in the church of Saint Peter, at York, in the presence of the before-named kings of England [and Scotland],[65] and of David, brother of the king of Scotland, and of the whole of the people, the bishops, earls, barons, and knights of the territories of the king of Scotland,

[65] This word is not in the text, but is clearly omitted by mistake.

swore fealty to our lord, the king of England, and to his son Henry and his heirs, as their liege lords against all men.

In the meantime, Philip, earl of Flanders, took prisoner a knight named Walter de Fontaines, one sprung of a noble family, and conspicuous before all his compeers in feats of arms; making a charge against him that he had unlawfully known the countess of Flanders. On this, the said Walter, intending to make denial thereof, offered to prove his innocence in any way whatever, affirming that he had never known the countess, nor had ever had it in his thoughts to know her. The earl, however, would not allow him so to clear himself; but in the fury of his wrath gave orders that he should be put to death by being beaten with clubs. Accordingly, the executioners seized him, and, binding him hand and foot, beat him with clubs, and hung him up half dead by the feet, with his head hanging downwards in a filthy sewer, and thus, being suffocated by the stench from the sewer, he ended his life most shockingly.

Upon this, Ælismus and the other sons of the before-named Walter de Fontaines, and Jacques de Avennes, and the rest of their relations, fortifying their castles, rose in rebellion against the earl, and laid waste his lands with fire and sword; and thus at length compelled him to give them satisfaction for the death of the said Walter de Fontaines.

In the same year, Richard, earl of Poitou, son of Henry, king of England, laid siege to Chatillon, beyond Agens, which Arnold de Boiville had fortified against him, and refused to surrender. Accordingly, having arranged there his engines of war, within two months he took it, together with thirty knights, and retained it in his own hands.

In the same year king Henry, the father, held a great council at Windsor, on the octave of the feast of Saint Michael, the king, his son, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of England being present, and in presence of Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and the earls and barons of England. At this council the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, Cantordis, abbat of Saint Brandan, and master Laurence, chancellor of Roderic, king of Connaught, made the underwritten final treaty and agreement with our lord the king, the father, on behalf of Roderic, king of Connaught:

"This is the final treaty and agreement made at Windsor on

the octave of Saint Michael, in the year of grace one thousand one hundred and seventy-five, between our lord the king of England, Henry, son of the empress Matilda, and Roderic, king of Connaught, by the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, Cantordis, abbat of Saint Brandan, and master Laurence, chancellor of the king of Connaught; that is to say—

"The king of England grants to the above-named Roderic, his liegeman, the kingdom of Connaught, so long as he shall faithfully serve him, so as to be king thereof under him and ready to do him service as his liegeman, that he shall hold his lands as well and as peaceably as he held the same before our lord the king of England entered Ireland, always paying him tribute, and that he shall hold all the rest of that land and the inhabitants of that land in subjection to himself, and shall exercise justice over them in such way that they shall pay full tribute to the king of England, and by his hand preserve their rights. And those who now hold lands, are to hold the same in peace so long as they shall observe their fealty to the king of England, and fully and faithfully render tribute and his other rights which they owe to him by the hand of the king of Connaught, saving in all things the rights and honor of our lord the king of England and of himself.

"And if any of them shall become rebels against the king of England and himself, and shall be unwilling by his hand to render tribute and his other rights unto the king of England. and shall withdraw from their fealty to the king; he shall take judicial cognizance of them, and remove them therefrom. And if of himself he shall not be able to carry out his sentence upon them, the constable of the king of England and his household in that land shall aid him in so doing, when they shall have been called upon by him, and shall themselves see that it is necessary so to do. And by reason of this treaty, the aforesaid king of Connaught shall render tribute each year to our lord the king, that is to say, for every ten animals one skin, such as may be approved by dealers, both from the whole of his own lands, as also from those of others.

"Except that, as to those lands which our lord the king has retained as of his own demesne and as of the demesne of his barons, he shall not make entry thereupon, that is to say, Dublin with its appurtenances, and Meath with all its appurtenances, as wholly and fully as ever the Marchat Vamaileth

Lachlin, or any who held it of him, held the same. Also, with the further exception of Wexford, with all its appurtenances, that is to say, with the whole of Leighlin: and with the exception of Waterford, with the whole of the land that lies between Waterford and Dungarvan, so that Dungarvan with all its appurtenances be included in the said land.

"And if the Irish who have taken to flight shall wish to return to the lands of the barons of the king of England, they are to return in peace on paying the above-named tribute which others pay, or doing the ancient services which they were in the habit of doing for their lands; this latter to be at the will and option of the lords. And if any of them shall refuse to return to their lord the king of Connaught, he is to compel them to return to their lands, that they may remain there under his protection, and the king of Connaught is to receive hostages from all whom our lord the king of England has entrusted to him, at the will of our lord the king and of himself. He himself also shall give hostages at the will of our lord the king of England, of one sort or another, and they shall do service unto our lord the king each year with their dogs and birds, by way of making payment. And nothing whatever, on any land whatsoever belonging to our lord the king shall they withhold against the will and command of our lord the king. Witnesses hereto: Richard, bishop of Winchester, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, Geoffrey, Nicholas, and Roger, the king's chaplains, William, earl of Essex, Richard de Lucy, Geoffrey de Perche, Reginald de Cortinea," and many others.

At the same council the king of England gave the bishopric of Waterford to Master Augustin, a native of Ireland, that see being then vacant there, and he sent him into Ireland with Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, to be consecrated by Donatus, archbishop of Cashel. In the same year, there was in England, and in the countries adjoining, a deadly mortality among mankind, so much so, that on most days seven or eight bodies of the dead were carried out to burial. And immediately after this deadly mortality, a dreadful famine ensued.

In the same year, a short time before the feast of All Saints, there came to England a cardinal, whose name was Hugezun,[66] a legate from the Apostolic See, for whom our lord the

[67] He is more generally called Hugo de Petrâ Leonis. See p. 406.

king had sent to Rome. He found our lord, the king, staying at Winchester, on which, the king went forth to meet him, his son Henry being with him, and they received him with all becoming honor. Our lord, the king, prolonging his stay for some days at Winchester, treated, at very great length, on the restoration of peace between Roger, the archbishop of York, and Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, the chapel of Saint Oswald at Gloucester, and the carrying of the cross of the archbishop of York.

At length, by the management of the king, an arrangement was made between the above-named archbishops to the following effect. The archbishop of Canterbury released and acquitted to the archbishop of York the chapel of Saint Oswald, at Gloucester, from all jurisdiction on his part, as though it were a private chapel belonging to our lord the king. He also absolved the clerks of the archbishop of York, whom he had excommunicated; and as to the carrying of the cross, and the other disputes which existed between their churches, they agreed to abide by the decision of the archbishop of Rouen and other neighbouring bishops of the kingdom of France. And upon this, they were to keep the peace between them for the space of five years; upon condition that neither of them should seek to do any harm or injury to the other until the said controversy should have been settled, and brought to a due conclusion by the above-named archbishop and the other bishops. Also, the above-named cardinal, Hugezun, gave to our lord, the king, permission to implead the clergy of his kingdom for offences against his forests and taking venison therein.

In the same year, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, deprived William de Walterville, abbat of Saint Peter de Burgh,[68] because he had broken into the cloisters of his abbey, and attempted to carry off with a violent and armed band of men the relics of the Saints, together with an arm of Saint Oswald, the king and Martyr; in the defence of which, some of the monks and servants of the church were wounded, and others slain. However, the chief and especial cause of this deprivation was, that our lord the king hated him on account of his brother Walter de Walterville, whom, together with other enemies of the king, he had harboured during the time of the hostilities. In the same year, died Reginald, earl of

[68] Peterborough.

Cornwall, the king's uncle, at Certeseie,[67] and was buried at Reading.

In the year of grace 1176, being the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king and king Henry, his son, were at Windsor during the festival of the Nativity of our Lord. On the same day, the before-named cardinal deacon, Hugezun, titular of Saint Michael de Petrâ Leonis, and legate of the Apostolic See, was at York with Roger, archbishop of York. After the Nativity of our Lord, at the feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul, our lord the king, the father, came to Nottingham,[68] and, there held a great council,[69] on the statutes of his realm, and in the presence of the king, his son, and of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons of his realm, by the common consent of all, divided his kingdom into six parts, to each of which he appointed three justices itinerant, whose names are as follow:

1	Hugh de Cressy Walter Fitz-Robert Robert Mantel	Norfolk Suffolk Cambridgeshire Huntingdonshire Bedfordshire Buckinghamshire Essex Hertfordshire
2	Hugh de Gundeville William Fitz-Ralph William Basset	Lincolnshire Nottinghamshire Derbyshire Staffordshire Warwickshire Northamptonshire Leicestershire
3	Robert Fitz-Bernard Richard Giffard Roger Fitz-Remfray	Kent Surrey Southamptonshire[70] Sussex Berkshire Oxfordshire

[67] Chertsey, in Surrey. [68] This is a mistake for Northampton.
[69] These councils were the origin of our parliaments. Holinshed calls the present one a parliament. [70] Hampshire.

4	William Fitz-Stephen Bertram de Verdun Turstan Fitz-Simon	Herefordshire Gloucestershire Worcestershire Salopeshire[70]
5	Ralph Fitz-Stephen William Ruffe Gilbert Pipard	Wiltshire Dorset Somerset Devonshire Cornwall
6	Robert de Wals Ralph[73] de Glanville Robert Pikenot	Euerwikeshire[71] Richmondshire Lancaster Coupland[72] Westmoreland Northumberland Cumberland

After which, the king caused all the above-named justices to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, that they would with good faith, and without evil intent, observe these assizes underwritten, and cause them to be inviolably observed by the people of his realm.

THE ASSIZES OF KING HENRY.

First ordained at Clarendon, and re-enacted at Northampton.

"If any person shall be charged before the justices of our lord the king, with murder, or larceny, or robbery, or the harbouring of men guilty of the same, or coining,[74] or arson, then upon the oath of twelve knights of the hundred, and, if there shall be no such knights, upon the oath of twelve free and lawful men, and upon the oath of four men of each vill of the hundred, he is to be tried by judgment of water,[75] and if he is

[70] Shropshire.

[71] Yorkshire.

[72] Part of the present county of Northumberland.

[73] The name of this celebrated lawyer was Ranulph, not Radulph or Ralph.

[74] The crime of "falsoneria" seems to have been that of coining, or of using means to debase the currency.

[75] "Judicium aquæ." The party thus tried was thrown into cold water; if he swam, he was considered guilty; but if he sank, he was pronounced innocent.

cast, he is to lose one foot. At Northampton it has been added, to vindicate the rigour of justice, that in like manner he is to lose his right hand, together with his foot, and to abjure the realm, and be banished therefrom within the space of forty days. But if he shall be acquitted on trial by water, then let him find sureties and remain in the realm, unless he shall again be charged with murder, or any base felony, by the commons of the county and of the lawful knights of the country: on which, if he shall be charged in manner aforesaid, even though upon judgment by water he shall be acquitted, nevertheless, within forty days, he is to depart from the realm, and carry with him his chattels, saving always the right of his superior lord, and, being at the mercy of our lord the king, he is to abjure the realm. This assize shall hold good from the time that the assize was made at Clarendon up to the present time, and from henceforth, so long as it shall seem good to our lord the king, in cases of murder, treason, and arson, and in all the matters aforesaid, with the exception of trifling thefts and robberies, which took place in the time of the war, such as of horses, cattle, and things of less consequence.

"It shall be lawful for no one, either in a borough or vill, to entertain[76] in his house for more than one night any stranger for whose forthcoming he shall be unwilling to give security, unless he who is so entertained shall have some reasonable essoign,[77] which the landlord of the house is to shew to his neighbours, and when he departs he is to depart before the neighbours, and in the daytime.

"If any person shall be arrested for murder, or for larceny, or for robbery, or for coining, and shall make confession of the same before the chief[78] of the hundred or borough, and before lawful men, or of any other felony which he has committed, he shall not be allowed afterwards before the justices to make denial of the same. And if, without arrest, he shall make confession before them of anything of this nature, of this also he shall not be allowed before the justices to make denial.

"If any freeholder shall die, his heirs are to remain in such seisin as their father had on the day on which he was living and dead, both as to his fee and his chattels; of which they

[76] "Hospitali" is clearly a misprint for "hospitare." [77] A valid excuse by reason of sickness or infirmity. [78] Generally called the "burghreeve."

are to make division according to the devise of the deceased, and then to seek his lord and to pay him his relief[79] and other things which they are bound to pay him out of their fee. And if the heir shall happen to be under age, the lord of the fee is to receive his homage and to keep him in his charge so long as he is entitled; and, if there are several lords, then let them receive his homage, and let him do unto them what he is bound to do. The wife also of the deceased is to have her dower and the part of his chattels which belongs to her. And if the lord of the fee shall refuse to give seisin of the fee to the heirs of the deceased at their demand, then the justices of our lord the king are to cause a jury of twelve lawful men to be impannelled, to enquire what seisin the deceased had in the same on the day on which he was living and dead. And, according as they shall find, so are they to make restitution to the heirs. And if any person shall do the contrary of this, and be attainted thereof, let him be amerced.

"The king's justices are to cause view to be made, by a jury, of disseisins sur-assize that have been made since the period when our lord the king came to England, shortly after peace had been made between him and the king his son.

"The justices are to receive the oaths of fealty to our lord the king before the close of Easter,[80] and at the latest before the close of Pentecost, from all earls, barons, knights, and freeholders, and from the serfs as well who shall wish to remain in the realm; and he who shall refuse to do fealty, is to be taken as an enemy to our lord the king. Also, the justices are to command all persons who have not yet done homage and allegiance to our lord the king, to come to them at a time which they shall appoint, and do homage to the king and allegiance to him as their liege lord.

"The justices are to exercise all rights and jurisdictions that belong to our lord the king and to his crown, by writ of our lord the king, or of those who shall be in his place, as to fees held by half-knight's service[81] and below it; unless the question be of such importance that it cannot be settled without the presence of our lord the king, or of such a nature that the

[79] This was due from the new tenant, when of full age, at the death of the ancestor, to the lord of the feud.

[80] This took place on the Sunday after Easter.

[81] Reference is perhaps made to lands held by the "milites parvi," who did not hold by entire knight-service.

justices shall refer it to him, or to those who shall be in his place, in consequence of their doubts. Still, to the best of their ability, they are to exert themselves to consult the convenience of our lord the king.

"Throughout those counties through which they are to go, they are to hold assizes for the trial of wicked thieves and evil-doers to the land; the same being held by consent of the king, and of his son, and of his subjects.

"Also, the justices are to take precaution that the castles already dismantled are quite dismantled, and that those which are to be dismantled are utterly razed to the ground. And, if they do not, our lord the king will desire to have the judgment of his court on them as contemners of his commands.

"The justices are to make enquiry as to escheats, and churches, and lands, and female wards,[82] that are at the disposal of our lord the king.

"The bailiffs of our lord the king are to be answerable in the exchequer both for the rents of assize, and their other levies which they make in their bailiwicks; with the exception of those which relate to the shrievalty.

"The justices are to make enquiry as to the keepers[83] of the [royal] castles, both who they are, and how much they owe, and where; and, after that, they are to report thereon to our lord the king.

"A robber, immediately he is taken, is to be given into the custody of the sheriff; and, if the sheriff is absent, then he is to be taken to the nearest castellan, and let him take charge of him until such time as he shall deliver him over to the sheriff.

"The justices are to cause, according to the custom of the country, enquiry to be made for those who have withdrawn from the kingdom; and, unless they are ready to return within a time named, and to take their trial in the court of our lord the king, they are to be outlawed; and the names of those outlawed are to be brought at Easter and at the feast of Saint Michael to the exchequer, and are to be sent immediately to our lord the king."

[82] The female wards over whom he had the "jus maritagii," or right of giving in marriage.

[83] These seem to be the same officers that are called by Fleta "villici castrorum," or "stewards of the king's manors."

To the aforesaid council held at Northampton, came William, king of the Scots, in obedience to the command of our lord the king, bringing with him Richard, bishop of Saint Andrews, Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, Christian, bishop of Whitherne, Andrew, bishop of Caithness, and Simon de Touy, bishop of Moray, together with the other bishops, abbats, and priors of his kingdom. When they had come before our lord the king of England, our lord the king commanded, by the fealty which they owed him, and the oath of fealty which they had made to him, that they should show the same obedience to the Church of England which they were in duty bound, and used to show, in the times of the kings of England, his predecessors.

On this, they made answer to him that they never had paid obedience to the Church of England, nor was it their duty so to do; to which, Roger, archbishop of York, made reply, and alleged that the bishops of Glasgow and the bishops of Whitherne had been subject to the church of York in the time of the archbishops, his predecessors; and, relative thereto, he satisfactorily pointed out the privileges granted by the Roman Pontiffs. Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, made reply to these assertions to the following effect: "The church of Glasgow is in especial the daughter of the Church of Rome, and is exempt from all subjection to either archbishops or bishops; and, if the church of York has at any time had authority over the church of Glasgow, it is clear that, in future, she deserves to hold no dominion whatsoever over her."

As Richard the archbishop of Canterbury was using his best endeavours that the Church of Scotland might be rendered subject to the church of Canterbury, he prevailed upon the king of England to allow the bishops of Scotland to return to their own country without yielding any subjection to the Church of England.

In the same year, at mid-Lent, the above-named Hugezun, cardinal, titular of Saint Michael de Petrâ Leonis, and legate of the Apostolic See, came to London to hold a council there. Here he was met by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and all the bishops and abbats of England, with great numbers of the clergy. The said cardinal took his seat at Westminster, in the chapel of the Infirm Monks, and the bishops and abbats with him, each in his place, according to his rank

and dignity. But a dispute arose between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, which of them ought to sit on the right hand of the cardinal; and on the archbishop of York attempting to seat himself there,[84] the servants of the lord archbishop of Canterbury rushed upon him and threw him to the ground, kicked him with their feet, and tore his hood. Upon this, the people there assembled dispersed, and the cardinal took to flight and hid himself from before their faces, and thus was the council prevented from being held. But, after both sides had made appeal to the Supreme Pontiff, each of them complained to the king of the wrongs which he had suffered.

In this year, the king, the father, was at Winchester during the festival of Easter, and Richard, earl of Poitou, and Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, with the permission of the king, their father, crossed over from England to Normandy. Immediately Richard, earl of Poitou, arrived in Poitou, he assembled a large army, and fought a battle with the Brabanters, between Saint Megrin and Buteville, and routed them.

After this, he waged war against Aimeric, viscount de Limoges, because he had broken the peace with him. He then laid siege to a castle which is called Aesse, and took it, together with forty knights who formed its garrison. After this, he laid siege to the city of Limoges, and took it, and then proceeded to Poitou to meet the king, his brother, who had come thither to aid him; after which they laid siege to Neufchatel,[85] and took it. After its capture, the king, his brother, was unwilling to prolong his stay with him, but, listening to bad advice, took his departure. Richard, earl of Poitou, however, now laid siege to Molineux, a castle of the viscount of Angoulême, and took it, and in it William Taillefer, count of Angoulême, Buger, his son, and Aimeric, viscount of Limoges, the viscount of Ventadour, and the viscount of Cambanais. The count of Angoulême also delivered up to the earl of Poitou the castle of Buteville, the castle of Archiac, the castle of Montimac, the castle of Lachese, and the castle of Melpis.

[84] According to the account given by Gervaise he actually tried to seat himself in the lap of the archbishop of Canterbury. The translation given of it by Holinshed is highly amusing, but hardly suited to ears polite.

[85] In Normandy, about twenty miles from Dieppe.

The king, the son, on his return, upon coming to Poitiers, took Adam de Chirchedowne, his vice-chancellor, who was a clerk of Geoffrey, the prior of Beverley, chancellor of the king, the son, and caused him to be beaten with sticks, charging him with having disclosed his secret counsels to the king, his father; and after being thus beaten, he had him led naked through the streets of the city of Poitiers, while, being still whipped, proclamation was made by the voice of a herald, "Thus does he deserve to be disgraced who reveals the secrets of his master."

In the same year, there came to England, from William, king of Sicily, the bishop of Troia, the archbishop elect of Capua, and count Florio, as envoys to Henry, king of England, the father, and asked of him his daughter Joanna in marriage for William, king of Sicily, their master. A council upon the matter being accordingly held in London, the king, the father, with the consent of all the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, gave his daughter to the king of Sicily. And with this assent, the king first sent to the king of Sicily the bishop of Troia, John, bishop of Norwich, Paris, archdeacon of Rochester, Baldwin Bulot, and Richard de Camville; and in the meantime prepared for his daughter, Joanna, the things necessary for her equipment and journey. After these were all completed in a becoming manner, the king sent his daughter, Joanna, to be married to William, the king of Sicily. When she had arrived at Palermo, in Sicily, together with Gilles, bishop of Evreux, and the other envoys of our lord, the king, the whole city welcomed them, and lamps, so many and so large, were lighted up, that the city almost seemed to be on fire, and the rays of the stars could in no way bear comparison with the brilliancy of such a light: for it was by night that they entered the city of Palermo. The said daughter of the king of England was then escorted, mounted on one of the king's horses, and resplendent with regal garments, to a certain palace, that there she might in becoming state await the day of her marriage and coronation.

After the expiration of a few days from this time, the before-named daughter of the king of England was married to William, king of Sicily, and solemnly crowned at Palermo, in the royal chapel there, in presence of Gilles, bishop of Evreux, and the envoys of the king of England, who had been

sent for that purpose. She was married and crowned on the Lord's day before the beginning of Septuagesima, being the ides of February; and was with due honor endowed with the county of Saint Angelo, the city of Siponto, the city of Vesta, and many other castles and places. Whereupon, the king of Sicily executed in her favour his charter, as follows:

The Charter of William, king of Sicily, which he executed in favour of Joanna, daughter of Henry, king of England, as to her dowry.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Amid the other blessings of peace, the nuptial tie binds and fastens the most strongly the unison and the concord of human affairs; a rite, both venerable from the weightiness of its obligations, remarkable in the circumstances of its institution, and sanctioned by universal usage, from the beginning of the world and of time; of which the virtues and the comeliness, inasmuch as it has derived its origin from Divine institution, have neither contracted blemish from sin, nor have been sensible of any diminution by desuetude, through the lengthened ages of past time. Moreover, to this venerable and mysterious institution this honor is added, that the consent of the man and of the woman to enter matrimony, typifies the sacramental bond of Christ and His Church. Being therefore led by the nature of this great and mysterious institution, and by veneration for the same, we, William, by the favour of the Divine grace, king of Sicily, and of the dukedom of Apulia, and of the principality of Capua, do unite unto ourselves by the laws of matrimony and the bond of wedlock, with the Divine sanction and under happy auspices, the maiden Joanna, of royal blood, and the most illustrious daughter of Henry, the mighty king of the English; to the end, that her fidelity and chaste affection may produce the blessings of the married state, and that by her a royal offspring may, by the gift of God, hereafter succeed us in the kingdom, which, both by reason of its endowment with all virtues, and of its title by birth, by the Divine grace, both may and ought to be raised to the throne of this realm. But, inasmuch as it is befitting our exalted position that so noble and illustrious an alliance should be honored with a becoming dowry, by this present writing we do give, and as a dowry, do grant to the before-named queen, our most dearly be-

loved wife, the county of Mont Saint Angelo, the city of Siponto, and the city of Vesta, with all the rightful tenements and appurtenances thereof. We do also grant for her service, out of the tenements of count Godfrey, Alesina, Peschiza,[86] Bicum, Caprile, Barano, and Filizi, and all other places which the said count is known to possess as of the honor of the said county of Mont Saint Angelo. In like manner, we do also grant for her service, Candelari, Saint Clair,[87] Castel Pagano, Bersenza, and Cagnano. We do also grant, that there shall be as of the honor of the said dowry, the monastery of Saint Mary de Pulsano, and the monastery of Saint John de Lama, with all the tenements which those monasteries hold of the honor of the aforesaid county of Saint Angelo—upon condition that the queen, our aforesaid wife, shall always recognize all the rights of our heirs, who by our ordinance shall succeed us in the kingdom, and shall do unto our said heirs, fully and unreservedly, all services for the tenements above-written, according as the tenure in fee thereof shall require, and shall always observe her fealty to them. Wherefore, in remembrance of the said gift and grant, and for the inviolable establishment thereof, we have commanded this present charter[88] to be written by the hand of Alexander, our notary, and, the golden bulla, our seal, being impressed thereon, to be confirmed with our said seal, and graced therewith. Unto which, by our command, the personages of our household and others have subscribed their names in manner following:

I Walter, archbishop of Palermo.
I Alfanus, archbishop of Capua.
I Richard, bishop of Syracuse.
I Bartholomew, bishop of Agrigento.
I Reginald, archbishop of Bari.
I Nicholas, first archbishop of Messina.
I Ruffus, archbishop of Cosenza.
I Theobald, bishop and abbat of the royal monastery of Saint Mary Nuova.
I Robert, bishop of Catana.

[86] Hardly any of these places can now be traced under these names.

[87] This is probably the name of the place, though in the text it is called "Sanctum clericum."

[88] Called by the singular name of "privilegium," which was the usual name of charters confirming grants to churches.

I Guido, bishop of Cephalea.
I Ebias, bishop elect of Troia.
I Justus, bishop of Massa.
I Robert, bishop of Tricarico.
I Peter, bishop of Caiazzo.
I John, bishop of Potenza.
I Robert de Bizino.
I Robert Malcuvenanz.
I Alexander Gupillenzi.
I Matthew, vice-chancellor of our lord the king.
I Robert, count of Caserta.
I Amphusus, count of Scrulac.
I Jocelyn, count of Loret.
I Hugh, count of Cattazaro.
I Richard, count of Fundano, admiral.
I Walter de Moac, admiral of the king's ship Fortunatus.
I Aldewin de Candida, seneschal of our lord the king.
I Berardus Gentili, constable of the private palace of Maisnede.
I Richard Sacri, keeper of the records in the royal palace.
I Bamalis de Montefort, chief justiciary.
I Persicus, chief justiciary of the royal court.
I Frederic, justiciary of the royal court.

Given at the flourishing city of Palermo by the hands of Walter, the venerable archbishop of Palermo, Matthew, vice-chancellor of the king, and Richard, the venerable bishop of Syracuse, members of the household of our lord the king, in the year from the incarnation of our Lord one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven, in the month of February, being the tenth year of the indiction; and in the eleventh year of the happy reign of our lord William, by the grace of God, the mighty and most glorious king of Sicily, of the dukedom of Apulia, and of the principality of Capua, Amen.

[Sealed with the seal of William, king of Sicily.]

[*Here follows in the original, the form of the bulla or seal, which contains around the margin the words* "Dextera Domini fecit virtutem. Dextera Domini exaltavit me. Dextera Domini fecit virtutem." "*The right hand of the Lord hath created my might. The right hand of the Lord hath exalted me. The right hand of the Lord hath created my might.*" *In the central portion is a*

cross surmounted by the words "Divinâ favente clementiâ Willielmus rex Siciliæ et ducatus Apuliæ et principatus Capuæ." "*By the favour of the Divine mercy, William, king of Sicily, of the dukedom of Apulia, and of the principality of Capua.*" *The cross is supported by the following words.* "Hoc signum sibi præferri a vexillifero facit cum ad bellum aliquod procedit." "*This sign he causes to be borne before him by his standard-bearer when he goes forth to battle.*"]

In the same year pope Alexander sent Vivianus, cardinal priest, as legate from the Apostolic See to Scotland and the adjoining islands, and Ireland and Norway, to hear causes ecclesiastical, and to determine the same according as God should assist him therein. When he arrived in England, our lord the king sent to him Richard, bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, to ask him by whose authority he had presumed to enter his kingdom without his permission. Upon this question being put to him, the above-named cardinal was greatly alarmed, and, to give satisfaction to the king, made oath that he would do nothing connected with his legateship against his wishes; upon which, liberty was given him to pass through the kingdom into Scotland, and our lord the king found his escort and expenses until he arrived in the dominions of the king of Scotland.

In the same year, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, was charged before the king by Roger, archbishop of York, with having laid violent hands upon him at the before-mentioned synod, which Hugezun was to have held at London; however, he proved his innocence, by declaring on his word of truth that he had not laid violent hands on him, and the same was attested by the above-named archbishop of Canterbury, on the Word of our Lord; whereupon Roger, archbishop of York, and Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, were reconciled.

In addition to this, at the urgent request of our lord the king, the archbishops of Canterbury and York agreed to terms between them for the space of five years, both as to the dispute which existed between them relative to the blows inflicted on the archbishop of York, as well as the other questions which were the causes of contention between them and their churches, submitting themselves entirely to the arbitration and decision of the archbishop of Rouen and of the bishops of the kingdom of France; and they made oath that they would

abide by their decision, and that neither of them would in the meantime seek to do any harm or injury to the other.

In the same year, William, earl of Gloucester, son of earl Robert, brother of the empress, gave his daughter in marriage to John, the son of the king of England, together with the earldom of Gloucester, in case he should be able to marry the said damsel with the sanction of our lord the pope. In return for this grant, the king of England, the father, gave to the elder daughters of the said earl two hundred pounds of yearly revenues in England, namely, to the wife of Amaurus, earl of Evreux, one hundred pounds, and to the wife of Richard, earl of Clare, one hundred pounds.

In the same year died Philip, brother of Louis, king of the Franks, and archbishop of Rheims, and was succeeded by William, archbishop of Sens, he making this exchange of archbishoprics with the permission of Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff. In this year also, master John[58] of Salisbury, formerly a clerk, and attached to the household of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, the martyr, was made bishop of Chartres. In this year also, our lord the king of England, the father, gave Ireland to his son John. In the same year died Richard, earl of Striguil, whom our lord the king had made justiciary of Ireland; upon which our lord the king appointed in his room William Fitz-Aldelm, who took possession for the king of all the fortified places which the aforesaid earl had possessed in Ireland.

In the same year, William, earl of Arundel, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son William. In this year also died William de Courcy, justiciary of Normandy, and was succeeded by William Fitz-Ralph. In this year also, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, assembled a large army of Germans and Alemannians, and fought a battle near Securo, between Cumæ and Milan, with the Lombards, which lasting from morning until the evening, the emperor, having lost the greater part of his army, was put to flight; and among the others whom he lost, his standard-bearer was taken prisoner, and, with many others, was placed by the Lombards in confinement.

In this year also the king, the father, caused the castle and fortifications of Leicester to be destroyed, as also the castle of Groby, the castle of Tresk,[59] the castle of Malesart, the new

[58] The most learned scholar of his age, and author of the treatise "De nugis curialium, et de vestigiis Philosophorum," and other works.

[59] Thirsk.

castle of Alverton,[90] the castle of Fremingham, the castle of Bungay, and nearly all the castles of England and Normandy which had taken part against him in the time of the war. But the castle of Pasci and the castle of Mountsorrel he retained in his own hands, the latter having been awarded to him on the oaths of a jury of lawful men of Ursuet. In the same year died Ralph de Dotis, in Berry, whose daughter and heir our lord the king of England, the father, gave in marriage to Baldwin de Rivers, together with the honor of the castle of the said Ralph. In the same year, on the sixteenth day before the calends of November, being the Lord's day, the church of the canons regular at Cirencester, in honor of Mary, the blessed Mother of God, was dedicated by Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, in presence of our lord the king of England, the father, who, at its dedication, bestowed large revenues on the said church.

In the same year Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, having fought a pitched battle with the sultan of Iconium and defeated him, wrote to the king of England to the following effect:—

The Letter of Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, to the king of England, the father.

"Manuel Porphyrogenitus Comnenus, the emperor, ever faithful in Christ, crowned by the will of heaven, the sublime, potent, exalted, ever august, and ruler of the Romans, to Henry, the most noble king of England, his most dearly-beloved friend, health and every blessing. Inasmuch as our imperial office deems it necessary to notify to you, as being its beloved friend, all things which befall it, it has therefore considered it proper to inform you upon the events which have lately taken place. Now, from the very earliest period of our coronation, our imperial office nourished hatred in our heart against the Persians, the enemies of God, when it beheld them vaunting over the Christians, triumphing over the name of God, and holding sway over the lands of the Christians. Wherefore, on another occasion, without delay, it made an attack upon them, and, as God granted it to do, even so it did do. As to the exploits which were frequently performed by it, to their humiliation and loss, our imperial office entertains a belief that the same have not escaped the notice of your highness. However, we did more

[90] North Allerton.

recently determine also to lead a most numerous army against them, and to wage war against the whole of Persia, inasmuch as by circumstances we were compelled so to do. Still, much of our preparations were made not according as we should have wished, or as appeared best suited to our object. However, in such way as occasion allowed us, and the state of events, means were taken to ensure a powerful attack upon them. Accordingly, for this purpose our imperial office collected around it all its resources: but, inasmuch as it had to take with it waggons carrying vast weights of arms and implements, both mangonels[91] and other engines applicable to the storming of cities, it was consequently far from able to proceed with expedition on the march. Still further, while the army was passing on through its own country, and before any of our barbarian foes had engaged us in war, a most intractable malady, namely, a flux of the bowels, attacked us; which, spreading among the troops of our empire, made its way among them all, and, a more dangerous antagonist than any warriors could be, slew and destroyed vast numbers. This malady, waxing more and more formidable, greatly weakened our forces. As soon as we had entered the territories of the Turks, that instant was heard the din of numerous battles, and the troops of the Turks engaged in combat with the armies of our empire on every side. However, through the grace of God, the barbarians were entirely put to flight by our men. But, after this, when we drew near to the narrow passes of an adjacent spot which the Persians call Cibrilcima, so many hordes of foot and horse, most of which had come from the interior of Persia, came up to the support of their fellow-countrymen, that, on meeting our army, they almost exceeded the numbers of our men. In consequence of the narrowness of the road and the difficulties of the passage, the army of our empire was extended in a line fully ten miles in length; and, inasmuch as who went first were unable to support those who came last, and again, on the other hand, those who came last were unable to aid those who went before, it was no common misfortune that this distance lay between them. Indeed, the troops that formed the van were divided by a very considerable interval from the main body of our

[91] The various reading "manganorum" is certainly preferable to "paganorum" in the text.

army, having at last forgotten it[92] altogether, and not waiting for its coming up. In consequence of this, as the troops of the Turks, from the battles that had already taken place, knew that it was not for their advantage to attack us in front, finding that the narrowness of the passage was likely to serve them in great stead, they determined upon attacking the rear, which they accordingly did. Now the passage all along consisting of a very narrow defile, the barbarians rushed upon us, attacking us on the right hand and on the left, and in all possible quarters, and their darts, falling upon us like a shower, slew a vast number of men and horses. Upon this, finding that disasters were there thickening apace, on taking due consideration, our imperial office thought proper to await those who were in the rear, for the purpose of supporting them, which it did accordingly, and, in so waiting, had to support itself against the infinite numbers of the Persians. What exploits it performed while thus hemmed in by them it is not necessary upon the present occasion to state; perhaps your highness will learn more on that subject from those who were present on the occasion. While our imperial office was doing its duty amid these dangers, and bearing the entire brunt of the conflict, the entire rear-guard, formed of Greeks, Latins, and all other varieties of nations, being wedged into a mass, and not being able to bear up against the darts thrown by the enemy, pushed onward[93] with the most vigorous efforts, and was borne along with the greatest violence while making all haste to gain an adjoining hill, that might serve as a sort of fortress; those rushing on carrying on the others, whether they would or no. The consequence was, that, a vast cloud of dust being raised which quite overpowered the eyesight and allowed no one to see what lay at his feet, men and horses, thus rushing on without restraint, were borne over a precipice close at hand and overhanging a very deep valley. Thus, falling one upon another, they trod each other to death, and killed not only numbers of the common soldiers, but even some of the most illustrious and most nearly related of our kinsmen.

[92] Probably this is the meaning of the passage, which appears to be incorrectly printed, "illas" standing for "illam." Indeed the whole letter is a tissue of corruptions and omissions.

[93] "Impactione" seems to be the reading, and not "in pactione," as in the text.

For, indeed, who could possibly make head against the insupportable onset of so vast a multitude? However, as to our imperial office, hedged in on every side by such vast bodies of the barbarians, inflicting wounds and receiving wounds in return, we still used efforts that excited in them no small alarm, in consequence of their surprise at our perseverance, and which we did not relax until by the benign aid of God we had reached the open country. Nor did it allow the enemy to scale the position which it took up, from which to carry on the battle with the barbarians, nor yet through fear of it did it spur on its horse, for the purpose of effecting a more speedy retreat. On the contrary, our imperial office, rallying all its body guard, and rescuing them from destruction, ranged them around itself; and thus it reached the vanguard, and then going on through the ranks in order, came to the main body of the army. Upon this, the sultan seeing that in spite of such great disasters as had befallen our army, our imperial office was, as became it, arranging matters for the purpose of again attacking him, sent word to us, and suppliantly begged our imperial office, and employed the language of entreaty, suing for peace, and promising to fulfil every wish of our imperial office, to give us his services against all men, to release all the prisoners who were detained in his kingdom, and in every way to conform to our desires. Wherefore, having then stayed there for two whole days with all our forces, we became sensible that nothing could be effected against the city of Iconium, having lost our besieging sheds[94] and engines of war, in consequence of the oxen which drew them being slain by the darts that had been hurled upon us like a shower. Another reason was, the fact that all our animals were afflicted by this most intractable malady which had now attacked them. We therefore listened to the supplications of the sultan, and a treaty, confirmed by oath, having been made beneath our standards, peace was granted to him. Upon this, departing thence, our imperial office returned to its own country, entertaining no small sorrow for those kinsmen whom it had lost, but still returning especial thanks to God, who has, in His kindness, and still does, honor it. We have also felt it a pleasure that it so happened that some of the chief men of your nobility were with us, who will, at your desire, inform you on all the circumstances

[94] "Testudinibus."

in the order in which they happened. However, although we have been afflicted with deep regret for those who have fallen, we have still deemed it advisable to inform you upon all the events that have happened, as being our dearly-beloved friend, and as being closely united with our imperial office, by the ties of blood that exist between our children. Farewell. Given in the month of November, in the tenth year of the indiction."

In the same year, Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, gave Eleanor, his daughter, in marriage to Alphonso, king of Castille. In this year also, Gilbert, the son of Fergus, chief of the men of Galloway, who had caused his brother, Uethred, a kinsman of Henry, king of England, to be slain, came into England, with the safe conduct of William, king of the Scots, and did homage to king Henry, the father, and swore fealty to him against all men; and, to obtain his favor, he gave him a thousand marks of silver and his son Duncan as a hostage, by way of pledge that he would keep the peace. In the same year, Henry, king of England, the father, laid hands upon all the castles of England and Normandy, both of the bishops as well as of the earls and barons, and placed his custodians therein. In this year, also, Peter, the prior of Wenlock, was made bishop of Saint David's, in Wales.

The Arian Heresy and its Condemnation.[95]

In the same year the Arian heresy, which had corrupted nearly the whole of the province of Toulouse, was condemned in the presence of the archbishops, bishops, and other pious men, whose names are underwritten.

For there were in the province of Toulouse, certain heretics, who would have themselves called good men, and were upheld by certain knights of the town of Lombez, who propounded things, and taught the people the same, contrary to the Christian faith; they said also that they did not receive the law of Moses, nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, neither the Old Testament, nor yet the doctors of the New Testament; but only the Gospels, the Epistles of Saint Paul, the seven Canonical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Book of Revelations.[96] On being interrogated as to their faith, and as to the baptism of

[95] These alleged heretics were the people of Alby, or, as they are generally called, the Albigenses.

[96] It is hard to see what part of the New Testament they did reject. Probably "Old" Testament is meant.

infants, and whether they were saved by baptism, and as to the body and blood of our Lord, where they were consecrated, and by whom, and who partook thereof, and if the same was more efficaciously or better consecrated by a good man than by a bad one; also as to marriage, whether they could possibly be saved, if a man and woman were carnally united: they made answer that as to their faith and as to the baptism of infants they would not say, nor were they obliged to say. As to the body and blood of the Lord, they said that he who partook thereof worthily was saved, and he who did so unworthily ensured his own damnation thereby. As to marriages, they said that man and woman were joined together for the avoiding of sensuality and fornication, as Saint[97] Paul says. They also said many things upon which they were not questioned, as, that they ought not to swear by any oath whatsoever, in conformity with what Saint John says in his Gospel, and Saint James in his Epistle.

They also said that Saint Paul preached that bishops and priests were to be ordained in the church, and that, if such were not ordained as he directed, they would not be bishops or priests, but ravening wolves, hypocrites and seducers, lovers of salutations in the market-place, and of the chief seats and higher places at feasts, and desirous to be called "Rabbi," contrary to the commands of Christ; wearers of albs and white garments, and of rings of gold and gems on their fingers, which their master did not command them to do. That consequently, because the bishops and priests were just such men as the priests were who delivered up Jesus, it was their duty not to obey them, because they were evil.

Accordingly, the allegations having been heard on both sides before Gerard, bishop of Alby, and judges having been chosen and appointed by either side, and the aforesaid Gerard, bishop of Alby, Roger, abbat of Castres, Peter, abbat of Aire, the abbat of Candiel, and Arnold of Narbonne, presiding and assenting thereto, the said matters were discussed in the presence of worthy men, both of the prelacy and clergy, as also of the laity, that is to say, of Peter, the lord archbishop of Narbonne, and other bishops, abbats, archdeacons, counts, and influential men of that province to the number of twenty, and of nearly the whole population of Alby and

[97] The word "Saint" is added to the name, as more in conformity with the present custom.

Lombez. Against the things that had been propounded by the said heretics, many authorities were quoted from the New Testament by Peter, the lord archbishop of Narbonne, the bishop of Nismes, the abbat of Cahors, and the abbat of Font-froid; for the said heretic refused to receive judgment, except on the New Testament. The following definite sentence, upon the authority of the New Testament, was accordingly pronounced by the bishop of Lyons, all observing strict silence in the presence of all the persons above-mentioned:

"I Gilbert, bishop of Lyons, by command of the bishop of Alby and of his assessors, do adjudge these persons to be heretics, and do condemn the opinions of Oliverius and of his associates, wheresoever they may be; and the following judgment, based on the New Testament, we do pronounce—

"On the first head we do pronounce and adjudge them to be heretics. For the law is to be received through the Gospel, and he who receives not the law believes not our Lord Jesus Christ; for in the Gospel he says, 'For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.'[97] And again, 'I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.'[98] And again, 'All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me.'[99] Also, 'And beginning at Moses——he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.'[1] But why did he expound the Scriptures, and why did he teach concerning the Law and the Prophets, except that he wished them to receive the Law and the Prophets, and that by the Law and the Prophets they might be confirmed in their belief? Many things also did the Lord Jesus quote from the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms, which indeed a good teacher certainly would not have done if the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms were not to be received. In deed also he showed that the law was good, inasmuch as he was circumcised, and presented in the Temple, and sacrifice was offered for him according to the law of Moses. Also, we find it written that he went up on the day of the feast. In the Transfiguration also, where Moses and the prophet Elias appeared unto him, they bore testimony unto him. By the Epistles also we do convict them; for Saint Paul says, 'Whatsoever things were

[97] St. John v. 46. [98] St. Matthew v. 17. [99] St. Luke xxiv. 44.
[1] St. Luke xxiv. 27.

written aforetime were written for our learning;'[2] and again, 'All Scripture is given by the inspiration of God;'[3] and 'I say none other things than those which the prophets have said should come.'[3*] And again, Saint Peter says 'We have a more sure word of prophecy.'[4] And that the doctors are to be received, Saint Paul bears witness, 'God hath set some in the Church as——teachers.'[5] Saint Paul also quotes the example of the law, saying, 'Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.'[6] And both he himself as well as the other Apostles give many testimonies in favour of the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms; a thing which they would not have done if their words were not to be received. These heretics therefore are bound by their own admission to receive Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms, if only upon the testimonies which are borne by Jesus and the Apostles, and no others. For do we not say that if an instrument or written testimonial is believed in any part thereof, it ought to be entirely believed, or else to be received in no part thereof?[7]

"On the second head we do convict and adjudge them to be heretics, upon the authority of the New Testament. For we say that he holds not the Catholic faith, who does not confess it when he is asked thereon, or when his faith is made trial of. For this reason the Lord says, in the Acts of the Apostles, to Ananias, relative to Saint Paul, 'For he is a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel.'[8] Also, the Lord says of the centurion; 'I have not found so great faith in Israel.'[9] When the Apostles were fordidden to speak in the name of Jesus Christ, Peter boldly said, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'[10] A person on being asked as to his faith in Jesus Christ, ought to answer as Peter answered; for on being asked by the Lord, whom do men say that the Son of Man is? he made answer, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.'[11] The blind man also, on being asked, after receiving his sight from the Lord, if he believed in the Son of God, answered, 'I believe, Lord.'[12] So Martha, on being asked by the Lord, 'Believest thou this?'

[2] Romans xv. 4. [3] 2 Tim. iii. 16. [3*] Acts xxvi. 22.
[4] 2 Pet. i. 19. [5] 1 Cor. xii. 28. [6] Gal. iii. 10.
[7] The sense seems to require this passage to be put interrogatively.
[8] Acts ix. 15. [9] St. Matthew viii. 10 St. Luke vii. 9. [10] Acts v. 29.
[11] St. Matthew xvi. 16. St. John vi. 69. [12] St. John ix. 38.

made answer, 'Yea, Lord; I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, which hast come into this world.'[13] So also the Apostle says; 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.'[14] Also, at the end of his Epistle[15] Saint Peter says (we are better able to commit to memory what we find said at the conclusion of a discourse); 'But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts; and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.' And whereas these heretics boasted that they do not lie, we affirm that clearly they do lie. For there is falsehood in being silent as well as in speaking. It was for this that Saint Paul boldly withstood Saint Peter[16] to the face, because he practised circumcision. For it seemed to Saint Paul that he could not reveal the truths of the Gospel, because he preached one thing and believed another. For truth consists in three things, in the heart, in the words, and in the works. He speaks the truth who expresses in the articulation of his voice what are his feelings, and who holds the same in his heart, confesses it with his lips, and performs it in his works.

"On the third head, we do also convict and adjudge them to be heretics, upon the authority of the New Testament. For we say, that it is the wish of God that every man should be saved. Nor, indeed, would Christ have been crucified for all, if only the older ones were to be saved, who to original sin have added actual sin, and if infants were not to be saved, whom God has created and formed in His own image and likeness, and who have probably never committed any sin, but have only contracted original sin. For baptism was generally given unto all, both old and young, as the Lord says to his disciples, 'Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'[17] And 'Except a man be born again of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'[18] And again, the Lord says, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.'[19] This indeed he said for two reasons. For one, because those who wish to be saved must become as little

[13] St. John xi. 26, 27. [14] Romans x. 10. [15] 1 Pet. iii. 15. The bishop is in error, it occurs in the middle of the Epistle, which contains five chapters. [16] Gal. ii. 11, *et seq.* [17] St. Matt. xxviii. 19. [18] St. John iii. 5. [19] St. Matth. xix. 14. St. Mark, x. 14. St. Luke xviii. 16.

children, with reference to wickedness and guile, and simple like them, in such manner as He himself says: 'Unless ye become as this little child ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven.'[20] He also says so, in order that the Apostles and their followers may never be in doubt as to the baptism of little children, for baptism succeeded in the place of circumcision, which had been enjoined both for those grown up and for infants. Baptism too is a more general and extensive ordinance, inasmuch as both males and females are baptized, and grace is thereby secured. But, if through faith children are saved, as they themselves cannot have faith, without which it is impossible to please God, we say that it is through the faith of the Church, or through the faith of the sponsors, just as the man sick of the palsy was cured through the faith of those who carried him and let him down through the tiles. The son also of the nobleman, and the daughter of the woman of Canaan, were healed at that same hour at which the nobleman and the woman of Canaan believed. We do also say, that baptism ought to be celebrated in the Church, and by the ministers of the Church, unless necessity compels otherwise. Wherefore Saint Paul uses these words, 'Who hath made us able ministers of the New Testament.'[21]

"On the fourth head, we do convict and adjudge them to be heretics, upon the authority of the New Testament. For the body of our Lord is consecrated by the priest only, whether he is good or whether bad. For by the holy words, which the Saviour pronounced at the supper, namely, 'This is my body, and this is my blood,' the body of our Lord is consecrated and made. For just as the messenger of the emperor, or of the king of France, or of any other powerful person, does not by his low estate or ragged condition, corrupt or render vile the words of his master, so in like manner, the words of our Lord are neither changed nor blemished. And, just as a ray of the sun, when it passes through the common sewer, contracts neither stain nor fetid smell, or as water passes clear and transparent into the cisterns through pipes that are dirty, foul, or muddy, so are the words of the Lord not polluted, nor are they uttered with better or more pure effect by a good man than by a bad one, 'For with God there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'[22] But, that the body of the Lord ought to be con-

[20] The sense of this passage is found in St. Mark x. 15, and St. Luke xviii. 17. [21] 2 Cor. iii. 6. [22] James i. 17

secrated nowhere but in the Church; Saint Paul says, 'Despise ye the Church of God? Have ye not houses to eat in?'[23] So also Saint Paul says to Titus,[24] 'That thou mayst know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.' And it is the duty of all the faithful to receive their instruction in the Church. Wherefore it is that Saint Paul says, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak.'[25] For this, which man eats, is the bread of angels, which has descended from heaven; and as the manna which had been rained from heaven, and the rod of Aaron which had blossomed, were kept in the ark, as also the tables which had been written by the finger of God, so is the body of our Lord not consecrated, or kept except in the Church, as being the most pleasing sanctuary of the Lord. And in the same manner as the ark was carried on their shoulders by the Levites only, and was under their care, and as the Levites only ministered in the tabernacle of the Lord, so, to the priests alone, and to their servants, has been delivered and entrusted the care of the Church. Of this ark the Lord speaks in the Revelation; 'the heaven was opened, and there was seen in His temple the ark of His testament.'[26] Moreover, to the priests alone has been given the power of binding and loosing; wherefore the Lord says unto Peter, 'Whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.'[27] Saint Paul says also to Timothy,[28] 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city.' Also, with regard to orders, the Apostle says, 'Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honor.'[29] Likewise: 'Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses.'[30] Again: 'Deacons must be grave;'[31] and, 'To all at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons, grace be unto you, and peace.'[32] Behold then to whom it is that the Lord commits the words of warning and of correction! Also, Saint Paul says, 'Reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering

[23] 1 Cor. xi. 22. [24] He commits an error: it is from 1 Timothy, iii. 15. [25] 1Cor. xiv. 34, 35. [26] Rev. xi. 19. [27] St. Matt. xvi. 19. [28] This is an error: the words (with a slight variation) are in Titus i 5. [29] 1 Tim. v. 17. [30] 1 Tim. v. 19. [31] 1 Tim. iii. 8. [32] Phil i. 1.

and doctrine.'[33] Also, the Lord says to his disciples, 'Teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.'[34] These elders, therefore, bishops, and deacons, it is the duty of both clergy and laity to obey, for the sake of God, whether they are good or whether bad. For this reason it is that the Lord says, 'The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works; for they say, and do not.'[35] And Saint Paul,[36] speaking of authorities, says, 'Be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward:' and, 'Let a bishop be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.'[37] And again, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account; that they may do it with joy and not with grief.'[38] Also, 'Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.'[39] Also, 'He that waiteth at the altar is a partaker with the altar.'[40] And, 'If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap you carnal things?'[41] Saint Paul says also to Timothy: 'But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of—for, from a child, thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise to salvation.'[42]

"On the fifth head, we do convict and adjudge them to be heretics, on the authority of the New Testament. For they refuse to admit that a man and woman can be saved if they are carnally united; inasmuch as they are in the habit of openly preaching the doctrine that a man and woman cannot obtain salvation after carnal connexion. Consequently, they commend and approve of the multiplication of cattle, and yet disapprove of the multiplication of mankind. They admire sterility in woman, according to the words of Scripture, 'Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare.'[43] This doctrine they preach, in order that but few owners may be found for objects innumerable, and that the creatures which have been made for the use and service of men may be without possessor, in-

[33] 2 Tim. iv. 2. Also, Tit. ii. 15. [34] St. Matt. xxviii. 20. [35] St. Matt. xxiii. 2, 3. [36] He is in error: the words are found in 1 Peter ii. 18. [37] Titus i. 7, 9. [38] Heb. xiii. 17. [39] Heb. xiii. 7. [40] 1 Cor. ix. 13, and x. 18. [41] 1 Cor. ix. 11. [42] 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15. [43] Luke xxiii. 29.

habitant, or ruler, wishing all to be like themselves, as Saint Paul says, 'I would that all were——such as I am.'[44] And then they would appear to preach up the merits of virginity, as being the state of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, although it was He who said: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.'[45] Indeed, they seem thereby to detract from the character of marriage, and to condemn it, while our Lord Jesus Christ graced a marriage with his own presence, and that of his mother Mary and of his disciples, and honored it with the miracle of turning water into wine. Besides, it is said in the Gospel, 'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder;'[46] and, 'Let it not be lawful for a man to put away his wife, except for fornication.'[47] Also, Saint Paul says: 'He who giveth his virgin in marriage, doeth well.'[48] And, again, 'The woman is bound by law to her husband so long as he liveth.'[49] 'The wife hath not power of her own body, but her husband;'[50] and similarly with regard to the husband. Likewise, he says: 'Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to prayer; and come together again that Satan tempt you not.'[51] And, 'I will that the younger women marry, bear children, keep house.'[52] And further, 'I say it not, but the Lord; a woman shall be saved in childbearing.'[53] If it were a sin to beget children, why should the Lord say, why should the Apostle say, that it is good? And why should he tell them to come together again, and use the expression, 'I will that'? Does God will, does the Apostle will, that a sin should be committed? We are of the belief, then, that a man and woman may be saved, even if they are carnally united.

"On the sixth head we do convict and adjudge them to be heretics, and cut off from the unity of the Church, on the authority of the New Testament. For we say that the Lord delivered unto Saint Peter the ministry and the power of binding and loosing, saying, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven;'[54] and, 'I send unto you prophets, and wise men and scribes.'[55] But, as the Lord says, 'Not all men can receive this saying.'[56] And further, we say,

[44] Acts xxvi. 29. [45] Gen. i. 28. [46] Matt. xix. 6. [47] Matt. xix. 9.
[48] 1 Cor. vii. 37. [49] Rom. vii. 2. [50] 1 Cor. vii. 4. [51] 1 Cor. vii. 5.
[52] 1 Tim. v. 14. [53] Partly from 1 Tim. ii. 15. [54] St. Matt. xvi. 19.
[55] St. Matt. xxiii. 34. [56] St. Matt. xix. 11.

that they ought to make answer respecting the Gospel, and to dispute thereon, standing, inasmuch as all Christians stand when the Gospel is read; and if they stand when it is read, much more ought they when it is both read and expounded: nor, indeed, ought they to adopt the mode of sitting after they have once made choice of standing. We have also many authorities, from which it is manifestly gathered that a person ought to stand when the Gospel is preached; as, for instance: 'Jesus stood on the shore;'[57] and, again, 'Jesus stood still and called them;'[58] and, again, 'He stood in the midst of you whom ye know not.'[59] And, again, after his resurrection, confirming the Apostles, and preaching, 'Jesus stood,' it is said, 'in the midst of the disciples, and said, peace be unto you.'[60] These people too hold not the position of one giving judgment, but of one making answer; and it is the Lord that ought to sit, to whom all judgment has been given by the Father. As for these people, they do not judge, but are judged. Nor has there been granted to them the mystery of preaching in the churches. Indeed, these are heretics, such as Saint Paul foretells that there shall be, saying, 'Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived;'[61] as also 'The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but —— shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables;'[62] and, 'From which some having swerved, have turned aside unto vain jangling; desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm.'[63] Indeed, it is the duty of the prelates of the Church to punish the disobedience of these persons, and to correct it before all men. Wherefore, the Apostle says, 'Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear.'[64] Saint Paul says, also, to the prelates [of the Church]: 'Having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience.'[65] And, 'That ye may be able to convince the gainsayers.'[66] And, 'These things speak, and exhort and rebuke with all authority.'[67] Also, I have 'delivered such an one unto Satan, for the de-

[57] St. John xxi. 4. This must be the passage alluded to, though the words in the text are "Stetit Jesus in loco campestri."

[58] St. Matt. xix. 32. [59] Probably in reference to St. John xx. 14, and xxi. 4. [60] St. John xx. 19, 26. [61] 2 Tim. iii. 13. [62] 2 Tim. iv. 3. [63] 1 Tim. i. 6, 7. [64] 1 Tim. v. 20. [65] 2 Cor. x. 6. [66] Tit. i. 9. [67] Tit. ii. 15.

struction of the flesh.'[68] And, 'Absent I have judged as though present, concerning him that hath so done this deed.'[69] And again, 'If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.'"[70]

In the seventh place, the above-named bishop questioned them upon repentance, if it could take place at the last moment, unto salvation, or whether soldiers who had received a fatal wound could be saved if they repented at the last moment: or if each ought to confess his sins to the priests and ministers of the Church, or to any one of the laity, or to those of whom Saint James has said: "Confess your faults one to another;"[71] to which they made answer, and said, that it was sufficient for the sick if they confessed to whom they pleased; but that, as to soldiers, they were unwilling to say, as Saint James speaks only of the sick. He also asked them if contrition of the heart and confession by the lips were alone sufficient, or if it was necessary to make atonement after repentance [by confession], by fasting, alms-giving, and mortification, thus bewailing their sins, if they had the means of so doing. To this they made answer, saying that the words of Saint James were: "Confess your faults one to another, that ye may be healed:" by which they understood that the Apostle commanded nothing else but that they should confess, and so should be healed; and that they had no wish to be wiser than the Apostle, so as to add anything of their own, as the bishops did. To this the heretics added, that the bishop who had given judgment was the heretic and not they, that he was an enemy to them, a ravening wolf, a hypocrite, and an enemy to God, and that he had not given a righteous judgment; that they were not willing to make answer on their faith, because they were on their guard against him, in obedience to what our Lord had commanded in the Gospel, "Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves;"[72] and that he was a fraudulent persecutor of them, and they were prepared to show by the Gospels and the Epistles, that he was not a good shepherd, neither he nor the other bishops and priests, but, on the contrary, were hirelings.

To this the bishop made answer and said, that the judgment

[68] 1 Cor. v. 5. [69] 1 Cor. v. 3. [70] Gal. i. 9. [71] St. James v. 16. [72] Matt. vii. 15.

had been pronounced upon them legally, and that he was prepared to prove in the court of our lord Alexander the Catholic pope, or in the court of Louis, king of France, or in the court of Raymond, count of Toulouse, or in that of his wife, who was then present, or in the court of Trenkevelle, the presental,[73] that he had given a right judgment, and that they were manifestly heretics, and notorious for their heresies. He further declared that he would accuse them and publish them as heretics in every Catholic court, and would submit to all the risk thereof.

The heretics, seeing that they were convicted and put to confusion, turned towards the people, and said, "Listen, good people, to the faith which we confess; for now, for our love of you and for your sakes, we do make confession of it;" on which the above-named bishop made answer, "Do you say that you pronounce it, not for the sake of God, but for the sake of the people?" The others then said, "We believe that there is one God, three and one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that the Son of God took upon Him our flesh, was baptized in the river Jordan, fasted in the wilderness, preached our salvation, suffered, died, and was buried; that He descended into hell, rose again on the third day and ascended into heaven; that, on the day of Pentecost, He sent the Holy Ghost the Comforter: that He will come on the day of judgment to judge both the living and the dead; and that all shall rise again. We know, also, that what we believe in the heart we ought to confess with the lips; we believe that he is not saved who does not eat the body of Christ, and that the body of Christ is not consecrated except in the Church, and only by the priest, whether he is good or whether bad, and that it is no more efficiently done by one who is good than by one who is bad. We believe, also, that no person is saved unless he is baptized, and that infants are saved by baptism. We believe, also, that a man and woman can be saved even though they be carnally united; and that each person ought to receive confession, both in the lips and in

[73] This was an officer in France, who had the command of the soldiers in a county or earldom, and acted as deputy of the "comes," "count," or "earl." The name does not seem to have any corresponding one in the English language. The same party is called "vicecomes," "viscount," or "sheriff," at the conclusion of the proceedings, p. 436.

the heart, and from a priest: and that baptism ought to be performed by the priest, and in churches;" and that, if anything more could be pointed out to them, as supported by the authority of the Gospels or the Epistles, they would believe the same and would confess it.

In consequence of this, fresh authorities of the New Testament were quoted against them by the above-named Catholic persons. After the authorities had been so heard on both sides, the above-named bishop[74] arose and pronounced judgment to the following effect:—

"I, Jocelyn, bishop of Lodeve, by the command and mandate of bishop Alberic, and of his assessors, do pronounce judgment, and do here affirm, that these heretics are wrongly informed on the subject of an oath, and that, if they wish to do right, they ought to take the oath, and that an oath ought to be taken when a person's faith is in question. And, inasmuch as they are infamous and notorious for heresy, they are bound to prove their innocence; and, returning to the unity of the Church, they are bound to uphold their faith upon oath in such way as the Catholic Church maintains and believes; in order that the weak who are in the Church may not be corrupted, and that the diseased sheep may not contaminate the whole flock. And this is neither contrary to the Gospel nor to the Epistles of Saint Paul. For although it is said in the Gospel 'Let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay;'[75] 'neither shalt thou swear by the heaven, nor by the earth,'[76] still it is not forbidden to swear by God, but by his creatures. For the Gentiles were in the habit of worshipping the creatures, and, if it had been allowed to swear by the creatures, the reverence and honor that are due to God alone would be paid to the creatures, and, in consequence, idols and creatures would be adored as God. For we read in the book of Revelation, that an angel 'Lifted up his hand to heaven and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever;'[77] and Saint Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews,[78] says, 'Because God could swear by no greater, he sware by Himself. For men verily swear by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife.' Where God has wished more abundantly to show to the heirs of His promise the immove-

[74] This is an error; he has not been previously mentioned.
[75] St. Matt. v. 37; James v. 12.
[76] St. Matt. v. 34, 35.
[77] Rev. x 5 6.
[78] Heb. vi. 13, 16.

ableness of His counsels, he has interposed an oath. For the Lord sware, saying, 'By myself have I sworn.'[79] And again, 'The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent.'[80] The Apostle, also, frequently made oath; thus, 'God is my witness,'[81] and 'I call God to witness.' If, then, God has sworn, an Angel sworn, an Apostle sworn, how is it right not to swear, especially where our faith is in question? Therefore, that which is said in the Gospel[82] and in the Epistle of James is to be deemed a piece of advice and not a precept. But, if there were no swearing, there would be no forswearing, a thing which is still more nearly allied to[83] evil, that is to say, to sin or the devil, who would prompt us to swear by the creatures."

Accordingly, seeing that they were also convicted on this point, they said that bishop Alberic had made an agreement with them that he would not compel them to take an oath; which, however, the bishop of Alby denied. After this, the bishop of Alby arose, and said, "The judgment which Jocelyn, bishop of Lodeve, has pronounced I do confirm, and by my command the same has been pronounced. And I further warn the knights of Lombez not to give them any countenance, on penalty of the fine which they have placed in my hands. I, the abbat of Candiel, chosen judge, do approve of this judgment, and with my assent it has been given. I, the abbat of Aire, chosen judge, do approve of this judgment, and with my assent it has been given. I, Arnold de Be, chosen judge, do approve of this judgment, and with my assent it has been given. I, Peter, bishop of Narbonne, I, A., bishop of Nismes, I, Jocelyn, bishop of Toulouse, I, V., bishop of Agde, I, R., abbat of Saint Pontius, I, R., abbat of Saint William, I, N., abbat of Gaillac, I, —, abbat of Font-froid, I, M., mayor of Toulouse, I, G., mayor of Alby, I, N., mayor of Narbonne, I, R., archdeacon of Agde, I, G., prior of Saint Mary, I, P., abbat of Cahors, I, Master Blanc, I, Bego de Veireiras, I, Trenkevelle, viscount, I, Constance, sister of the king of France, and wife of Raymond, earl of Toulouse, and I, Sicard, viscount of Lautrec, do ratify this judgment, and do know them

[79] Gen. xxii. 16. Isa. xlv. 23. Jer. xlix. 13. li. 14. Amos vi. 8.
[80] Psalm cx. 4. [81] Rom. i 9. [82] St. Matt. v. 37. James v. 12.
[83] The meaning of this passage cannot be understood: it is in a hopelessly imperfect state.

to be heretics, and do approve of the judgment pronounced upon them."

In the year of grace 1177, being the twenty-third year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Henry, and Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, and John, his sons, were at Northampton, in England, during the festival of the Nativity of our Lord. On the same day, king Henry, the son, and his wife were at Argenton in Normandy, and Richard, the son of king Henry, earl of Poitou, was in Aquitaine, at the city of Bourdeaux. Immediately after the Nativity of our Lord, he laid siege to the city of Aques, which Peter, viscount of Aques, and the count of Bigorre had fortified against him, and within ten days he took it. After this, he laid siege to the city of Bayonne, which Ernald Bertram, viscount of Bayonne, had fortified against him, and within ten days he took it. Moving his army thence, he came to the gates of Sizarre, now called Port D'Espagne, and took and destroyed it, and, by force, compelled the Basques and Navarrese to make oath, that, from that time forward, they would always keep the peace towards strangers and among themselves, and he also put an end to all the evil customs that had been introduced at Sorges and Espure.

In the meantime, the king of England, the father, holding a general council at Northampton, after the feast of Saint Hilary, restored to Robert, earl of Leicester, all his lands on both sides of the sea, as he held the same fifteen days before the war began, with the exception of the castles of Mountsorrel and Pasci. In like manner he restored to Hugh, earl of Chester, all the lands of which he was in possession fifteen days before the war; and to William d'Aubigny, son of William, earl of Arundel, he gave the earldom of Sussex. At the same council, also, Guido, the dean, resigned into the hands of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, his deanery of Waltham, and quitted claim, freely and absolutely, of all right which he had to the church of Waltham. In the same manner did the canons secular of Waltham as to their prebends, resigning them into the hands of the archbishop; but our lord the king gave them full compensation for the same, according to the estimate of the lord archbishop of Canterbury. After this, our lord the king, by the authority of our lord the pope, placed in the same church of Waltham canons regular taken from various houses

in England, and appointed Walter de Ghent, a canon taken from the church of Oseney, the first abbat of that community, and enriched them with great revenues and very fine mansions.

In the same year, the same king, having expelled the nuns from the abbey of Ambrosebury,[84] for incontinence, and distributed them in more strict charge in other religious houses, gave the abbey of Ambrosebury as a perpetual possession to the abbess and convent of Fontevraud; and, a convent of nuns being sent over from Fontevraud, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced them into the abbey of Ambrosebury, on the eleventh day before the calends of June, being the Lord's Day, in the presence of our lord the king, the father, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, John, bishop of Norwich, and many others of the clergy and the people. On the same day, and at the same place, the before-named archbishop of Canterbury consecrated Guido, bishop of Bangor.

In this year, Philip, earl of Flanders, sent Robert, the advocate of Bethune, and Roger, castellan of Courtrai, to our lord Henry, the king of England, the father, to inform him that Louis, king of the Franks, had asked of him the eldest daughter of his brother, Matthew, earl of Boulogne, in marriage for his son Philip, and the other daughter of the earl of Boulogne for Louis, son of earl Theobald, but that he was determined to give them to no one without his sanction. The said earl also asked the king of England for the money which he had promised to give for the soul of his brother, Matthew, earl of Boulogne, for the purpose of maintaining knights for the defence of the land of Jerusalem. On this, our lord the king made answer to them that the matter would go well, unless, indeed, it stopped short with the earl;[85] and added, that if the earl of Flanders was willing to marry his nieces, the daughters of the earl of Boulogne, according to his wishes and advice, and would give him good assurance of the same, he would then fulfil all his promises, even to a fuller extent than he had made them. And, for the purpose of hearing the earl's answer on the subject, he sent Walter de Coutances, his vice-chancellor, and Ranulph de Glanville, in whose presence the said earl of Flanders made oath that he would marry his said nieces to no person, unless by the advice and consent

[84] Amesbury. [85] Perhaps in allusion to earl Theobald.

of the king of England, the father. However, disregarding his oath, the said earl married them without the leave and consent of the king.

In the same year, the before-named Vivianus, cardinal priest, titular of Saint Stephen de Monte Celi, and legate of the Apostolic See, was in the Isle of Man, with king Guthred, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord. After the Epiphany, he passed over into Ireland, and, landing at Dun[86] in Ulster, while he was walking along the sea-shore towards Dublin, he met the troops of John de Courcy, who seized him and made him prisoner; but John de Courcy set him at liberty and suffered him to depart. The before-named John de Courcy also, before the Purification of Saint Mary, laid siege to and took the city of Dun, which is the capital of Ulster, where also rest the bodies of Saint Patrick and Saint Columba, the confessors, and of Saint Bridget, the virgin. On hearing this, Roderic, king of Ulster, levied a large army of Irish, and fought a battle with the above-named John; and John de Courcy, after losing a part of his army, gained a great victory, and having conquered king Roderic, and put him to flight, remained in possession of the field, and distributed the spoils of the slain among his men. In this battle was taken prisoner the bishop of Dun, whom John de Courcy ordered, at the prayer of the cardinal, to be set at liberty.

In the same year died the earl Hugh Bigot, whose treasures the king, the father, retained in his own hands. In this year, also, Alphonso, king of Castille, and Sancho, king of Navarre, his uncle, after many and great battles fought between them, came to a settlement before the king of England, the father, on the disputes and claims that existed between them. Accordingly, there came into England, on behalf of the king of Castille and on behalf of the king of Navarre, four chosen men whom they knew to be trustworthy persons, being sent to England to hear the decision of the court of the king of England, and to report the same to the above-named kings of Spain, namely, John, bishop of Tarragona, Peter de Areis, Gunter, a brother of the Temple, and Peter de Rinoso. There came also on behalf of Alphonso, king of Castille, Matthew, bishop of Palencia, count Gomez, Lobdiez, Gomez, the son of Garsias, Garsias, the son of Garsias, Peter, the son of Peter, and Gotteri Fernanz;

[86] Down.

and, on behalf of Sancho, king of Navarre, the bishop of Pampeluna, Garsias Bermer, Sancho, the son of Ramiro, Espagnol de Taissonal, Peter, the son of Ramiro, and Ascenar de Chalez. All these were sent to assert their claims, and to answer on behalf of their masters. There came also two knights of wonderful prowess and valor, with horses and warlike arms, one on behalf of the king of Castille and the other on behalf of the king of Navarre, to appeal to wager of battle, at the court of the king of England, if it should be deemed necessary.

Accordingly, on the first Lord's day in Lent, our lord, Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, came to London, for the purpose of holding a general council. At it were present; Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert, bishop of London, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, Walter, bishop of Rochester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Robert, bishop of Hereford, John, bishop of Norwich, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, Roger, bishop of Worcester, John, bishop of Chichester, Christian, bishop of Whitherne, the bishop of Saint David's, the bishop of Saint Asaph, the bishop of Bangor, and the abbats, priors, earls, and barons of England. These having met together at Westminster, the king ordered the aforesaid envoys from the kingdom of Spain to reduce into writing their claims and charges, and afterwards give them to him; in order that, by means of a translation thereof, he himself and his barons might be able to understand their respective claims and charges; for neither the king nor the barons of his court understood their language. For the purpose of reducing this to writing, there was a space of three days allowed.

Accordingly, on the fourth day they produced a writing, in which was the following statement: "king Sancho the Fat had three sons, Ferdinand, king of Castille, Ramiro, king of Arragon, and Garcias, king of Navarre and Nagara. Ferdinand was the father of king Alphonso, who took Toledo, and was the father of queen Vracha, who was the mother of the emperor Alphonso, the father of king Sancho, whose son was king Alphonso, who married Eleanor, daughter of Henry, king of England. Ramiro, king of Arragon, was the father of king Sancho, who was father of king Peter and king Alphonso. King Peter died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother, king Alphonso, who took Saragossa. Garcias,

king of Navarre and Nagara, was the father of king Sancho, who was afterwards slain at Penafiel: he was the father of Sancho, who died without issue when a child, and was succeeded, in Navarre and Nagara, by king Alphonso, his father's kinsman, who took Toledo, as far as the boundaries of Puente la Reyna and Sangosa: and the said child was succeeded by Sancho, king of Arragon, his father's kinsman, in the remaining portion of Navarre and Pampeluna.

The Treaty and Covenants entered into between Alphonso, king of Castille, and Sancho, king of Navarre.

"These are the treaty and covenants which were entered into between Alphonso, king of Castille, and Sancho, king of Navarre, his uncle, for submitting the points in dispute between them to the judgment of the king of England. For this purpose each of these kings gives three castles in pledge, that he will receive and fulfil the award of Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, and father-in-law of king Alphonso; and he who shall fail so to do, is to lose the castles underwritten. For this purpose king Alphonso gives in pledge Nagara, a castle of the Jews, Arnedo, a castle of the Christians and a castle of the Jews, and Celorigo. In like manner, Sancho, king of Navarre, gives in pledge the castle of Stella, which Peter, the son of Roderic, holds, being a castle of the Jews, as also Funes and Maranon. And for the above purpose envoys from both kings are to appear in the presence of the king of England on the first day of this present Lent, being the beginning of the fast, for the purpose of receiving his decision. And if by chance the envoys on either side shall be detained on the road in consequence of death, infirmity, or captivity, the envoys that precede them are to await them for a period of thirty days beyond the day above-named at the court of the said king of England; and then, those who are well and able are to come to the court and hear the decision. And if all shall be sick, or taken prisoners, or shall die, then the king who has no envoy present is to be the loser. And if all or any of the envoys shall not be detained by any of these causes, and shall not come before the king of England on the day appointed, then the king, whose envoys they are, is to lose the castles above-named, and this is to be done in good faith and without evil intent. And if by accident, which God forbid, the king

of England should die in the meantime, then in the same manner as above-mentioned they are to proceed to the king of France to receive his decision, and are to receive his decision as though that of the king of England, and to comply therewith. For this purpose, Sancho, the king of Navarre, through his knight and his deputy,[87] is to receive possession of these three castles, and is to give Nagara and Celorigo in charge to Peter, the son of count Roderic, and is to give Arnedo in charge to one of the counts of his dominions, and they are to do homage to him for the same. In like manner Alphonso, the king of Castille, through his knight and his deputy, is to receive possession of these three castles, and is to give Stella in charge to Peter, the son of Roderic of Arragon, Funes to S., the son of Ramiro, and Maranon to R., the son of Martin, and they are to do homage to him for them. And if either of the kings shall wish to take the castles aforesaid from the knights in possession of them and to give them to another, then Sancho, king of Navarre, is to give them to Peter, the son of Roderic, or to G., the son of Vermund, or to S., the son of Ramiro, or to I., the son of Felez, or to R., the son of Martin, or to E. or to S., the sons of Almoran, or to E., the son of Ortiz, or to P., the son of Ramiro, or to G. or to P., the sons of Ortiz. In like manner king Alphonso is to give the said castles to count N. or count P., or count G. or to count Gomez, or to R., the son of Gurtez, or to P., the son of Arazuri, or to D., the son of Senez, or to G. or to Ordonez, the sons of Garcias, or to G., the son of Roderico de Aragra, or to P., the son of Gunter, or to L., the son of Roderico de Agafra; but those who shall be holding them are not to give up the said castles until those who ought to receive them shall have done homage for them to the other king, in manner above-mentioned. And the whole that king Alphonso holds of the king of Navarre he is to improve with his own means as far as he shall be willing and able. In like manner, Sancho, king of Navarre, is to improve with his own means as far as he shall be willing and able, the whole that he holds of king Alphonso. And for the purpose of hearing this decision, the kings have chosen four trustworthy persons, namely, John, bishop of Tarragona,

[87] "Portarius." The officers who were so called, had probably somewhat similar duties to those of our sheriffs; in seeing that the royal commands were properly fulfilled. They were peculiar to Spain.

Peter de Areis, Ar—— de Torrela, and Gunter,[88] son of de Rinoso; and two or three or all of these are to proceed with the envoys to the court of the king of England, and are to explain before him the complaints of both kings, and when the claims have been heard, then those are to speak whom the king shall order first to plead their cause. And, upon the word of these same trustworthy persons, who shall have heard the judgment pronounced by the king of England, each of the kings are to comply with and perform the above-mentioned covenants in such manner as is contained in this instrument, and the knights who have done homage for the aforesaid castles, according to the report of the said trustworthy persons, are to comply with and perform the treaty aforesaid in good faith and without evil intent. In addition whereto, both of the kings above-named, each upon his own plighted faith, have agreed upon and concluded a good and safe truce for liegemen, for castles, for lands, and for all other things, for a period of seven years; and that the same shall be firmly kept, Sancho, king of Navarre, places Erga[89] in pledge, and king Alphonso pledges Calahorra; and if the army of either of these kings, either with him or without him, shall enter the kingdom of the other, he whose army does so, is to lose the fortified place above-named. And if by chance any vassal of these kings shall break this truce in the kingdom of the other, or shall chance by force to take a fortified place, then the king of whom he shall be the vassal shall within forty days deliver up his castle to the other king. And if he shall not do so, the knight who holds the castle that has been so placed in pledge, is to give up the said castle to the king so complaining, and he is to hold the same in pledge until he recovers his own castle. And if any person in these kingdoms, who is not a vassal of those kings, shall by any chance take a castle in the kingdom of the other, then both the kings are to come against him with their people and besiege him, and are not to depart thence until it is taken. It has also been agreed that all the vassals of both kings who have lost their hereditaments since the time of the

[88] It will be seen, on comparison with the list of names previous, and in page 439, that Gunter is mentioned as one of the envoys and Peter de Rinoso as another, and no mention is made of de Torrela: here, however, Gunter is made the son of de Rinoso, and de Torrela is the fourth envoy.

[89] Perhaps Ergavica, or Ergavia, towns of Spain in the middle ages.

commencement of the war, shall recover the same, in such manner as they were holding them on the day on which they lost them, and for misdeeds on their part, or on accusations for what they have previously done, they are not to lose them, nor are they to make answer to any one on any complaint made against them within the last seven years. And if hereafter any complaint on fresh grounds, or any litigation shall arise between them, they are to have recourse to arbitration, and whatever judgment shall be pronounced, they are to be satisfied with the same. Also, all men of both kingdoms shall go and return from kingdom to kingdom in security, with the exception of known murderers. And if either of the kings shall be unwilling to restore the hereditaments as above-mentioned, then he is to give up the above-named castle to the other king, who is to hold the same in pledge, until he shall recover the hereditaments and the whole thereof that he shall have demanded. Also, all vassals of either king are to be included in this treaty of peace as to all men, castles, hereditaments, and all other things that they may possess in whatever land they may be; and all the above is to be kept and observed in good faith and without evil intent. Also, Alphonso, king of Arragon, is to be included in this truce, if it shall so please him, and if perchance it shall not please him to be included therein, nevertheless the said truce as abovementioned is to be strictly observed between the kings abovenamed. This instrument was made between Navarre and Logrono, in the year 1214,[90] on the eighth day before the calends of September."

An [earlier] Charter of Peace and Reconciliation between the king of Castille and the king of Navarre.

"This is the charter of peace and reconciliation which was made between Alphonso, king of Castille, and Sancho, king of Navarre, at the abbey which is called Siterio. It has pleased both of the said kings that a peace and reconciliation should be made between them for ten years, which has been made accordingly; and it has pleased them that they should ratify the same by oath, and that they and the barons of them both should make oath upon the altar and upon the four Evange-

[90] This date is according to the Spanish era, which began from the conquest of Spain by Augustus, in the year B.C. 38.

lists, that they will observe the aforesaid truce and reconciliation faithfully, and without fraud and evil intent, for ten years; and this truce has been made as to persons, cattle, goods, and castles, in good faith and without fraud and evil intent; and if either of the kings or any of the barons shall violate this truce, and shall not make amends on claim made, within forty days therefrom, then is he to be a perjurer and a traitor. This instrument was made in the year 1205,[91] in the month of October."

When the above-stated charters of peace and reconciliation between the said kings of Castille and Navarre had been read before the king of England and his barons, the persons who pleaded for the king of Castille spoke to the following effect:—

The Claim of the king of Castille.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. In the name of the Lord, Alphonso, king of Castille and Toledo, makes complaint against, and demands of, Sancho, king of Navarre, his uncle, that restitution shall be made to him of Logrono, Athleva, Vanaret,[92] in the vicinity of Ribaronia, Agosen, Abtol, Arresa, and Alava, with their markets, namely, those of Estwalez and of Divina, and all his rights in the lands which are called Durango: all of which king Alphonso, of happy memory, who liberated Toledo from the power of the Saracens, and after his death, his daughter Vracha possessed by hereditary right: after whose death, her son, the emperor Alphonso, of happy memory, was similarly possessed by hereditary right, and after the death of the emperor, his son, Sancho, without question raised, held the same by hereditary right. After the death of king Sancho, his son, our lord the king, Alphonso, in like manner held all the places aforesaid by hereditary right, until such time as the king of Navarre already mentioned took away, and now by force withholds, from the aforesaid king of Castille, his orphan and innocent nephew and ward, and the son of his friend and lord, all the above places, no requisition being then made of the same. He likewise makes complaint and asks restitution to be made to him by the before-named king of Navarre, of Roba, which he unjustly withholds. For the emperor ac-

[91] See the last note. This treaty was made nine years before the preceding one.

[92] This should be, Navarette.

quired that place from a king of the Saracens, whose name was Zafadola, and left it to his son Sancho, who, after the death of the emperor, held it in peace during the whole period of his life: after whose death, my lord the king Alphonso, his son, by hereditary right held it in peace, until such time as Sancho Ramirez de Perola parted with it, who held it according to the custom of Spain, at the hands of Peter Ortiz, which Peter Ortiz held it according to the same custom of our lord the king Alphonso. He also demands the revenues which the king of Navarre so often mentioned has received from Logrono, and from all the places above-named, from the time of his invasion, as also recompense for the losses which he inflicted upon that land, by laying it waste and delivering it to the flames, the amount of all which is estimated at nearly one hundred thousand golden marks. He further demands Puente la Reyna, and Saragossa, and the whole of the land extending from those two towns to the river Ebro; which land king Alphonso, of blessed memory, grandfather of the emperor, held and enjoyed in peace; and through him, according to the custom of Spain, his kinsman, Sancho, king of Arragon, and after his death, his son, king Peter, and after the death of king Peter, his brother, Alphonso, king of Arragon, in the same manner as his kinsmen and friends had held it. He also claims a moiety of Tudela, on the grounds of his maternal descent, which count Dalpreg gave to his cousin-german, queen Margaret, who was the wife of king Garsias, and grandmother of the said king Alphonso, in consequence whereof the aforesaid Tudela does in no way belong to Navarre."

After the bishop of Palencia, and count Gomez, and the other envoys of the king of Castille had set forth the above, and other matters to a similar effect, both by writing and word of mouth, they made an end of speaking. Upon this, the bishop of Pampeluna, and the other envoys of the king of Navarre, arose, and [orally] contradicting nothing that had been alleged against them by their opponents, produced a writing, in which were contained their petition, claims, and allegations, to the following effect:—

The Claim of the king of Navarre.

"Sancho, king of Navarre, lays claim to the monastery of Cudejo, Monte d'Oca, the valley of Saint Vincent, the val-

ley of Oliocastro, Cingovilas, Monte Negro, and Sierra Alba, as far as Agreda. To all the above he lays claim, and whatever places lie within these districts on the side of Navarre, and he lays claim to the entire revenues of this district, from the period of the death of king Sancho at Penafiel. All the above, as belonging to his kingdom, Garsias, king of Navarre and Nagara, great-great grandfather of the said king Sancho, held and enjoyed in peace and quietness; and his great grandfather was expelled by violence from his kingdom, on account of his imbecility, by Alphonso, king of Castille, his kinsman. However, in process of time, king Garsias, of famous memory, his grandson, and father of the present king, by the Divine will, and with the aid of the fealty of those of whom he was the natural lord, recovered his kingdom, although not the entirety thereof, and the remaining portion is the same that is now claimed by his son Sancho, king of Navarre. In addition to this, he makes claim of the following places, which the emperor took from his father, king Garsias, by violence, namely; Naga, a castle of the Christians and Jews, Gramon, Pancorvo, Belforest, the monastery of Cereso, Celorigo, Bilboa, Medria, Vegueta, Claver, Verbea, and Lantaron. These same he makes claim of, and demands restitution thereof, because his father, king Garsias, possessed them by hereditary right, and the emperor took them from him. Also, as to Belforest, he makes this complaint, that the emperor restored the same to king Garsias, his father, and after his death, the said emperor took it away from Sancho, the present king of Navarre, who then held and enjoyed it in peace, as being his own by hereditary right. He also demands restitution to him by Alphonso, king of Castille, of certain castles that have been very recently taken from him, together with all the revenues received therefrom, and whatever he would have enjoyed if he had not been expelled therefrom. The names of these castles are as follow: Kel, Ocon, Parnugos, Gramon, Cereso, Valorcanas, Trepcana, Milier, Amihugo, Haiaga, Miranda, Santa Agathea, Salmas, Portela, Malversin, Legiun, and the fortress held by Godin. And to these he lays claim on the grounds that he held and enjoyed the same as his own, and was, without any judicial formalities, expelled therefrom, and his complaint ought therefore to have the precedence, inasmuch as the same was the last act of

violence committed, and consequently is the one for which amends should first be made. And further, as to the other side, he has ceased to have any right, if ever he did have any such right. And this we are prepared to show by the above-named instrument, in which is contained a truce for ten years; wherefore, king Sancho makes complaint, because it is true, that king Alphonso has violated his promise made in the treaty aforesaid. For he has received injury within those ten years, by being deprived of the following castles, Kel, Legiun, Malversin, and Portela. In addition to the above, the king of Navarre demands restitution by the king of Castille, of the sum of one hundred[92] marks of silver, king Sancho, who now reigns over the kingdom of Navarre, hereby offering satisfaction to the king Alphonso, upon all his complaints, according to the arbitration of the barons of them both, or of the most serene king of England. And we affirm with confidence, that these acts, and the like to them, perpetrated in the face of such covenants and such truce, ought to be redressed before we come to any other article whatever of these claims. For this the law demands, this usage demands, this the canonical ordinances demand, this all right and justice demand. The things that we have said are here set forth in written characters, but shall be more fully and more copiously explained by word of mouth."

When the above-named envoys of the king of Navarre had set forth the above, and other matters of a similar nature, and the envoys of the king of Castille did not contradict any of the allegations made by them, Henry king of England, son of the empress Matilda, the Holy Evangelists being produced in presence of all the people, ordered the said envoys of the king of Castille and the king of Navarre make oath, before he pronounced judgment, that their masters, namely, the king of Castille and the king of Navarre, would receive and strictly observe his award, both as to restitution as well as to the truce, and that if they should fail so to do, then they themselves would surrender their bodies into his hands and power. This being accordingly done, the earls and barons of the royal court of England adjudged that full restitution should be made to each of the parties above-named of what he had rightfully claimed. Accordingly, the king of England wrote to the above-named kings of Spain to the following effect:—

[92] Probably, a mistake for a hundred thousand.

The Award of Henry, king of England, upon the judgment given in his court between the king of Castille and the king of Navarre.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to his most dearly beloved friends Alphonso, king of Castille, and Sancho, king of Navarre, greeting. According as, from the tenor of your letters, and the relation of your trustworthy servants, John, bishop of Tarragona, Peter de Areis, Gunter,[93] and Peter de Rinoso, and from the assertions of your envoys, the bishop of Palencia, count Gomez, Lobdioz, Gomez, the son of Garsias, Garsias, the son of Garsias, Peter, the son of Peter, Gotteri Fernanz, the bishop of Pampeluna, Garsias Bermer, Sancho the son of Ramiro, Espagnol de Taissonat, Peter the son of Ramiro, and Ascenar de Chalez, we have been informed, it has pleased us by our judgment to bring to a termination the disputes that exist between you, with relation to certain castles and lands, together with the boundaries and appurtenances thereof. And for that purpose, we, receiving your trustworthy servants and your envoys with that respect which was their due, considering that peace being made between you would greatly conduce to the honor of God and the whole of Christendom, have both with reference to holy religion and our ordinary welfare, taken this upon us. Therefore, the trustworthy persons chosen by you in common, and your deputies, and the pleaders of your causes being summoned into our presence, and that of our bishops and earls and barons, we have carefully heard, and have come to a full understanding of, the petitions and allegations of both parties. Upon these points, those envoys to whom the cause of Alphonso, king of Castille, has been entrusted, have made allegation that Sancho, king of Navarre, did unjustly and by force take from the said king of Castille, while he was yet a ward and an orphan, certain castles and lands, namely, Logrono, Navarette, Andeva, Abtoi, and Agosen,[94] with all their boundaries and appurtenances, which his father, on the day of his decease, and which he himself for some years after had quietly enjoyed; in consequence whereof they claimed that restitution should be made to him of the same. But the envoys to whom the cause of Sancho

[93] As to this person, see the note in p. 443. [94] They are more fully mentioned in the claim of the king of Castille, p. 415.

king of Navarre was entrusted, contradicting nothing of what had been alleged by the others, asserted that Alphonso the before-mentioned king of Castille, had, by arms, and unjustly, taken from Sancho, the before-named king of Navarre, certain castles, namely, Legiun, Portela, and the castle that Godin holds, and the said other party, making no contradiction whatever thereto, demanded with like urgency that restitution should be made thereof to him. And further, it was stated in the letter written by you in common that you had, giving your word for the same, concluded a truce between you for a period of seven years, and the same was witnessed openly in court by your envoys. Having therefore held counsel with all due deliberation with our bishops, earls, and barons, and considering that peace between you is necessary, both for the propagation of the Christian faith and the confusion of the enemies of Christ, and receiving a full assurance, both from your own written declarations and the allegations of your envoys, that you will pay obedience to our counsel and advice both in establishing and preserving peace, before proceeding to pronounce our award as to the above-written complaints and truces, we do command you by your envoys, and do counsel and enjoin you, and in addition thereto, do, by this present writing, command you, to establish peace between yourselves, and faithfully for the future to observe the same. Now, as to the complaints above-mentioned relative to the castles and lands, with all the boundaries and appurtenances thereof, that have on each side been by force and injustice taken from the other, inasmuch as no answer was made by either side to the acts of violence alleged on the other side, and no reason was alleged why the restitution which they respectively demanded should not be made, we do decree that full restitution shall be made to each party of the places above-mentioned which have as of right been claimed. We do also by our award enjoin that the truces between you before-named, which, as already mentioned, have been ratified by you on your word, as appears from your written documents, as also from the public avowal made to us by your envoys upon trial, shall, until the time therein agreed upon, be inviolably observed between you. We do will also and command for the sake of peace, that king Alphonso, our dearly beloved son, shall pay to Sancho, king of Navarre, his uncle, every year for the space of ten years, three thousand

marabotins[94] such payments to be made at three periods in the year at the city of Burgos, namely; the first payment of one thousand marabotins to be made at the end of the first four months after the above-mentioned restitution shall have been made, the second payment of one thousand marabotins to be made at the end of the next succeeding four months, and another payment of one thousand marabotins to be made at the end of the next four months; the said payments so to be made that in each of the ten years next ensuing after the said restitution, there shall be paid to Sancho, king of Navarre, at the same periods and at the above-named place, three thousand marabotins. Also, the envoys of each of you have, before pronouncing our judgment, solemnly sworn that you will strictly observe our judgment aforesaid, both as to the restitution as well as to the observance of the treaty of peace; and that in case you shall not do so, they will surrender their persons into our hands and power. Witnesses hereto, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, Roger, bishop of Worcester, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, Gilbert, bishop of London, Walter, bishop of Rochester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Norwich, John, bishop of Chichester, Robert, bishop of Hereford, the bishop of Saint David's, Master Ada, the bishop of Saint Asaph, the bishop of Bangor, Christian, bishop of Whitherne, Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, son of the king, William, earl of Aumarle, Robert, earl of Leicester, William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, William, earl of Gloucester, William de Arundel, earl of Sussex, Hugh, earl of Chester, and of the barons of England, Richard de Lucy, William de Vesci, Henry de Lacy, Odonel de Umfraville, Robert de Vals, Roger de Mowbray, Robert de Stuteville, Philip de Kimbe, Roger Bigot, and many others, both clergy and laity."

During this council, the brother of the earl of Ferrers was slain by night at London, and thrown out from his inn into the mud of the streets, for which deed our lord the king took into custody many of the citizens of London; among whom there

[94] This was a gold coin of Spain, the exact value of which is now unknown. The name has been suggested to have been derived from "Butin de Maranes," "The booty of the Moors," as forming a large proportion of the spoils of the Moors when repulsed in their invasion of Spain. It is said that it was while energetically discussing the origin of this word at Caen, the learned Bochart was attacked with a fit of apoplexy, of which he shortly after died.

was arrested a certain aged man of high rank and great wealth whose name was John; he being unable to prove his innocence by means of the judgment by water, offered our lord the king fifty pounds of silver for the preservation of his life. But inasmuch as he had been cast in the judgment by water, the king refused to receive the money, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet.

In the same year Philip, earl of Flanders, in contravention of the oath which he had made to the king of England, gave the eldest daughter of his brother the earl of Boulogne in marriage to the duke de Saringes; shortly afterwards, leaving the duke de Saringes, she married the count de Saint Paul, and then leaving the count de Saint Paul, married the count Reginald de Dammartin, who received with her the earldom of Boulogne. The other daughter of the earl of Boulogne he also gave in marriage to Henry, duke of Louvaine.

In the same year the before-named earl of Flanders came over to England, to hold a conference with the king of England, and, receiving from him leave to go on the pilgrimage, he and William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and many barons and knights of various countries assumed the sign of the cross, and set out for Jerusalem; where joining the brethren of the Temple and the Hospitallers, and Raymond, prince of Antioch, and nearly all the knights of the land of Jerusalem, they laid siege to Harang, a fortified place of the pagans. Having stayed a month before it while laying siege thereto, and having almost undermined it, by the advice of the Templars they received a large sum of money from the pagans, and so departed without accomplishing their object. On the day after their departure, a great part of the castle which they had been besieging fell down, and on returning home they found the money which they had received from the pagans to be nothing but copper and brass.

In the meantime, Saladin, king of Babylon, having united with him the kings and princes of the pagans, with more than five hundred thousand horse and foot entered the land of the Christians, and pitched his tents not far from the holy city of Jerusalem. On hearing this, the Templars, and Hospitallers, and knights of the king of Jerusalem, who had remained for the protection of the city, went forth to meet the pagans, together with the people of the city, who had taken up arms, while the bishop of Bethlehem carried before

them the wood of the cross of our Lord. Making a bold attack upon the pagans, they forced them to give way, and, Oh supreme bounty of the Most High! the Christians, who were not in number more than ten thousand fighting men, gained the victory over five hundred thousand pagans, and that by the aid of the Most High. For it appeared in a vision to the pagans as though the hosts of the armies of heaven were descending by a ladder under the form of armed knights, and aiding the Christians in the attack upon them. The pagans being unable to endure their onset, were put to flight, on which, the Christians, pursuing them, put them to the edge of the sword, and slew of them more than a hundred thousand, and took a great number of prisoners. But Saladin, by means of his coursers, made his escape; however, in this battle he lost many of his nephews and kinsmen, and of the principal men of his army.

In addition to this, to the utter confusion of the pagans, and for the establishment of the Christian faith, it appeared to the pagans that the extremity of the wood of the cross of our Lord, which the bishop of Bethlehem was carrying, reached up to heaven, and that its arms were embracing the whole world; at which being greatly alarmed, they took to flight. The Christians, on gaining this glorious victory, returned with joyousness to Jerusalem, and filled the land with the spoils of the slain. This battle took place, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon the plain of Ramah, in the year of grace eleven hundred and seventy-seven, on the seventh day before the calends of December, being the feast of Saint Catherine the Virgin and Martyr. In the same year, the Christians fortified a very strong castle in the kingdom of Saladin, at the Ford of Jacob, beyond the river Jordan; but Saladin took it by storm, and with it was taken the grand Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, who, being carried into the territory of Saladin, died there of hunger.

In the same year, our lord the king of England, the father, delivered to William de Stuteville the custody of the castle of Rakesburt,[95] to Roger de Stuteville the custody of the castle of the Maidens,[95*] to William de Neville the custody of the castle of Norham, to Roger, archbishop of York, the custody of the castle of Scartheburg,[96] to Geoffrey de Neville the custody of the castle of Berwick, and to Roger de

[95] Roxburgh. [95*] Edinburgh. [96] Scarborough.

Conyers the custody of the fortress of Durham, which the king had taken from Hugh, the bishop of Durham, because he had only made a feint of serving him in the civil wars. In consequence of this, the bishop gave him two thousand marks of silver to regain his favour, on condition that his castles should be left standing, and that the king should give to his son, Henry de Pudsey, his royal manor of Wighton, with its appurtenances.

After this, the king went to Oxford, and, holding a general council there, created his son John king of Ireland, having a grant and confirmation thereof from Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff. To this council there also came, to meet the king, Rees, the son of Griffin,[97] prince of South Wales, David, the son of Owen, prince of North Wales, who had married the sister of the said king of England, Cadewalan, prince of Delnain, Owen de Kevilian, Griffin de Brunfeld, and Madoc, the son of Gervetrog, together with many other of the noblemen of Wales, who all did homage to the king of England, the father, and swore fealty to him against all men, and that they would maintain peace with him and with his kingdom. At the same council, also, our lord the king of England gave to the above-named Rees, the son of Griffin, the land of Merioneth, and to David, the son of Owen, the land of Ellesmere.

The king also gave to Hugh de Lacy, as above-mentioned, the whole of Meath, in Ireland, with its appurtenances, for the services of one hundred knights, to hold the same of himself and his son John, and confirmed the same to him by charter. He also there gave to Robert Fitz-Stephen and Milo de Cogham the kingdom of Cork, for the services of sixty knights, to hold the same of himself and of his son John, with the exception of the city of Cork and one cantred,[98] which our lord the king reserved to himself and to his heirs. He also there gave to Hubert Fitz-Hubert, and to William, the brothers of earl Reginald, and to Jollan de la Primerai, their nephew, the kingdom of Limerick, for the services of sixty knights, to hold the same of himself and of his son John, with the exception of the city of Limerick and one cantred, which our lord the king reserved to himself and to his heirs.

[97] Rice ap Griffyd.

[98] The British name for a hundred.

Our lord the king also gave to William Fitz-Aldelm, his seneschal, the custody of the city of Wexford, with all its appurtenances, and enacted that the places under-written should thenceforth be appurtenant to the services of Wexford, namely, Arklow, with its appurtenances, Glascarric, with its appurtenances, the lands of Gilbert de Boisrohard, Ferneg Winal, with their appurtenances, Fernes, with its appurtenances, the whole of the lands of Hervey, between Wexford and the waters of Waterford, the service of Raymond de Drune, the service of Frodrevelan, the service of Utmorth de Leighlin, the tenement, also, of Machtaloe, with its appurtenances, Leis, the lands of Geoffrey de Constantin, with the whole of the appurtenances, and the whole of the lands of Otveld.

Our lord the king also there delivered into the custody of Robert le Poer, his marshal, the city of Waterford, with all its appurtenances, and enacted that the places under-written should thenceforth be appurtenant to the services of Waterford, namely, the whole of the land which lies between Waterford and the water beyond Lismore, and the whole of the lands of Oiseric, with their appurtenances. The king of England also there delivered the city of Dublin, with all its appurtenances, into the charge of Hugh de Lacy, and enacted that all the places under-written should thenceforth be appurtenant to the service of Dublin: the whole of the lands of Ofellane, with their appurtenances, Kildare, with its appurtenances, the whole of the lands of Offalaia, with their appurtenances, Wicklow, with its appurtenances, the service of Meath, and the service of four knights due from Robert le Poer, by tenure of his castle of Dunavet.

After our lord the king had, at Oxford, in manner aforesaid, divided the lands of Ireland and their services, he made all the persons to whom he had entrusted the custody thereof do homage to himself and to his son John, and take the oaths of allegiance and fealty to them for their lands in Ireland. Also, at the same council, our lord the king gave to Richard, prior of Rikeby,[99] the abbey of Whitby, and to Benedict, prior of the church of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, the abbey of Burgh; on which Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated him abbat thereof.

In the same year, the before-named Vivianus, cardinal priest

[99] Perhaps the abbey of Revesby, in Lincolnshire.

and legate of the Apostolic See, having completed the business of his legateship in Ireland, came back to England, and, with the safe conduct of our lord the king, returned to Scotland, and, holding a synod at the castle of Edinburgh, suspended from the pontifical office Christian, bishop of Whitherne, because he had refused to come to the synod so held by him; but the bishop of Whitherne did not take any notice of the suspension, being protected by Roger, archbishop of York, whose suffragan he was.

After this, our lord the king came to Marlborough, where the king gave to Philip de Braose all the kingdom of Limerick, for the service of sixty knights, to hold of him and of his son John; for Hubert and William, the brothers of Reginald, earl of Cornwall, and Joslan de la Pumerai,[1] their nephew, declined to accept the gift of that kingdom, because it was not yet reduced into possession. For Monoderus,[2] who was the king of Limerick, and had done homage for it to the king of England, having been slain by some of his courtiers, one of his issue, a powerful and active man, invaded the kingdom of Limerick, gained possession of it, and ruled it with a strong hand, acknowledging no subjection to the king of England, and refusing to obey his officers, because of their faithless conduct, and the evils they had inflicted on the people of Ireland without their deserving them. The king of Cork, also, and many other wealthy persons in Ireland, rose in rebellion against the king of England and his officers; and their last doings were still worse than their former ones, as they fell to slaughtering one another.

In this year, the relics of Saint Amphibalus and his companions were discovered through a revelation from heaven, and were translated to St. Albans, on the seventh day before the calends of July, being Saturday. In the same year, queen Margaret, the wife of the king, the son, being pregnant, went to her father, the king of France, and, on arriving at Paris, was delivered of a still-born son. The Franks, however, asserted that this son of the king was born alive and was baptized, and named William. In the same year, on the thirteenth day

[1] He is called Jollan de la Primerai in p. 454. Holinshed calls him John de la Pumeray.

[2] He is called "Monoculus" by Holinshed, who gives as the reason, "because he had but one eye.

before the calends of July, it rained a shower of blood for two whole hours, in the Isle of Wight, so much so that linen clothes which were hung out upon the hedges were stained with this bloody rain, just as though they had been dipped in blood.

In this year, also, Martin, a canon-regular of the church of Bomigny, clandestinely carried away the body of Saint Petroc, and, taking to flight, carried it with him to the abbey of Saint Mevennes. On discovering this, Roger, the prior of the church of Bomigny, with the better-disposed portion of his chapter, went to the king of England, the father, and wrought so effectually against him that, by his precept, he commanded the abbey and community of Saint Mevennes, without delay, to restore the body of Saint Petroc to Roger, the prior of Bomigny; and, in case they should not do so, the king ordered Roland de Dinant, the justiciary of Brittany, to take the Saint's body by force, and deliver it into the hands of the above-named prior of Bomigny. On hearing this, the abbat and community of Saint Mevennes, having care for the safety of their church, and not daring to oppose the king's wishes, restored the said body, without any diminution thereof, to Roger, the prior of Bomigny, making oath upon the Holy Evangelists, and upon the relics of the saints, that they had restored the identical body, unchanged, and in an entirely perfect state.

In the same year, our lord the king of England, the father, restored to Bartholomew, the bishop of Exeter, the chapelry of Boseham,[3] and made him chaplain thereof, Arnulph, the bishop of Lisieux, to whom the king had unjustly given the said chapelry, agreeing and consenting thereto. For the above-named bishop of Lisieux, being led to repentance, gave to the before-mentioned bishop of Exeter, and to his church, letters patent of his resignation of the said chapelry of Boseham, renouncing the same for himself and his successors for ever. Our lord the king, also, gave a charter of surrender and confirmation of the chapelry of Boseham to the church of Exeter, in presence of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, John, bishop of Chichester, and numerous other witnesses. In this year also, our lord the king gave permission to the Jews in his dominions to have a burial-ground for each city of England, without the walls of the said cities, wherever

[3] In Sussex.

they could, for a reasonable sum and in a convenient situation, purchase a place for the burial of their dead. For, before this, all Jews who died were carried to London to be buried.

In the same year, by the Divine mercy, pope Alexander and Frederic, emperor of the Romans, were reconciled at Venice, at the Rialto there; the schism being thereby put an end to, which had now continued in the Church of Rome for nearly eighteen years. At this reconcilement there were present of the party of our lord the pope, Hunbald, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, William de Pavia, cardinal-bishop of Porto, Walter, cardinal-bishop of Albano, Conrad, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, Manfred, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina. John of Naples, cardinal-priest, Theodinus, cardinal-priest, Albert, cardinal-priest, Peter de Bonâ, cardinal-priest, Bosus, cardinal-priest, Vivianus, cardinal-priest, Herenbrand, cardinal-priest, Jacinto, cardinal-deacon, Herdizum, cardinal-deacon, Chinche Chapel, cardinal-deacon, Laborandus, cardinal-deacon, Hugezun, cardinal-deacon, Reiner, cardinal-deacon, the archbishop of Vienna, the archbishop of Bourges, the archbishop of Milan, the archbishop of Ravenna, the archbishop of Salerno, and count Roger de Andre, on behalf of the king of Sicily.

On the side of Frederic, emperor of the Romans, there were present at the above-mentioned reconciliation the persons undernamed: the archbishop of Magdeburg, Philip, archbishop of Cologne, Christian, archbishop of Mentz, the archbishop of Besancon, the archbishop of Treves, the elector of Worms, the prothonotary of the emperor, count Henry de Dice, the marquis Albert, and many others. These having all assembled in the city of Venice, on the ninth day before the calends of August, on the vigil of Saint James the Apostle, the above-named emperor, as had been previously arranged and agreed upon, came to the church of Saint Nicholas, which is one mile distant from Venice; and there, both he and the archbishops, bishops, and other principal men of the kingdom of Germany, renouncing their schism, rendered themselves deserving to receive the benefits of absolution from the bishops and cardinals whom our lord the pope had sent for the purpose of absolving them.

After this, they came to Venice, where, before the church of Saint Mark, the before-named emperor humbly paid all

honor and reverence to our lord the pope as Supreme Pontiff, and, receiving from him the kiss of peace, devoutly placed himself at his right-hand, and, with great dutifulness, led him into the church as far as the altar. On the succeeding day, it being the feast of Saint James and the second day of the week, the before-named emperor came to meet our lord the pope outside of the church of Saint Mark, and, devoutly placing himself at his right hand, led him into the church, and, the service of the mass having been there celebrated, then conducted him to the door of the said church; and, while our lord the pope was mounting his palfrey, the above-named emperor held for him the stirrup,[4] and showed him all the honor and reverence which his ancestors had been in the habit of showing to the pope's predecessors.

At this council, also, John, abbat of Struma, who had been styled pope Calixtus, and was the third and last anti-pope of this schism, was degraded, and was rejected and renounced by the emperor himself and all his principal men, both ecclesiastics and seculars. In like manner, all the archbishops, bishops, and abbats of the kingdom of Germany who had been ordained either by him or by the other anti-popes, his predecessors, namely, by Octavianus, who had been styled pope Victor, or by Guido de Crema, who had been styled pope Paschal, were degraded. The altars, also, which had been consecrated by them, or by those ordained by them, were destroyed. At this council, also, Conrad, the brother of the above-named emperor, received from the hands of pope Alexander the archbishopric of Sanceburg,[5] together with the legateship of the whole kingdom of Germany, to hold the same for life. Indeed, this Conrad, when in the time of the schism he had been elected archbishop of Mentz, refused to receive consecration from pope Octavianus, but, preferring to live among Catholics in a state of poverty for the name of Christ, rather than among schismatics be loaded with riches and transitory blessings, came to pope Alexander at the city of Sens, by whom being kindly received, he was made cardinal-bishop of Sabina; and Christian, chancellor of the emperor, succeeding him as archbishop of Mentz, received the pall from Guido of Crema, which he

[4] "Stapha" here, or, as it should be written, "stapia," may possibly mean a kind of ladder which was used in mounting a horse.

[5] Saltzburg is clearly meant.

afterwards burned with his own hands, because he had received it of him, and was absolved at Venice, at the Rialto, in the palace of the Patriarch, before pope Alexander and the whole of the cardinals, and receiving the pall from Alexander, continued to be archbishop of Mentz.

The Letter of pope Alexander to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, on the restoration of peace to the Church.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, and his beloved sons the abbats appointed in the archbishopric of Canterbury, and who especially belong to the Roman Church, health and the Apostolic benediction. We do give to Almighty God exceeding praise and thanks, who, though He has for so long permitted the ship of Peter to be tossed by the stormy tempests of the sea, has now at length given His orders to the winds and the waves, and a great calm has ensued, insomuch that, the waves of the raging sea being appeased, the said ship has been brought into the haven of rest and of safety. For our most dearly beloved son in Christ, Frederic, the illustrious emperor of the Romans, on a day recently past, being the Lord's day before the feast of Saint James, with great devoutness came into our presence at Venice, attended by the principal ecclesiastics and laymen of his realm, and there, before an innumerable concourse of men and women, who repeated his praises with the loudest acclamations, paid all reverence and honor to ourselves as Supreme Pontiff; and on the feast of Saint James, as we were going at his entreaty to the church of Saint Mark for the purpose of celebrating the solemnity of the mass, he came to meet us, and after the mass was finished, which, unworthy as we are, he reverently heard performed by us, he paid us all the honor which his ancestors had been accustomed to shew unto our predecessors. On the calends also of the present month of August, the before-named emperor, in presence of a numerous multitude of persons, caused oath to be made on his soul,[6] on which his chief men who were then present, both ecclesiastics as well as laymen, the said oath being administered, did confirm the same, to the effect that he would for ever keep intact and inviolate

[6] This peculiar kind of oath we learn was especially used by the early kings of France.

the peace towards the Church, and for fifteen years towards our most dearly beloved son in Christ, William, the illustrious king of Sicily, and the truce with the Lombards from the aforesaid calends of August for the space of six years in such manner as the said peace and truce had been agreed upon, and arranged and reduced to writing. Accordingly, in the same way that the said emperor has received us as the Catholic pope and his spiritual father, so do we acknowledge him as the Catholic emperor, and his wife as the Catholic empress, and their son as the Catholic king. Wherefore give thanks to our Creator who in His compassion has looked upon His spouse the Holy Church, and has in the fulness of His grace, after the many persecutions by which she has been grievously oppressed and crushed, restored peace and quietness to her. Given at Venice, at the Rialto, on the eighth day before the ides of August."

The Letter of pope Alexander to Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, on the peace made between himself and the emperor.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, Roger, archbishop of York, and legate of the Apostolic See, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, health and the Apostolic benediction. The obedience you have manifested in your most pleasing devotedness, and which you are known to have displayed both duteously and laudably towards ourselves and the Church, require that to you, as especial and duteous spiritual sons of the Church, we should describe the successes of the Church, inasmuch as it is worthy and becoming and right that those whom we have found so firmly rooted and established in duty towards us, we should render joyous and pleased at our welfare and that of the Church. Therefore, together with ourselves, give thanks to Almighty God who dwells on high, and who from above looks down upon the lowly, by whose bounty it has come to pass that His spouse the holy Church, after being long and grievously tossed by stormy waves and most mighty tempests, has now at length reached the haven of safety; and, the raging storms appeased, enjoys the tranquillity her due, and so much longed for by her. For, on the twelfth day before the calends of the present month of August, by command of our most dearly beloved son in Christ Frederic, the illustrious emperor of the Romans, the son

of the marquis Albert, a man of noble rank, great and powerful, and chamberlain of the emperor himself, in presence of the principal ecclesiastics and laymen of the kingdom of Germany, publicly made oath upon his soul, while touching the holy Evangelists, in our presence and before an innumerable concourse of persons, to the effect that after the said emperor had come to Venice, all questions and disputes being set at rest, he would make peace with the Church as the same had been arranged and agreed upon by our brethren and his principal men, and peace with our most dearly beloved son in Christ William, the illustrious king of Sicily, for fifteen years, and a truce with the Lombards for the space of six years, to be ratified by oath upon his soul, as also by his principal men, according to the contents of the charter containing the said treaties of peace and truce. Also, the chief men of the kingdom of Germany, namely, our venerable brethren the archbishops of Magdeburg and Cologne, and Christian, the so-called archbishop of Mentz, and certain others, then made oath for themselves upon their souls to the same effect. On the ninth day before the calends of August the before-named emperor, as had been arranged and agreed upon, came to the church of Saint Nicholas, which is one mile distant from Venice, where, both he, as also the archbishops, bishops, and other principal men of Germany, renouncing their schism, were thereby rendered deserving of the benefit of absolution at the hands of our brethren the bishops and cardinals at our command, certain other persons being there present. After this, they came to Venice, and there before the church of Saint Mark the before-named emperor, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of men and women, who returned thanks and rendered praises with the loudest acclamations, humbly and reverently paid obedience and respect to ourselves as Supreme Pontiff; and having received from us the kiss of peace dutifully took his place at our right hand, and with the respect and devotedness which was our due, led us into the church as far as the altar. On the following day, being the feast of Saint James, at the request of the said emperor, we came to the aforesaid church of Saint Mark to perform the solemnity of the mass, and on our arriving there the before-named emperor came forth from the church to meet us, and having dutifully taken his place at our right hand, led us into the church, and after the celebration of the mass, walked

at our right hand to the door of the said church, and when we mounted our palfrey which was there ready, held our stirrup and showed us all the honor and respect which his ancestors had been accustomed to show to our predecessors. It will, therefore, be your anxiety to congratulate ourselves and the Church upon our prosperity and success, and to impart the effects of peace to the other devoted sons of the Church, in order that those who are influenced by zeal for the house of the Lord may rejoice and exult in the Lord for the gift of peace sent unto them from above. Given at Venice, at the Rialto, on the seventh day before the calends of August."

In the same year, Peter, cardinal priest, titular of Saint Chrysogonus, and legate from the Apostolic See, formerly bishop elect of the see of Meaux, came into France and received a mandate from pope Alexander, that the whole of Normandy and all the lands of the king of England on both sides of the sea should be placed under interdict, unless he should allow his son Richard, earl of Poitou, to marry Alice, the daughter of Louis, king of France, whom the king of England had for a long time, and beyond the period that had been agreed upon between them, kept in his charge. When this was understood by the king of England, he appealed to the presence of our lord the pope, in his own behalf and that of his territories, and shortly after crossed over from England to Normandy, where a conference was held between him and the king of France at Ivery, on the eleventh day before the calends of October, in the presence of the before-named cardinal and the chief men of both kingdoms.

Here the king of England the father, by his people, plighted his faith and caused oath to be made on his soul,[7] that his son Richard, earl of Poitou, should be married to the before-named Alice, if the king of France, the father of the young lady, would give to the before-named Richard, earl of Poitou, the city of Bourges with its appurtenances as his daughter's marriage portion, according to the terms of the covenant that had been made thereon between them, and would give to his son king Henry the whole of the French portion of Veuilgesin,[8] namely, the whole of the land that lies between Gisors and Pontoise, which he had promised that he would give him as a marriage portion with his daughter. But as the king of France declined

[7] See the last note. [8] Now the Vexin.

to give them up, the king of England would not allow his son Richard to marry the before-named Alice. Nevertheless, at the said interview, by the advice of the cardinal and the chief men of both kingdoms, friendship and a final reconciliation were made between the king of France and the king of England upon the following terms :—

"Know all men, both present as well as to come, that I Louis, by the grace of God king of the Franks, and I Henry, by the like grace king of England, wish it to be understood by all men, both present and to come, that we, by the inspiration of God, have promised and made oath that we will go together, in the service of Christianity, and assuming the cross will depart for Jerusalem, in manner contained in the instrument made between us as to assuming the cross. We do also will that all should know that we now are and henceforth wish to be friends, and that each of us will, to the best of his power, defend life and limb for the other, and his wordly honors against all men. And if any person shall presume to do injury to either of us, I Henry, to the best of my power, will aid Louis, king of France, my liege lord, against all men; and I Louis will, to the best of my power, aid Henry, king of England, as my vassal and liegeman, against all men; saving always that faith which we owe to our liegemen so long as they shall preserve their fealty to ourselves. And from henceforth neither of us will harbour any enemy of the other in his dominions, from the time that delivery of him shall have been demanded. And to the end that henceforth all matter of discord between us may be removed, we do mutually agree that as to the lands and possessions and other things which each of us now possesses, the one shall from this time forward make no demand thereof against the other, (except Auvergne, as to which the dispute arose between us, and except the fee of Chateau Raoul, and except some small fees and allotments of lands belonging to us in Berry,) in case our vassals should take any portion thereof the one from the other or in opposition to either of us. And if, as to the places which are above excepted, we shall not be able of ourselves to come to an agreement, then I Louis, king of the Franks, have chosen three bishops, those of Claremont, Nivernois and Treguier, and three barons, count Theobald, count Robert, and Peter de Courteney,[9] my brethren, and I Henry, king of England, have chosen three bishops, William, bishop of Le Mans,

[9] Incorrectly written in the text "de Turtenei."

Peter, bishop of Perigord, and Robert, bishop of Nantes, and three barons, Maurice de Croume, William Maingot, and Peter de Montrabell, on my side. And the bishops before-named, shall upon the word of truth assert, and the laymen shall make oath, that they will diligently make inquisition into the allegations made on either side, both through themselves and through the oaths of the men of those districts, and that whatever they shall learn as to the rights of each of us, the same they will pronounce between us, and we will in good faith strictly abide by their decision. But if all those bishops whom I Louis have chosen, shall not be able to be present, nevertheless we will abide by the decision of such two as shall be present. And if all the barons who have been named on my side shall not be present, for all that we will not do otherwise than abide by the decision of the other two who shall be present. And in like manner it shall be as to those whom I king Henry have chosen, both bishops as well as barons. We have also made oath that we will do no injury to them because they shall have said the truth as to the said matters. And if perchance, which God forbid, any dispute shall hereafter arise between us as to our dominions, the same shall without delay be settled by the same persons in good faith and without evil intent. But if any one of the aforesaid persons shall in the meantime chance to die, then another one shall be substituted in his place. And if either of us, before assuming the cross, shall wish to depart at an earlier period upon the journey, the other who shall remain, shall faithfully protect and defend the territories and subjects of him who shall have gone abroad, as though they were his own and part of his own dominions. And after we shall have, by the will of God, assumed the cross, we will cause our men who shall be with us to make oath that, if either of us, which God forbid, shall die upon the road, then in such case they will faithfully serve him who shall be surviving, as they would have served their lord if he had been living, so long as they shall think proper to remain in the land of Jerusalem. The money of the deceased the survivor shall keep, to perform the due services to Christianity, with the exception of that portion which, before setting out, the deceased shall have ordered to be given to certain places and certain persons. And if either of us shall depart this life, we will appoint, if God shall indulge us with time sufficient, certain of

our trustworthy and faithful subjects, to whom shall be entrusted the money of each of us for the performance of the due services to Christianity, and who shall lead and govern our men. Also, on assuming the cross, before we set out on the expedition, we will cause those whom we shall appoint as guardians and governors of our dominions, to make oath that they will, in good faith and to the best of their power, if need shall be, assist in defending the lands of each of us, whenever the same shall be demanded in behalf of the other; that is to say, that they whom I Henry, king of England, shall appoint to govern my dominions, shall to the utmost of their power assist in defending the lands of Louis, king of France, my liege lord, in the same manner in which they would defend my own lands, in case my city of Rouen were besieged; and in like manner that those whom I Louis, king of France, shall appoint to govern my dominions, shall, to the utmost of their power, assist in defending the lands of Henry, king of England, just as they would defend my own lands if my city of Paris were besieged. I do also will that merchants and all other men of his dominions, both clergy as well as laity, shall, with all their property, be secure, and enjoy peace in all my territories. And I Henry, king of England, do in like manner will that merchants and all other men, both clergy as well as laity, of the dominions of the king of France, my liege lord, shall, with all their property, be secure and enjoy peace in all my territories. The above-written we have engaged strictly to observe, and have sworn the same in the presence of the venerable Peter, cardinal priest, titular of Saint Chrysogonus, legate of the Apostolic See, and in the presence of Richard, bishop of Winchester, John, bishop of Chartres, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, Froger, bishop of Seez, Gilles, bishop of Evreux, Henry, king of England, the son, earl Theobald, earl Robert, Peter de Courtrai, Simon, earl of Evreux, William de Humezt, and many others, both clergy and laity."

After the conference was concluded, Henry, king of England, the father, came to Vernueil, and there, in order to gain the Divine favour, and moved by the entreaties of the good men of Grammont,[10] he enacted, in presence of Richard, bishop of Winchester, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, Gilles, bishop of Evreux, Froger, bishop of Seez, Simon, earl of Evreux,

[10] An abbey not far from Limoges.

Robert, earl of Leicester, and many other earls and barons of his realm, that no one should for the debt of the superior lord presume to take the property of the vassal, unless the vassal should owe to him the same debt, or be security for the same; but that the rents which the vassals are bound to pay to their superior lords, are to be paid to the creditors of their lords, and not to the lords themselves. The rest, however, of the property of the vassals was to remain their own and in peace, and it should be lawful for no one to seize them for the debts of their superior lords. This statute and custom the king enacted, and ordered to be observed in all his vills and everywhere throughout his realm; namely, in Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Brittany, as being universal and established. And in order that the said statute might be strictly observed and held as ratified, he ordered it to be committed to writing and confirmed by the authority of his own seal.

In the same year, on the fifth day before the calends of October, being the third day of the week, Geoffrey, nephew of Roger, archbishop of York, prior of Beverley, and chancellor to the king of England, the son, master Robert le Grand, and many others, in number three hundred men and women, passing over in one and the same ship from England to Normandy, perished at sea near Saint Valery, on the coast of Ponthieu. Shortly after, our lord, the king of England, the father, entering Berry with a large army, captured Chateau Raoul; and when he was marching thence toward Castres, the lord of that town came and met him on the road, and delivered up to him the daughter of Raoul de Dol, whom the king gave to Baldwin de Rivers, together with the honor of Chateau Raoul.

After this, our lord, the king of England, the father, proceeded to Grammont, and Audebert, earl of March, came to meet him there, and in presence of the archbishop of Bourdeaux, John, bishop of Poitiers, and many other persons, both clergy and laity, sold to the before-named king of England the whole earldom of March for fifteen thousand pounds Anjouin, twenty mules, and twenty palfreys, and by his charter confirmed the same.

The Charter of Audebert, earl of March, made on the sale of his earldom to Henry, king of England, the father.

"Be it known to all present, as well as to come, that I, Audebert, earl of March, having lost my son, who was my sole heir, and being thereby left to the inclination of my own will, have, inasmuch as I have made a vow to devote myself for ever hereafter to the service of God, made sale of the whole of my lands, and whatever belonged to me by hereditary right, to my lord Henry, the illustrious king of the English, no one making objection to the same, (indeed there being no one whatever who could of right object thereto,) for fifteen thousand pounds of money, Anjouin, paid down to me in full at Grammont, twenty mules, and twenty palfreys. And further, I have by my corporal oath, administered by the hands of William, archbishop of Bourdeaux, given security that I will guarantee to my lord the king, and to his heir, the earl of Poitou, or to whomsoever he shall give the same, the aforesaid lands, in good faith and without evil intent, against all men, and that, during the whole of my life, I will do nothing either by contracting marriage or in any other way, to prevent the aforesaid sale from remaining inviolate. And to the end that this my sale so solemnly made, may not possibly, by any malignity hereafter, be rendered null and void, I have fortified the same with my seal. Done publicly in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord 1177, in the month of December, at Grammont, in presence of the archbishop of Bourdeaux, John, bishop of Poitou, and many others."

After these matters were transacted at Grammont, our lord, the king of England, the father, received homage and the oaths of fealty and allegiance from the barons and knights of the earldom of March, and Audebert, the said earl of March, departed thence with the above-mentioned sum of money which had been paid him by the king of England.

In the same year, a great flood took place in Holland, the embankments against the sea being burst asunder, and washed away nearly the whole of the property in that province, and drowned multitudes of people; this took place on the seventh day before the ides of January.

In the meantime, the abbat elect of the church of Saint

Augustin, at Canterbury, often and earnestly, both personally and by other worthy men, as his mediators, entreated Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, to come to the church of Saint Augustin, to consecrate him as abbat thereof, to which the archbishop made answer that it was not his duty to go thither to consecrate him, but rather that he ought to come to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, for the purpose of receiving his benediction. In consequence of this dispute, the beforenamed abbat elect appealed to the presence of our lord the pope, and setting out for Rome, obtained letters from Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Alexander on behalf of the abbat elect of the church of Saint Augustin, at Canterbury.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Roger, bishop of Worcester, health and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas we did some time since give our commands to our venerable brotherRichard, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the Apostolic See, no longer to defer bestowing the gift of consecration upon our dearly beloved son, the abbat elect of the church of Saint Augustin, in his monastery, which, without any intermediate person, belongs directly to the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, and inasmuch as the archbishop refused to perform our commands, we might of right have bestowed consecration upon the said abbat elect, either ourselves or through another, who would not prove so ready to oppose our wishes. Being desirous, however, more fully to make trial in him of the virtue of obedience, after a long discussion which the said archbishop has had in our presence, by means of his envoys with the abbat elect, on the disputed point as to the consecration, the same has, by the common consent of our brethren, by their definite judgment, been thus decided; that the archbishop of Canterbury must, without exacting obedience from him, and all opposition laid aside, consecrate both him and his successors in the monastery of Saint Augustin. We have accordingly, in conformity with the customary and abundant considerateness of the Apostolic See, thought proper to send back the said abbat elect to the aforesaid archbishop, to receive from him the gift of consecration. Considering, therefore, the labours and expenses which the said monastery has now for a long time incurred upon this point, we do command your brother-

hood, by our precept in this our Apostolic writing conveyed, and do by virtue of your obedience enjoin you, that, if the said archbishop shall delay to consecrate the said abbat elect, as directed by us, within the period by our letters appointed, then, relying on our authorization, all excuses, opposition, and appeal set aside, as soon as you shall be called upon so to do, no decree, either of ourselves or of another, by which it is ordered that the same shall be submitted to appeal, and no letters that have been, or shall be obtained from us withstanding, and no exception whatsoever thereto holding good, you shall, without curtailment or delay, fulfil our commands. Given at the Lateran, on the fifteenth day before the calends of May."

When the before-named archbishop of Canterbury heard of this, he determined to go to the monastery of Saint Augustin for the purpose of consecrating the said abbat elect, according to the tenor of the mandate of the Apostolic See. Accordingly, on a certain day on which the said abbat elect was travelling in another province upon the business of his house, the archbishop came with a considerable retinue of his clergy and laity to the monastery of Saint Augustin, asserting that he had come thither for the purpose of consecrating the said abbat elect, and on not finding him, appealed to our lord the pope on behalf of himself and the dignity of his church. In consequence of this, the abbat elect went to Rome, and received the gift of benediction from pope Alexander.

In the year of grace 1178, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Henry was at the city of Anjou, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord. In this year, the king of England, the father, desired exceedingly to return to England, and sending messengers to Louis, king of the Franks, obtained from him letters of protection to the following effect:—

"Louis, king of the Franks, to all to whom this present letter shall come, greeting. Know all of you that we have taken into our charge all the lands of Henry, king of England, our most dearly beloved brother, that lie on this side of the sea, in case he shall happen to cross over into England or go abroad, upon the understanding that when his deputies from the lands beyond sea shall call upon us so to do, we will with good faith and without evil intent give them counsel and help for the defence and protection of the said lands. Given at Vincennes."

In the meantime the Arian heresy which, as previously mentioned, had been condemned in the province of Toulouse, had revived; and this coming to the ears of the king of France and the king of England, inflamed by zeal for the Christian faith, they determined personally to go thither, in order that they might entirely drive the before-named heretics from those parts. However, after a short time had intervened, it seemed to them that it might be more effectual if they sent thither wise men to convert the heretics to the Christian faith by their preaching and learning, than if they themselves were to hasten thither in person. For they were reminded of the words, "'Tis enough to have commanded vengeance; more will the dread of your name effect than your sword; your presence diminishes your fame."[11]

They therefore sent thither Peter, cardinal priest, titular of Saint Chrysogonus, and legate of the Apostolic See, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Poitou, Henry, abbat of Clairval, and many other ecclesiastics, in order that by their preaching they might convert the said heretics to the Christian faith, or on reasonable grounds prove them to be heretics, and separate them from the threshold of holy mother Church and from communion with the faithful. In addition to this, the before-named kings chose Raymond, count of Toulouse, the viscount of Touraine, Raymond of Neufchatel,[12] and other influential men, and ordered them to act as assessors to the above-named cardinal and his associates in the faith of Christ, and to expel the said heretics from those parts by the power of their might.

Accordingly, when the before-named cardinal and the other Catholic persons had entered Toulouse, they found there a certain wealthy man, who possessed two castles, one within the city and the other without the walls of the city, who, before their coming, had confessed himself to be a sectary of the heretical corruption; but now, moved by terror, and desiring to screen this execrable sect, made pretence that he was a Christian. When the cardinal came to know this, he ordered the said wealthy person to be brought before him; on whose coming for the purpose of making confession of his faith, he was found to be in every article an antagonist of the Christian religion.

[11] "Vindictam mandasse sat est, plus nominis horror
Quam tuus ensis aget: minuit præsentia famam."

[12] In France.

Accordingly, he was pronounced by the aforesaid cardinal and the bishops who were with him a manifest heretic, and condemned; and they gave orders that his property should be confiscated, and that the castles which he possessed, lofty and of great beauty, should be levelled with the ground. Upon seeing himself thus condemned, and his property confiscated, he came to the cardinal and the bishops, his associates, and prostrating himself at their feet, asked pardon, and, penance being enjoined him, was led naked and scourged through the streets and lanes of the city. After this, he swore that he would go to Jerusalem, and remain there three years in the service of God, and if after the said three years he should return home, his possessions were to be restored to him, on condition, however, that his castles should be levelled, in testimony of his heretical depravity; he was also to give to the count of Toulouse five hundred pounds of silver.

On these things taking place, many of the heretics, fearing lest they might be dealt with in a similar manner, came to the cardinal and his associates, and secretly confessing their errors and asking pardon, obtained mercy. In the meanwhile, it came to their ears, that certain false brethren, namely, Raymond, Bernard, the son of Raymond, and certain other heresiarchs, transforming themselves into angels of light, while they were those of Satan, and preaching what was contrary to the Christian faith, led astray the minds of many by their false preaching, and had dragged them with themselves to hell. These being summoned to come into the presence of the cardinal and his associates, for the purpose of making confession of their faith, made answer that they would come before them if they should have a safe conduct in going and returning.

A safe conduct, in going and returning, being accordingly given to them, they came before the above-named cardinal, and the bishops, barons, clergy and people who were present, and produced before them a certain paper in which they had written down the articles of their faith. On their reading this at length, there seemed to be in it certain expressions of a suspicious nature, which, unless more fully expressed, might possibly conceal the heresy they had preached. When one of them attempted to explain the articles so written, and to speak in Latin, he was barely able to

connect two words, being utterly ignorant of the Latin language. Upon this, it was necessary for the cardinal and the bishops to bring themselves more on a level with them, and, in consequence of their ignorance, to use the vulgar tongue. Accordingly, on being examined as to the articles of the Christian faith, they made answer as to all the articles of the faith as soundly and as circumspectly as if they had been most sincere Christians.

Upon the count of Toulouse and others, who had formerly heard them preach what was contrary to the Christian faith, hearing this statement from them, being struck with the greatest astonishment and inflamed with zeal for the Christian faith, they arose and most clearly convicted them to their faces of having lied; saying that they had heard from some of them that there were two Gods, the one good, and the other bad, the good one having made only things invisible, and which cannot be changed or corrupted, the bad one the heavens, the earth, man and the other things visible. Others again affirmed that they had heard at their preaching, that the body of Christ was not made by the ministration of a priest who was unworthy, or who had been convicted of any crime. Others also stated that they had heard them say, in their preaching, that a man and his wife could not be saved if the conjugal debt was satisfied. Others again said that they had heard from them that baptism was of no use to infants, and the utterance of numerous other blasphemies against God and the holy Church and the Catholic faith, which, by reason of their abominable enormity, it is better to be silent upon than to disclose.

The heretics, however, contradicted these matters, and said that they had given false testimony against them. For they said publicly, in presence of the before-named cardinal and bishops, and all the people there present, and made confession, and stoutly asserted, that there is but one God most high, who has made all things visible and invisible, and entirely denied that there were two first principles of things. They also confessed that the priest, whether good or bad, whether just or unjust, and whether such a character that they knew him beyond doubt to be an adulterer or criminal in other respects, was able to make the body and blood of Christ, and that, through the ministration of a priest of this character, and by virtue of the Divine words which were pro-

nounced by the Lord, the bread and wine were really changed in substance into the body and blood of Christ. They also asserted that infants or adults baptized with our baptism are saved, and that without the said baptism no one can be saved, together denying that they used any other kind of baptism or imposition of hands, as had been imputed to them. In addition to this, they declared their belief, that a man and woman united in marriage, in case no other sin prevented it, would be saved, even though they should carnally satisfy the conjugal debt, being excused by virtue of their marriage, and that by reason thereof they are not damned.

They affirmed also, that archbishops, bishops, priests, monks, canons, hermits, recluses, Templars, and Hospitallers, would be saved. They also said, that it was becoming and proper that those who entered churches founded in honor of God and of the Saints, should approach them with the greatest devoutness, and, showing to their priests and other ministers honor and respect, should as a matter of duty pay them their first fruits and tithes, and make answer dutifully and faithfully on all parochial matters. They also laudably asserted, among other things, that alms ought to be given both to churches and to the poor, and indeed to every one who sought them.

Although they were said to have previously denied all these points, still they asserted that they did, according to a sound understanding, understand the same; on which the before-named cardinal and bishops ordered that they should swear that they believed in their hearts as they had confessed with their lips. But they, like men of distorted minds and crooked intentions, were at length unwilling to abandon their heresy, where any semblance of authority seemed to aid their crass and drowsy intellects, using as an excuse the words which the Lord is mentioned in the Gospel as having used; "Swear not at all, but let your words be yea, yea, nay, nay,"[13] and asserting that they ought not to swear; whereas the Lord Himself is often read of as having sworn, as it is written; "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent;"[14] and again, the Lord says, "I have sworn by myself."[15] The Apostle also says, "An oath for confirmation is the end of all strife."[16] But they, like idiots, not understanding the Scriptures, fell into the snare

[13] Matt. v. 34. [14] Psalm cx. 4. Heb. vii. 10. [15] Isai. xlv. 23. [16] Heb. vi. 16.

which they had concealed, for whereas they at first abhorred an oath as being an execrable thing and forbidden by the Lord, they were, by the paper of their confession, convicted of having sworn as they had said, "We do believe in the truth, which is God, and do say that this is our belief;" not being aware that to adduce the truth and the word of God in testimony of the truth of their assertion, is beyond a doubt taking an oath; as we read of the Apostle, when he says, "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord,"[17] and again, "God is my witness;"[18] and as other passages of a like nature prove, which can be easily found by those who understand, and have read, the Holy Scriptures.

When, therefore, they had been convicted by many and competent witnesses, and many persons were still preparing to bear witness against them, because the Church is not wont to deny the bosom of mercy to those who return thereto, they carefully warned them, laying aside all heretical corruptions, to return to the unity of the faith. They also advised them, as they had been excommunicated by our lord the pope, and the before-named cardinal, and the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, and the bishop of Toulouse, on account of their perverse preaching and schism, to come to be reconciled to the Catholic faith, according to the forms prescribed by the Church. This, however, being warped into tortuous ways and hardened by abandoned habits, they refused to do, on which the said cardinal, and the above-mentioned bishops, together with the before-named bishop of Poitiers, and the other religious men who had assisted them throughout, in the sight of the whole people, with lighted candles[19] again denounced them as excommunicated, and condemned them, together with their prompter, the devil, and gave orders to all the faithful in Christ, thenceforth cautiously to avoid the before-named Raymond and Bernard, and their accomplices, as persons excommunicated, and handed over to Satan; and that if at any time in future they should preach to them any thing else than what they had confessed in their hearing, they should reject their preaching as false, and contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic faith, and drive them as heretics and forerunners of Anti-

[17] 1 Thess. iv. 15. [18] Rom. i. 9.

[19] A solemn mode of excommunication, in which, at the moment of sentence being pronounced, the candles were extinguished.

christ to a distance from their territories. Moreover, the count of Toulouse, and the other more influential men of the province, in presence of all the people, gave assurance on oath, that from that time forward they would neither, for entreaty nor for money, support the heretics. Accordingly, the before-named cardinal wrote to all the sons of holy mother Church, to the following effect:

The Letter of Peter, titular of Saint Chrysogonus, cardinal priest, and legate of the Apostolic See.

"Peter, by the grace of God, titular of Saint Chrysogonus, cardinal priest, and legate of the Apostolic See, to all the sons of holy mother Church, who preserve the Catholic and Apostolic faith, health in the Lord. The Apostle bears witness that as there is but one God, so is there known to be but one faith, from the soundness whereof no one can possibly without peril wander astray. The foundations thereof, than which no one can possibly lay any other, the Apostles and the Apostolic men their successors, have, by the inspiration and teaching of the Holy Ghost, so firmly and so circumspectly laid with sound doctrines, as though with natural stones, that neither the blasts of the roaring north wind, nor the engines of the impious, even with repeated assaults, can overthrow them, or in any way move them from the firmness of their position. Consequently, although in these days certain false brethren, namely, Raymond de Baimiac, and Bernard, the son of Raymond, and certain other heresiarchs, transforming themselves into angels of lights, whereas they are those of Satan, for some time past preaching what is contrary to the Christian and Apostolic faith, have, by their poisonous doctrines, deceived the souls of many, and dragged them with themselves to perdition; more recently, however, He who unveils mysteries, and who gave His spirit to Daniel to confound the elders of Israel, having respect for the souls deceived by the guiles of the devil, has been unwilling that their perfidiousness should be any longer hidden, or that the purity of the Christian doctrines should by their preaching be corrupted; and by His wonderful power, many hearing and seeing the same, has revealed the venom of their perfidiousness which had been previously concealed, to the increase and glory of the Christian faith. For lately, the aforesaid Raymond and Bernard and others met our reverend brother

Reginald, bishop of Bath, and the noble men the viscount of Touraine, and Raymond of Neufchatel, who by our advice had come to the territory of Roger de Bediers, for the purpose of obtaining the liberation of our venerable brother the bishop of Alby, and asserted that they were unjustly treated by the noble man the count of Toulouse and other barons who had for ever abjured them; on which occasion, on their proposing to come into our presence for the defence of their faith if they could have a safe conduct in coming and returning, the said bishop and viscount, fearing lest this stumbling-block might not be revealed to the hearts of the simple, who were imbued with their abominations, and lest they might ascribe it to our distrustfulness if a hearing were refused them, on our behalf and that of the before-named count, granted them the said indulgence, in order that in full security they might present themselves before us, that in the hearing of ourselves and our venerable brother the bishop of Poitiers, the legate of the Apostolic See, and of other discreet men, and of the whole people, they might be examined, and, if their belief were sound and proper, be approved of by us; and in order that, after being examined by us, they might still return in security to their homes, that so they might not appear to have been induced by any fear or violence to make confession of the true faith; but however, upon the understanding that if within eight days from the time that our edict had gone forth, they should not have returned to the true faith, they were to be expelled from the territories of the noble men who had abjured them. We therefore thought proper to ratify the indulgence so granted them by the bishop and viscount; although, as we have mentioned, an edict had already gone forth from the aforesaid count of Toulouse and other noble men, that they should be expelled from their territories; and, the said bishop of Poitiers and the before-named count of Toulouse, and other clergy and laymen, about three hundred in number, being assembled with us in the church of Saint Stephen, we enjoined them to explain to us their belief, and, returning to the truth of the Catholic faith, by a healthful confession of the true faith, to remove the infamy which both the whole land and they themselves had by their damnable doctrines incurred. On this, during the conversation that ensued on both sides, they produced a certain paper in which they had written out the articles of their faith, and read it at length just as written. On our detecting in it some expres-

sions which seemed to be of a suspicious nature, and which might, unless more fully explained, conceal the heresy which they had preached, we requested them to answer and defend their faith in the Latin tongue; both because their language was not sufficiently understood by us, and because the Gospels and Epistles, on which alone they were willing to ground their belief, are known to be written[20] in the Latin tongue. When they found that they could not venture to do this, being entirely ignorant of the Latin language, as appeared by the words of one of them, who, when he attempted to speak in Latin, was hardly able to join two words, and entirely failed; it became necessary for us to stoop to their level, and, absurd as it was, by reason of their ignorance to discourse in the vulgar tongue about the Sacraments of the Church. On this, making denial that there were two first principles of things, they publicly, in the presence of ourselves and the before-named persons, made confession and stoutly asserted that there is one God most high, who has made all things, visible and invisible, which they also proved to be true by the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. They also confessed that our priest, whether good or bad, just or unjust, and whether even of such a character that they knew him, beyond doubt, to be an adulterer, or guilty of any other crime, was able to make the body and blood of Christ, and that through the ministration of such a priest, and by virtue of the Divine words, which were pronounced by the Lord, the bread and wine were truly changed in substance into the body and blood of Christ. They also asserted that infants or adults when baptized with our baptism are saved, and that without the said baptism no one can be saved, utterly denying that they had any other baptism or imposition of hands, as was imputed to them. They further asserted their belief that a man and woman united in marriage, in case no other sin prevented it, would be saved although they should satisfy the conjugal debt, being excused by virtue of their marriage, and that by reason thereof they are not damned. They affirmed also that archbishops, bishops, priests, monks, canons, recluses, Templars, and Hospitallers would be saved. They also said that it was becoming and proper, that those who entered churches founded in honor of God and of the Saints, should approach them with the greatest devoutness, and, showing to the priests and other ministers

[20] He alludes to the Latin translation in the Vulgate.

honor and respect, should dutifully pay them their first-fruits and tithes, and make answer dutifully and faithfully on all parochial matters. They also laudably asserted, among other things, that alms ought to be given both to the churches and to the poor, and indeed to every one who sought them.[21] Although they were said to have previously denied all these points, still they asserted that they did, according to our sound understanding, understand the same. After they had been thus examined by us, and had of their own accord made the confessions already mentioned, we entered the church of Saint James; where, together with ourselves, an innumerable concourse of people, which had flocked together, as though to witness a spectacle, heard the confession of their faith read in the vulgar tongue, the same having been written out in the said tongue. After this, when, with all patience and without any tumult, they had been listened to by us and all the people there assembled, and had of their own accord made an end of speaking, inasmuch as the exposition of their faith seemed quite praiseworthy and orthodox, we again asked them in the hearing of all the people, if they believed in their hearts what they had confessed with their lips, and if at any time they had preached the contrary thereof, as they had been often charged with doing. They making answer that they did so believe, and further denying that they had ever preached to any other effect, the noble man the count of Toulouse and many others, clergy as well as laymen, who had heard them preach what was contrary to the Christian faith, being struck with the greatest astonishment, and inflamed with zeal for the Christian faith, arose and most clearly convicted them to their faces of having lied. Some in fact steadily asserted that they had heard from some of them, that there were two Gods, the one good and the other bad; the good one having only made things invisible, and which cannot be changed or corrupted; the bad one, the heavens, the earth, man and the other things visible. Others again affirmed that they heard at their preaching, that the body of Christ was not made by the ministration of a priest who was unworthy, or who had been convicted of any crime. Many in like manner bore witness that they had heard them utterly deny that a man and his wife could be saved, if the conjugal debt were satisfied by them. Others

[21] "Omni petenti" here appears in the form of "omnipotente;" the former is clearly the right reading.

again stoutly maintained to their faces, that they had heard from them that baptism was of no use to infants, and the utterance of numerous other blasphemies against God and the Holy Church and the Catholic faith, which, by reason of their abominable enormity, we would rather be silent upon than disclose. But,[22] whatever they stated in their former confession, which seemed to be sufficient unto salvation, if they did believe the same in heart, and did so affirm with all their heart, still, like men of distorted minds, and of crooked intentions, they were at length unwilling to abandon their heresy, when any seeming authority seemed to aid their crass and drowsy intellects, using as an excuse the words which our Lord is mentioned in the Gospel as having used; 'Swear not at all, but let your words be yea, yea, nay, nay;' and asserting that they ought not to swear, whereas the Lord Himself is often read of as having sworn, as it is written, 'The Lord hath sworn and will not repent;' and again the Lord says, 'I have sworn by myself.' The Apostle also says, 'An oath for confirmation is the end of all strife.' Many other passages also are found to present themselves to those who read the holy Scriptures, to the like effect; in which, by reason of the infirmity of nature, we are allowed to make an use of oaths to those whom we would persuade to anything. However, like idiots, not understanding the Scriptures, they fell into the snare which they had concealed; for whereas they at first abhorred an oath as being an execrable thing, and forbidden by the Lord, they were, by the very paper of their confession, convicted of having sworn, as they had said, 'We do believe in the truth, which is God, and do say that this is our belief;' not being aware that to adduce the truth and the word of God in testimony of the truth of their assertion, is beyond a doubt taking an oath; as we read of the Apostle, when he says, 'For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord;' and again, 'God is my witness;' and as other passages of a like nature prove, which can be easily found by those who understand, and have read, the holy Scriptures. When therefore they had been convicted by many and competent witnesses, and many persons were still preparing to bear witness against them; because the Church was not wont to deny the bosom of mercy to those who return thereto, we carefully warned them, laying aside all

[22] This passage is corrupt, and it is pretty clear that some words are omitted.

heretical corruptions, to return to the unity of the faith; and advised them, as they had been excommunicated by our lord the pope, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, and the bishop of Toulouse, by reason of their perverse preaching and schism, to come to us to be reconciled to the Catholic faith, according to the forms prescribed by the Church. This however, being warped into tortuous ways, and hardened by abandoned habits, they refused to do, on which, in the sight of the whole people, who with one voice shouted assent thereto and exclaimed against them with great fury, with lighted candles we again denounced them as excommunicated, being joined therein by the bishop of Poitou before-mentioned, and other religious men who had supported us throughout, and condemned them together with their prompter, the devil. Wherefore we do warn the whole of you, and do exhort you in the Lord, and do for the remission of your sins enjoin you henceforth carefully to avoid the before-named Raymond and Bernard and their accomplices, as persons excommunicated and handed over to Satan; and if, at any time in future, they shall presume to preach to you anything else than what they have expressed in our presence to the effect above-written, you are to reject their preaching as false and contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic faith, and to drive them as heretics and forerunners of Antichrist, from any intercourse with yourselves in your uprightness, and to a distance from your territories.

The Letter of Henry, abbat of Clairval, on the same subject.

"Give ear, O ye heavens, to our lamentations, let the earth learn the grief of our heart. Let Catholic Christians bewail the lot of Christ, and let the faithful people weep for the sorrows of their faith. Let all nations of the earth and sons of men deplore the injury done to the salvation of mankind, and let the universal sorrow of our lives be universally mourned by all living men. In our day a new Philistine is arrayed against the squadrons of Israel, a band of heretics, an army of perverts, who irreverently insult the troops of the living God, and with the highest presumption blaspheme the majesty of the Lord. Why dost thou hesitate, O David? Why dost thou tremble, thou faithful man? Take up thy sling and thy stone; instantly be the blasphemer smitten on the forehead, and let the wicked head which is shamelessly exalted be raised on the

point of his own sword by thy hands. For if in this contest the portion of Christ is conquered, or if in the slightest degree or in the smallest point mother Church is trodden under foot, we know for certain that the cause is not wanting in goodness but in defenders; we know also that the triumph will not be denied to our champion, if when fighting he wages the warfare inspired by love of the faith. But inasmuch as, according to the word of truth, 'The harvest is plenteous and the labourers are few,' the ravagers, good Jesus, of Thy fields, being arrayed as deceitful labourers, think if they shall enter boldly, by their ravages, as it were, to forestall the day of gathering in thy harvest, and rather to root up what is unripe than to reap what has attained maturity: where, then, are Thy husbandmen appointed by Thee over Thy fertile and pleasant field, blossoming with Thy blood, and watered with the sprinkling thereof? Let them arise and assist us, and let them shield us in our necessity, and oppose themselves as a wall of defence for us against these blood-stained beasts. Arise, I say, arise, husbands, fathers, leaders of nations, princes of the people, drive away these vilest of savage brutes, which we have beheld, which we point out, or at least expel these cubs of foxes; and yet it is better to take them, but who is fitted so to do? They have no certain paths, they walk along winding ways, and these most savage monsters are hidden in a kind of labyrinth made by their own frauds. Like a fawn they make their escape from the hand, and are like unto writhing serpents; the more tightly you grasp them, the more easily do they slip away. Thanks to God, however, that, although they cannot be taken, they may be driven away, that so when they have failed in the exertions they were making against us, they may be confounded and perish of themselves. And, that this can easily be effected, we will prove by things that we have beheld, and in which we have taken part; so that if, from this time forward, it is not done, we shall have to deplore, not so much their wickedness as our own short-comings, and the negligence of our people. For it lately happened that, at the command of our lord the pope, and at the exhortation of the most pious princes, Louis, king of the Franks, and Henry, king of the English, the lord Peter, the legate of the Apostolic See, and the venerable men the bishops of Poitou and Bath, and ourselves, went to Toulouse, a city in their county, which, as it was stated to be a city containing a vast multitude, was also said

to be the mother of heresy and the fountain-head of error. Accordingly, we went to her, that we might learn if her pangs justified the wailings that were raised. And, behold! her wound was found to be exceeding great, so much so, that from the sole of her foot to the crown of her head, there was hardly any soundness in her. For, in truth, not a third part had been told us of all her wicked abominations, which that noble city was cherishing in the bosom of her unbelief. The abomination of desolation had found a place in her, and the likeness of the reptiles described by the prophets found a refuge in her lurking-places. Heretics were there acting the governor over the people, ruling over the clergy, to such a degree that it made true the saying, 'Like people like priest;'[22] and the very life of the pastor was formed for the destruction of the flock. The heretics spoke, and all were in admiration; a Catholic spoke, and they would say, 'Who is this?' making it a miracle and a matter for amazement if there was any one among them who should dare even to whisper anything about the Word of truth. So greatly did this pestilence prevail upon the earth, that they had made for themselves not only priests and bishops, but they had even evangelists, who, corrupting and cancelling evangelical truth, forged new gospels for them, and, seducing the people, preached unto them new dogmas from the wickedness of their hearts. I am guilty of falsehood if there was not among them a certain aged man, of considerable affluence, blessed with brethren and friends, and withal among the greatest of the city a great man, whom the devil had so blinded with sin, urging him on, that he declared himself to be Saint John the Evangelist, and would separate the Word that in the beginning was with God, from the other first principle of created things, as though from another God. He was the head of the doomed ones in this city, and the chief of the heretics; and though, a layman and illiterate, he knew nothing at all, still, like a very fountain of diabolical wisdom, he showered forth among them the streams, bitter as gall, of perdition and of death. Of a night there resorted to him the owls that love darkness, on which, he, clothed in a kind of garment made like a dalmatic, would take his seat among them, like a king with his army standing around him, and become a preacher to the senseless creatures. The whole city he had quite filled

[22] Alluding to Isaiah xxiv. 2.

with his disciples and his doctrines; so much so that, through fear of him, no one in the city dared offer any resistance to him. Even upon our entry into the city, such great licence did the heretics everywhere enjoy, that even, going straight before us along the streets and lanes, they would laugh in their sleeves, and point us out with remarks and their fingers; crying out that we were apostates, hypocrites, heretics. But in process of time, and on a respite being afforded us, in a few days one of us was enjoined to use the words of exhortation, and to discourse on the rule of faith before the infidel multitude. Wherefore, on using orthodox discourse in preaching to the people, the sinners were alarmed in Sion, and trembling came upon the hypocrites; so much so, that they who before had closed the mouths of the speakers, now did not dare to appear before the speakers. One seeing or hearing might instantly have observed foxes transformed into moles, and whereas hitherto they had with impunity run to and fro before the public, now they dived down into their hiding-places in the ground, and into their subterranean cells, in order that, in the bowels of the earth, they might gnaw and destroy the sacred plants, which they now no longer dared openly to crop. But, lest this leopard of various colours might betray himself by the spots on his skin, by their crafty inventions they adopted a wicked mode of expression, in order that, on being brought to the test of discussion, for the purpose of aping our confirmed belief in the true faith, they might lyingly assert that they believe whatever we believe. From that day, therefore, our lord the legate and the rest of us who thought fit to meet these wild beasts openly, for the purpose of making examination of those whom fear and confusion had thrust down grovelling into the very centre of the earth, turned our whole attention, and used all our endeavours that, even by compulsion, they should come forth into public, and, in the light, reject the works of darkness. Accordingly, it came to pass that, by command of the legate, the bishop made oath, as also some of the clergy and the chief men of the city, and other men in the city who were attached to the true faith, and whom no manner of perfidy on their part had as yet aspersed, that they would give to us in writing the names of all whom they had hitherto known or might happen to know in future, who were accomplices in, or promoters of, this heresy, and would spare no

one whatever either for favour or reward, or on account of any tie of relationship. When therefore an innumerable multitude was duly entered upon this list so drawn up, among others there was named this great man, Peter Moran, whom, as we have previously mentioned, they called Saint John the Evangelist. Accordingly, taking counsel together with reference to him, we determined with him to commence our judgment, that the rest of the perfidious multitude might tremble, when the simplicity of the true Gospel had brought to condemnation the craftiness of the false evangelist. Sending therefore his apparitors, the earl of Saint Gilles, who faithfully gave us his assistance, ordered him to be summoned. He however, trusting in the multitude of his riches, and the numbers of his relations, set at nought the words of the first citation, by making some trifling and arrogant excuse for creating delay. Consequently, on a second day the earl, relying more on blandishments than terror, in a quiet way invited the said Peter by means of his friends and acquaintances; and, after he had made many difficulties as to coming, mingling threats with blandishments, at last brought him before us. Upon this, one of us who was the speaker, began to warn him in such terms as these: 'Well now, Peter, your fellow-citizens accuse you of having broken the rule of the true faith, and having entered upon the corruptions of the Arian heresy; nay, more, you both lead others, and are being led yourself by others through the devious paths of multiplied errors.' Upon this, heaving a deep sigh, and inwardly touched with a pang at his heart, he lyingly asserted at the first blush that he was none of that sort. On being asked whether he would prove this on oath, he contended that credence ought be given to his simple assertion as that of a faithful and noble man. When, however, we all persisted in exacting the oath, he promised that he would swear forthwith, for fear lest he might by that very circumstance be detected to be a heretic, in case he should remain obstinate in declining the oath, which refusal was in conformity with the tenets of this heresy. Accordingly, shortly afterwards the relics of the saints were with due honor produced and received with such solemn reverence and devotion, so much so, that the faithful among the people were moved to tears, and their hiding-places had more charms for the heretics who had assembled than such a sight. During the chaunt, which we sang, shedding plenteous

tears, to invoke the presence of the Holy Ghost, an evident tremor and paleness came over the said Peter; insomuch, that both the colour of his countenance forsook him, and his strength of mind departed. For how, on the approach of the Holy Ghost, was any spirit to remain in its adversary? You might have seen the man shaking as though with a paralytic attack, no longer retaining his power of language nor his senses, although he was said by all to be a person of such great eloquence that he had been accustomed to excel all others in speaking. Why say more? All standing by, the unhappy man making oath that he would explain the truth as to his belief on all the articles of faith on which we should question him, a wondrous thing took place, and one in such a scene most agreable, by reason of the pious delight it afforded us. The book was open upon which he had sworn; and one of the persons standing by, as a sort of pious amusement desiring to obtain a presage of what was to come by means of the expression he should hit upon, the following text of Scripture met his view: 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Hast thou come to torment us before the time?'[23] Truly, Lord Jesus, they had nothing to do with Thee, whom the heavenly Father had cut off from the true vine as unfruitful branches, and had thrown abroad that they might wither away! But with us, who were assembled in Thy name, the increase of our gladness was multiplied, and the glories of Thy might resounded in thanksgivings and in the voice of praise. At length, Peter was simply required on the strength of his oath to confess to us his belief as to the sacrament of the altar without any concealment thereon; however, he did not with his lips confess to the court for the purpose of procuring safety that which he did not believe in his heart; but on the contrary, whereas he had made a determination to lie on all points, he made a true disclosure of his own falseness; and by a new doctrine of his, proceeded to assert that the holy bread of eternal life, when consecrated by the ministration of the priest with the word of God, does not become the body of the Lord. Upon this, all arose, overwhelming him in a manner with the tears, which his contempt for the sacraments of Christ produced, and the Christian compassion that was felt for the wretched man, summoned forth. No more was needed. They

[23] Matt. viii. 29.

gave their answer to the earl; he was adjudged to be guilty of heresy, and immediately, with the most positive promises on the part of his relations, was consigned to the public place of confinement. Rumours of what had happened flew through the streets and suburbs of this most extensive city. The mouths of the faithful were opened, and the lips of the Catholic people were unsealed, O Christ, to thy praises; then for the first time, as it were, did the brightness of faith burst forth in that city, and the state that had so shortly before been despaired of, breathed again to entertain hopes of everlasting salvation. From that moment the word of God waxed stronger, and was daily multiplied; so that the whole face of the city seemed more joyous, in that it emerged from the darkness of error into the brilliancy of the light of truth. In the meantime, Peter, coming to himself, and being moved by the Lord who looked down upon him, on seeing that he was worthy of death in this as well as in a future world, having sent many mediators, asked to be allowed the means of making satisfaction, and promised to show the fruits of conversion, if he should be liberated from the fear of impending death to the profitable enjoyment of a better mode of life. He came accordingly, was received by us, and was placed in sight of the contrite people with his body naked, thus putting off the corruption of his former infidelity. There, in the presence of all, he acknowledged himself a heretic, there, by his hands, he plighted his faith, there, he renounced his errors; there, giving his right hand, he made oath in the presence of all, and gave sureties to the earl, as well as the knights and his principal fellow-citizens, that he would submit himself to every mandate of my lord the legate, and would in all things obey his commands. Upon this, proclamation was made to the people that they were all to meet on the following day, at the church of Saint Saturninus, to hear and to see in solemn form what mode of penance the said Peter would have enjoined upon him to perform. Accordingly, on the following day, as they had been warned, all met together, and such a multitude, such dense crowds, that, without excessive squeezing, there hardly remained within the very horns of the altar a vacant place for my lord the legate when celebrating the solemn service of the mass. And, behold! in the presence of this multitude so vast, Peter, who was now in our hands, was led through the

doors of the church naked and without shoes, the bishop of Toulouse and the abbat of Saint Saturninus scourging him on either side, until he was placed on the steps of the altar at the legate's feet. Here, in the face of the Church, he was reconciled to the sacraments thereof, abjuring all heresy, and all heretics being cursed by him. After this, his possessions being all forfeited and confiscated, the following penance was enjoined on him: That, within forty days, he should depart in exile from his country, for Jerusalem, there to remain three years in the service of the poor; and, in the meantime, on each Lord's Day, he was ordered to go round the churches of the city of Toulouse, naked and without shoes, and attended by the rods of discipline; to restore the property belonging to churches which he had taken away; to give back all usurious interest he had received; to repair the losses of the poor whom he had injured; and to demolish from the very foundation a castle of his which he had profaned with the conventicles of the heretics. Merciful God! what tears did holy joyousness there pour forth, what thanksgivings and praises did the rejoicing and devout people add to the heavenly choirs, when such a man as this was drawn forth from the lurking-places of infidelity, and this most ravening wolf was transformed into a sheep of Israel. After this, on his being dismissed, my lord the legate sent to others with the intention of excommunicating them, great numbers of whom either public suspicion or private accusation had pointed out. As for ourselves, joy having at length sprung up attended by tears, we asked for leave to return, on the ground that pressing business of our chapter now required our return; which was accordingly granted to us, but upon condition, that we should proceed to the diocese of Alby, to warn Roger, the lord of the territory, namely, that of Bediers, both to release the bishop of Alby, whom he kept in prison and in the custody of the heretics, and to reform the whole of his territories, in conformity with the mandate of my lord the legate, by expelling all heretics therefrom. Accordingly, upon our repairing thither, together with the above-mentioned bishop of Bath, we entered this most abandoned district, which, like a sink of all wickedness, received whole sewers of heresy that flowed from all sides into it. On this, the before-named Roger betook himself to the most distant and inaccessible part of his territories, both run-

ning away through a bad conscience and through despair of the goodness of his cause. For he, an author of wickedness, hated the light of truth, and could not endure our approach for the purposes of a conference, having totally devoted himself to works of darkness. However, we arrived at a certain fortress of his, extremely well fortified, which, appropriately and singularly, the inhabitants called by the name of the Castle. Here lived his wife, attended with a large retinue of knights and a very extensive household. Nearly all the inhabitants of this castle were either heretics or abettors of the heretics, although being held in check by the sole might of the Lord, they presumed not even to whisper anything against the faith which we preached. For, although we were placed in their hands, and were fettered as it were by being in their power, being surrounded by multitudes of heretics on every side, still, the word of the Lord was not checked, so as to prevent us from attacking them in repeated censures and reproaches. And when we saw that they did not dare to make any answer whatever, we adjudged the said Roger to be a traitor, a heretic, and a perjurer for having violated the safety of the bishop, and boldly, in the name of Christ, pronounced him to have departed from the faith, and to be condemned, as by a public excommunication, in behalf of our lord the pope and the before-named kings, in presence of his wife and his knights. Behold, how evident it is that from henceforth a wide door is thrown open to Christian princes for them to avenge the injuries of Christ, and to make the wilderness, as it were, the garden of the Lord, and the desert the delights of paradise. Moreover, that it may not be alleged that little or nothing could be done against them, be it known to all, that it was the general opinion in the city of Toulouse that if this visitation had been delayed for the space of three years, there would have been hardly found one person in it who called upon the name of Christ. In addition to all this, the said earl of Saint Gilles has confirmed by oath, before the people of the city, that, from this time forward, he will neither, for gift or entreaty, show favour to the heretics."

In the same year, the king of England, the father, crossed over from Normandy to England, and at Woodstock knighted his son Geoffrey, earl of Brittany; who, immediately upon receiving the rank of a knight, passed over from England

to Normandy, and on the confines of France and Normandy, giving his attention to military exercises, took pleasure in making himself a match for knights of reputation in arms; and the more ardently did he seek for fame to attend his prowess, from knowing that his brothers, king Henry, and Richard, earl of Poitou, had gained great renown in arms. However, they had but one common feeling, and that was, to excel others in feats of arms; being well aware that the science of war, if not practised beforehand, cannot be gained when it becomes necessary. Nor indeed can the athlete bring high spirit to the contest, who has never been trained to practise it. It is the man who has seen his own blood, whose teeth have rattled beneath another's fist, who when tripped up has strove against his adversary with his entire body, and though thrown has not lost his mettle, and who, as oft as he fell, has risen more determined, more bold, who goes forth with ardent hopes to the combat. For valour when aroused adds greatly to itself; transitory is the glory of the mind that is subjected to terror. Without any fault of his, he is overcome by the immensity of the weight, who comes to bear the burden and is unequal thereto, zealous though he may be. Well is the reward paid for toil, when is found the temple of victory.

In the same year, William, archbishop of Rheims, came into England on a pilgrimage to the blessed Thomas the Martyr, at Canterbury, and was met, with congratulations, by the king of England, the father, who honored him with becoming presents. In the same year, pope Alexander sent his legates into all parts of the world that were subject to him, for the purpose of inviting the prelates of the Church to come to Rome at the beginning of Lent in the following year, to hold a solemn and general council there. For when the violence of maladies, with rapid steps, is hastening to the very vitals, no salutary counsel is able to extend a hand to check it, except through the conference of numbers. Accordingly, there came into England two legates, namely, Albert de Suma, who was commissioned to summon the bishops and abbats of England and Normandy, and Peter de Santa Agatha, whose commission it was to summon the bishops and abbats of Scotland and Ireland and the adjoining islands. Accordingly, the said Peter de Santa Agatha, for obtaining licence to pass through the territories of the king of England, made oath, touching the holy Evan-

gelists, that in his legateship he would attempt nothing to the detriment of the king or his kingdom, and that he would return through his dominions, which he did accordingly.

In the same year pope Alexander wrote to John king of the Indies to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Alexander, sent to John, king of the Indies.

"Alexander the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dearly beloved son in Christ, the illustrious and mighty king of the Indies, the most holy of priests,[24*] health, and the Apostolic benediction. The Apostolic See, over which, unworthy as we are, we preside, is the head and mistress of all who believe in Christ; the same being attested by our Lord, who said unto Saint Peter, whose successor, unworthy though we may be, we are, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.'[25] This rock, then, Christ has willed to be the foundation of His church, which He declares shall be shaken by no storms and tempests of the winds. Therefore, not without reason did Saint Peter, upon whom He founded this church, especially and in chief deserve to receive supremacy among the Apostles. To him it was said by the Lord; 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'[26] We had heard long ago, from the accounts of many, and from common report, what unvarying diligence you have shown in pious works since you have embraced the Christian religion, and how you devote your attention to what is pleasing and acceptable to God. But our beloved son, master Philip, our physician, and a member of our household, who says that he has conversed in those parts with the great and honorable men of your kingdom, concerning your intentions and plans, like a cautious and discreet man, circumspect and prudent, has constantly and anxiously signified unto us, that he has heard for certain from them, that it is your wish and purpose to be instructed in the Catholic and Apostolic doctrines, and that it is your fervent desire that

[24*] This was Presbyter, or Prester John—a supposed king of the interior of Asia. It is supposed that the person here meant was Oungh Khan, slain by Gengis Khan, A.D. 1202. This letter is probably a fabrication of the Nestorian Missionaries, who spread reports of his conversion.

[25] Matt. xv. 18. [26] Matt. xvi. 19.

you and the dominions entrusted unto your highness should never appear to hold anything in your belief which may in any degree differ from, or be at variance with the doctrines of the Apostolic See. Upon which, we do indeed greatly congratulate you as a most dearly beloved son, and do give exceeding thanks to Him from whom every gift proceeds, adding wish upon wish and prayer upon prayer, that He who hath caused you to receive the name of Christian may of His ineffable goodness inspire your mind with a wish to obtain all knowledge, which ought to be imparted to the profession of Christianity, as to all the articles of the faith. For in truth he cannot hope to obtain salvation from the profession of Christianity, who does not in deed and in word act in accordance with that profession; as it is not sufficient for a person to be called by the name of Catholic, who of himself thinks otherwise than the Catholic and Apostolic doctrines teach; in accordance with what the Lord says in the Gospel: 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.'[27] This also is added to our commendations of your merit, that, as the aforesaid prudent master Philip asserts he has heard from your people, you long with the most ardent desire to have a church in your city, and an altar at Jerusalem where virtuous men of your kingdom may abide, and be more fully instructed in Apostolic doctrines, through whom you and the people of your kingdom may hereafter receive and hold the said doctrines. We, therefore, who, though of insufficient merits, are placed in the chair of Saint Peter, in obedience to what the Apostle says, acknowledging ourselves as 'debtors to the wise and the unwise, the rich and the poor,'[28] do feel every possible anxiety for the salvation of yourself and of your people, and do wish to reclaim you from those matters in which you deviate from the Christian and Catholic faith, as indeed by the duties of the office which we have undertaken, we are most zealously bound to do; for the Lord Himself said to Saint Peter, whom he appointed to be the chief of all the Apostles, 'When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.'[29] Therefore, although it seems to be a most difficult

[27] Matt. vii. 21. [28] Rom. i. 14. This quotation is not quite correct according to our version; the words are, "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise."

[29] St. Luke xxi. 32.

and laborious matter to send any one from our side to your presence, amid so many hardships and such varied dangers of the places on the road, and into countries far distant and unknown, yet, considering the duties of our office, and bearing in mind your purposes and intentions, we do send the aforesaid Philip our physician, and one of our household, a discreet, circumspect and cautious man unto your mightiness; and we do trust in the mercy of Jesus Christ, that, if it is your wish to persevere in that purpose and intention, which we understand you, by the inspiration of the Lord, to have formed, being forthwith, by the mercy of God, instructed in the articles of the Christian faith in which you and your people seem to differ from us, you may henceforth have no cause to fear that anything will arise from your error to impede the salvation of you or your people, or in you cast a stigma upon the name of Christianity. We do, therefore, request your excellency, and do advise and exhort you in the Lord, that, for the respect you pay to Saint Peter and to ourselves, you will receive the said Philip, as an honest, discreet and cautious man, and as one sent from our side, with all due kindness, and will treat him courteously and respectfully. And if it is your will and purpose, as indeed it fully ought to be, to be instructed in the Apostolic doctrine on those points which the said Philip will, on our behalf, explain to you, you will carefully listen to him, and hear him to the end, and will send back to us, together with him, respectable persons, and letters sealed with your seal, whereby we may be enabled fully to learn your purpose and intentions; for the more exalted and mighty you appear, and the less you seem to be puffed up with your riches and power, so much the more willingly, both as to granting you a church in your own city, as well as erecting altars in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and at Jerusalem in the church of the Sepulchre of our Lord, and other matters which in justice you shall request, will we take care to pay attention to your requests, and more effectually to listen to the same; inasmuch as it is our wish, in every way that, with the help of God, we possibly can, to promote your desires hereon, which have been so worthy of exceeding commendation, and is our ardent desire to save the souls of you and yours unto the Lord. Given at Venice, at the Rialto, on the fifth day before the calends of October."

In the same year, Richard, earl of Poitou, came with a considerable force to the city of Anse, and found there the count

of Bigorre, a prisoner in the city gaol; whom the citizens delivered into his hands: on which the count of Bigorre gave to the earl of Poitou, for his ransom, Claremont, and the castle of Montbrun. After this, he took Gengay, Martillan, Grunville, Agenville, Tailleburg, and Pons, and levelled all these castles with the ground. Buger, count of Angoulême, also surrendered to him the city of Angoulême, and the castle of Montignac, on which he destroyed their fortifications.

In the year of grace 1179, being the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Henry was in England, at Winchester, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord. During the period of this festival, at Oxenhale, in the lordship of Darlington, in England, the earth raised itself up on high, in appearance like a lofty tower, and so remained, without moving, from the ninth hour of the day until the evening, and then fell down with such a dreadful crash, that it alarmed all the neighbourhood, and the earth swallowed it up, and made there a very deep pit, which remains there as a testimony of the circumstance even to the present day.

After the Nativity of our Lord, there came to England, from Ireland, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, and five or six bishops, who were about to proceed to the council at Rome. In the same manner, there passed through England from the kingdom of Scotland a considerable number of bishops and abbats. All these, both those from Ireland as well as Scotland and the other islands, on passing through England, in order to obtain leave to pass, made oath that they would not seek any detriment to the king or to his kingdom. From England, however, there went but four bishops to Rome, namely, Hugh, bishop of Durham, John, bishop of Norwich, Robert, bishop of Hereford, and Reginald, bishop of Bath, with a considerable number of abbats: for the bishops of England stoutly asserted that only four bishops of England ought to be sent to Rome to a general council of our lord the pope.

All being accordingly assembled, at Rome, in the presence of our lord the pope Alexander, the pope taking his seat in the church of the Lateran, on an elevated place, together with his cardinals, chief men, and senators, and the magistrates of the city, commenced holding his council, which began on the second

day of the third week in Lent, being the third day before the nones of March. In the same manner he held the council a second day, on the fourth day of the following week, being the second day before the ides of March. At this council, William, archbishop of Rheims, was made a cardinal priest and titular of Santa Sabina, and Henry, abbat of Clairval, was made cardinal bishop of Albano. Our lord the pope held the council the third day on the second day of the week before Palm Sunday, being the fourteenth day before the calends of April. At this council, he enacted that the decrees underwritten should be universally observed.

THE DECREES OF POPE ALEXANDER.

Of the Election of the Roman Pontiff.

"Although it is manifest that statutes sufficient have been promulgated by our predecessors for the purpose of avoiding discord in the election of the Roman Pontiff, still however, inasmuch as since then, by reason of the audacity of an unbecoming ambition, the Church has oftentimes endured grievous divisions, we also, for the purpose of avoiding the said evil, have, with the consent of our brethren and the approbation of this holy council, thought proper to add somewhat thereto. We do therefore enact, that, if by chance, through some enemy sowing tares among the cardinals, there shall not be an entire agreement as to the election of a new Pontiff, and two-thirds shall agree thereon while the remaining one-third shall refuse to agree thereto, or shall presume to nominate or ordain any other, in such case he is to be held by the universal Church, without any exception, to be the Roman Pontiff who shall have been elected and acknowledged by the two-thirds. And if any person, trusting in the votes or nomination of the remaining one-third, shall usurp that name, inasmuch as he cannot in reason so do, both he himself and those who shall acknowledge him shall be subject to the penalties of excommunication, and be visited with the deprivation of all sacred orders; and even the communion of the holy viaticum shall be denied unto them, except when in their last moments; and, unless they come to their senses, they are to receive their portion with Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive. And further, if any one shall be elected

to the Apostolic office by fewer than two-thirds, then, unless there shall be a more full agreement, he is in nowise to be recognized as such, and he is to be subject to the penalty aforesaid, unless with all humility he shall be ready to withdraw such claim. Still, however, let no prejudice be caused hereby to the canonical constitutions, upon which subjects the opinions of the larger and wiser part ought to have the preponderance, inasmuch as whatever comes to be a matter of doubt to them, can always be decided by the judgment of one superior. But, in the Roman Church, something of a spiritual nature is here being determined upon, where recourse cannot be had to a superior.[31]

How prelates are to pass sentence upon those subject to their authority.

"A very reprehensible custom has sprung up in some places, where both our brethren and fellow-bishops, as well as some archdeacons even, thinking that some will, in their causes tried before them, resort to appeal, having first issued no admonition whatever, proceed to pronounce against them sentence of suspension and excommunication. On the other hand, also, others, dreading the sentence and canonical discipline of their ecclesiastical superior, do without any difficulty interpose their right of appeal, and usurp the same as a defence for their iniquity, whereas it is known to have been instituted as a safeguard for the innocent. Therefore, to the end that neither the sentence of the prelate may be used to oppress those subject to him, nor those subject may be enabled, at their sole option, under the pretext of appeal, to escape correction by their prelates, by this present decree we do enact, that neither shall prelates pass sentence of suspension or excommunication upon those subject to them, without first issuing canonical admonition, (unless it shall so happen that the fault is such as of its own nature to involve the penalty of suspension or excommunication), nor shall those who are subject, in contravention of ecclesiastical discipline, before the commencement of the trial, seek to take refuge in the words of appeal. But, if any person shall think himself absolutely necessitated to appeal, then a competent time is to be named for him, within which to prosecute his appeal. And if he shall neglect to prosecute his

[31] This passage appears to be imperfect. It seems to allude to a case of interregnum in the Papacy.

appeal within such limited time, then the bishop is to be at liberty to use his own authority. And if, in any matter, any person shall make an appeal, and on his making his appearance who was appealed against, he who has appealed shall neglect to appear, then, in case he shall have any property, he is to make a competent return for the costs of the other, that so, at least, being deterred, a person may not be too ready to appeal to the detriment of another. But in especial, in places of religious orders, we wish this to be observed, that neither monks, nor any religious whatsoever, when they are to receive correction for any excesses, are to presume to appeal against the regular discipline of their prelate and chapter, but humbly and dutifully to receive what they know is enjoined them for the more effectually securing their salvation.

How prelates are to be entertained by their subjects.

"Whereas the Apostle[32] ordered that he and his followers should be sustained by the labours of their own hands, in order that he might leave no room for preaching to false apostles, and might not be burdensome to those to whom he preached, it is known to be a great grievance and one deserving of correction, that some of our brethren and fellow-bishops prove so expensive in their entertainment to those subject to them, that for reasons of this nature the subjects are compelled to expose for sale the very ornaments of their churches, and a short hour consumes the food earned in a long time; we do, therefore, enact, that archbishops visiting their provinces shall, according to the different character of the provinces and the means of the churches, under no circumstance exceed a retinue of forty or fifty horses, bishops twenty or thirty, cardinals twenty or five-and-twenty, while archdeacons are to be content with five or seven, and deans with two horses. And further, they are not to go about with hounds and hawks, or to require sumptuous entertainments, but to receive with thankfulness that which shall properly and consistently with the entertainer's means, be provided for them. We do also forbid that bishops shall presume to oppress their subjects with tallages or exactions, and so conduct themselves as to appear to seek not what is their own, but what belongs to Jesus Christ. For, as the Apostle says, 'The children ought not to lay up for

[32] Saint Paul.

the parents, but the parents for the children,'[33] it seems to be greatly at variance with the affection of a father, if those who are the governors make them burdensome to their subjects, whom in all their necessities they ought to cherish, like good shepherds. Also, archdeacons and deans are not to presume to demand any exactions or tallages[34] from priests or clerks. And further, what we have said above relative to the number of horses that are to be allowed, is to be observed in those places the revenues and ecclesiastical dues of which are ample. But in poor places, it is our wish that such limits should be observed, that the lesser ones shall not have to complain that a hardship is inflicted on them by the arrival of the greater, so that those who were in the habit of using a smaller number of horses may not suppose that they are indulged with leave to use more. Indeed, considering the many necessitous cases that occasionally arise, we could endure that, if a manifest and reasonable cause should be found to exist, they should be enabled to demand some slight assistance together with our brotherly love.

That new imposts are not to be made in churches.

"Inasmuch as in the body of the Church, all ought to be treated with loving-kindness, and that which has been received gratuitously ought gratuitously to be bestowed, it is a most shocking thing that in some churches venality is said to prevail to such a degree, that, for installing bishops or abbats, or any other ecclesiastical persons, or introducing priests into the church, as also for the burial and obsequies of the dead, and the benedictions of the newly-married, or other ecclesiastical sacraments, money is demanded: and that he who stands in need of these things, cannot obtain the same unless he takes care to fill the hand of the bestower thereof. Many imagine that it is lawful for them to act thus, on this ground, because they think that the custom as to the dead has been established by lengthened usage, not sufficiently considering, inasmuch as they are blinded by avarice, that the longer offences have kept the mind fettered, so much the more grievous they are. In order, therefore, that this may not be done in future, we strictly forbid that money shall be demanded for installing ecclesiastical persons, instituting priests, burying

[33] 2 Cor. xii. 14. [34] Taxes.

the dead, blessing the newly-married, or any other of the sacraments. And if any person shall presume in contravention hereof to sell the same, then let him know that he will have his portion with Gehazi, whose deeds he has imitated in the exacting of a disgraceful gift. We do, moreover, forbid any new imposts to be exacted from churches, either by bishops or abbats, or any other prelate, or the old ones to be increased, or that such persons shall presume to appropriate any part of the revenues to their own use; but the same liberty which the greater ones desire to be preserved for themselves, let them also, with good will, preserve for the lesser ones. And if any person shall do otherwise than this, what he so does is to be deemed null and void.

Christians are forbidden to enter the service of the Saracens.

"To such a degree has shocking cupidity taken possession of the minds of some, that, whereas they glory in the name of Christians, they carry arms to the Saracens, and by supplying them with arms and necessaries for the purpose of warring against the Christians, show themselves their equals or even their superiors in wickedness. There are some also, who, by reason of their cupidity, exercise the art and craft of pilots, in the galleys and piratical vessels of the Saracens. Such persons therefore we do order to be cut off from the communion of the Church, and for their iniquity to be subjected to excommunication, and to be mulcted with confiscation of their property by the Catholic princes and rulers of states, and if they are taken, to become the slaves of those so taking them. We do also order that throughout the churches of the cities on the coast, a repeated and solemn sentence of excommunication shall be pronounced against them. Those also are to be subject to the penalty of excommunication, who presume either to take captive or to despoil of their property Romans, or indeed any other Christians, when voyaging for purposes of merchandize or any other becoming reasons. Those also, who, with damnable avarice, dare to despoil Christians who have suffered shipwreck of their property, when according to the rules of religion they are bound to aid them, are to know that they are subjected to excommunication, unless they restore what they have so taken away.

That tournaments shall not be held.

"Continuing in the footsteps of popes Innocent and Eugenius, of blessed memory, our predecessors, we do forbid those detestable revels and shows, which are commonly called tournaments, at which, by proclamation, knights are wont to meet together, and rashly engage with each other, to show off their prowess and valour, and from which, deaths of men and perils to souls do so often ensue. And, if any one of such persons shall meet with his death on such an occasion, although absolution is not denied him, still he is to be deprived of Christian burial.

On keeping the truces.

"We do order truces to be inviolably observed by all persons from the fourth day of the week after sunset, until the seventh day of the week after sunrise, both from the Advent of our Lord until the octave of Epiphany, and from Septuagesima until the octave of Easter. And if any person shall attempt to break such truce, if after the third warning he shall not make reparation, then his bishop is to pronounce sentence of excommunication, and announce the same in writing to the neighbouring bishops. And no bishop is to receive him who is thus excommunicated to communion; but, on the contrary, each is to confirm the sentence, the copy of which he has received. And if any one shall presume to violate this command, then let him be subject to the peril of losing his orders. And, inasmuch as a threefold rope is broken with difficulty, we do order that bishops, having respect only to God and the salvation of the people, and all cupidity apart, shall use their advice and assistance for the purpose of the strict maintenance of peace, and not neglect the same through love or hatred for any person whatsoever. And if any one shall be found to be lukewarm in this work of God, he is to submit to the loss of his own dignity.

On annulling ordinations made by Anti-popes.

"Re-enacting that which was done by our predecessor, pope Innocent, of blessed memory, we do pronounce the ordinations made by Octavianus and Guido, the heresiarchs, as also by John of Struma, their follower, to be null and void, as also ordinations made by the persons so ordained by them; and we do further add, that those who have received ecclesiastical dignities or benefices, by means of the aforesaid schismatics,

shall resign what they have so acquired. All alienations also or seizures of things ecclesiastical, which have been made by the said schismatics, or by laymen, are to be wanting in validity, and to return to the church without any incumbrance whatever thereon. And if any one shall presume to contravene this command, he is to know that he is subjected to excommunication. As for those who, of their own accord, have taken oath to maintain the schism, we do decree that they shall remain suspended from their holy orders and dignities.

What sort of persons they ought to be, who are to be elected to govern the Church.

"As in all holy orders and ecclesiastical offices, both maturity of age, gravity of manners, and skill in literature, are to be sought for, so ought the same much more rigidly to be exacted in the case of a bishop, who, being placed in charge of others, ought in himself to show how others are to preserve the same qualities in the house of the Lord; to the end that what has been done by some persons, through the necessities of the times, may not be adopted as an example by posterity. We do, therefore, by the present decree enact that no one shall be elected to be a bishop, who has not passed the thirtieth year of his age, and is not born in lawful wedlock, and who cannot be shown to be of praiseworthy life and learning. And when he, who has been so elected, shall have received the confirmation of his election, and the administration of ecclesiastical effects, the time having expired that is pointed out by the canons for the consecration of bishops, he is to have free option to dispose of the benefices which belong to him, for the purpose of distribution. Also, the lower offices, such, for instance, as deaneries or archdeaconries, and others which have the care of souls annexed, no person whatever is to receive, nor yet the government of parochial churches, unless he shall have attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, and is of praiseworthy knowledge and manners.[35] And [in case of misbehaviour] they are

[35] Here follow these words. "Cum autem assumptus fuerit, si Archidiaconus in Diaconum; Decanus et reliqui admoniti non fuerint, præfixo a canonibus tempore in presbyteros ordinati." They are evidently fragmentary and incomplete, to such an extent that it seems impossible to guess the general meaning of the passage. It is clear that at least one important sentence is omitted, if not more.

to be removed from those offices, and the same are to be bestowed on another, who is both willing and able becomingly to fill the same, and they are not to profit by the pretext of appealing, if they should chance to desire to defend themselves in the transgression of these ordinances, by means of appeal. This, indeed, we order to be observed, not only as to those in future to be promoted, but those also who have been already promoted, if the canons do not impede such a course. If the clergy shall elect any one in contravention of the form above stated they are to understand that they are deprived of the power of electing on that occasion, and from their ecclesiastical benefices suspended for a period of three years. For it is a becoming thing, that those whom the fear of God does not withhold from evil, the severity of ecclesiastical discipline should at least restrain. And as for the bishop, if he shall act contrary to these mandates, or shall consent to such being done, he is to lose his power in the disposal of the offices above-named, and ordination is to be made by the chapter, or by the metropolitan, if the chapter shall not agree thereon.[36]

Of Heretics.

"As Saint Leo says, 'Although the discipline of the Church, being contented with the judgment of the priesthood, avoids a blood-thirsty vengeance,' still it is aided by the enactments of Catholic princes, that so men may often find a salutary remedy, while they dread that corporal punishment may befall them. Wherefore, inasmuch as, in Gascony, the Albigeois, and other places inhabited by the heretics whom some style 'Catarri,' others 'Publicani,' and others 'Paterini,' and others call by other names, their damnable perverseness has waxed so strong that they practise their wickedness no longer in secret as elsewhere, but publicly expose their errors, and draw the simple and weak to be their accomplices, we do decree them and their protectors and harborers to be excommunicated, and under pain of excommunication we do forbid any one to dare to receive or to encourage them in his house or on his lands, or to have any transactions with them. And if they shall depart this life in their sin, and not under the protection

[36] The meaning of the latter part of this enactment is involved in great obscurity; probably in consequence of the evident omission in the middle of it.

of any privileges granted by our indulgence, then on no pretence whatever is any contribution to be made for their interment, nor are they to receive burial among Christians. And as regards the Brabanters, Arragonese, Navarrese, Biscayans, and Coterells,[37] who exercise such enormous cruelties against Christians, as not to pay any respect to either churches or monasteries, or to spare widows or orphans, young or old, or any age or sex, but who, after the manner of pagans, lay waste and ravage in every direction, we do similarly enact. We do also enact that those who shall hire, or retain, or encourage them, shall, throughout the communities where such excesses are committed, on the Lord's day and other solemn days be publicly proclaimed as excommunicated in all the churches there, and shall be held to be condemned with the same sentence and punishment in all respects as the aforesaid heretics, and shall not be received into communion with the Church, unless they first abjure the said abominable societies and heresies respectively. Those also are to understand who are connected with them by any tie, that they are relieved from all duties of fealty, or homage, or any obedience to them whatsoever, so long as they shall persist in such great iniquity; and we do further command them and all the faithful, for the remission of their sins, manfully to oppose such dreadful ravages, and in arms to defend the Christian people against them. Their property also is to be confiscated, and the superior lords are to be at liberty to subject men of this description to slavery. As for those, however, who shall so separate from them in true repentance, let them not doubt that they will obtain the indulgence granted to sinners, and the blessings of an eternal reward. And further, trusting in the mercy of God, and confiding in the authority of Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Apostles, we do remit two years of enjoined penance to those faithful Christians who shall take up arms, and, at the advice of their own or other prelates, fight against them; and if they shall be detained a considerable time in so doing, then we do leave it to the discretion of the bishops to whose care

[37] These were lawless hireling soldiers, who were guilty of great outrages; they were said to have received their name of "Coterelli" from their use of a large knife called "coterel," the same being given them by the people of Toulouse; while others derive it from "cotarius," a cottager, it being their habit to levy heavy contributions on people of that class. They were also called "Ruptarii," "Routiers," or "Ryters," and were much employed by the early kings of England.

these matters shall be entrusted, that so, at their option, in proportion to the amount of labor expended, a still greater indulgence may be granted them. But as for those who shall neglect to pay obedience to the admonition of the bishops hereon, we do order them to be debarred from receiving the body and blood of our Lord: while those in the meantime, who, in their zeal for the faith, shall undertake the laborious task of uprooting them, like those who repair to the sepulchre of our Lord, we do take under the protection of the Church, and do decree that they shall remain secure from all molestation, both in property and person. And if any person shall in the meantime presume to molest them, then sentence of excommunication is to be hurled against him by the bishop of the place, and let such sentence be observed by all, until such time as both what has been taken away is restored, and full satisfaction is made for losses caused by them. And further, bishops or priests who shall chance not to show a proper resistance to such persons, are to be visited with suspension from their offices until such time as they shall have obtained mercy from the Apostolic See.

That leprous persons are to have a private church and burial-ground of their own.

"Whereas it is said by the Apostle Saint Paul that more abundant honor is bestowed upon those members of the body which are less honorable:[38] so on the other hand, there are some who seek their own and not what is of Jesus Christ, and who will not allow leprous persons who cannot dwell with those in health, or to meet in churches with others, either to have churches and burial-grounds of their own, or to have the services of their own minister. Inasmuch as this is clearly at variance with Christian piety, we do, in our Apostolic bounty, enact that wherever enough shall have been assembled in one community to be enabled to found a church for themselves with a burial-ground, and to enjoy the services of their own priest, they shall, without any opposition, be allowed to have the same. They are, however, to take due care that as to parochial rights they are not in any way detrimental to the interests of the old churches; for we are unwilling that that which is conceded through feelings of piety, should redound to the injury of others. We do also enact that they shall not be compelled to pay tithes of vegetable produce and the young of animals.

[38] 1 Cor. xii. 23.

That Christians shall not dwell with Jews or Saracens.

"Neither Jews nor Saracens are to be allowed to have Christian slaves in their houses, either under pretext of rearing children, or for any services or cause whatsoever. And further, those shall be excommunicated who shall presume to dwell with them. We do also enact that the testimony of Christians shall be received against the Jews in all causes against Christians where they make use of their own witnesses; and we do decree that those persons shall be excommunicated who shall attempt in this respect to prefer Jews to Christians, as it is right and proper that they should be beneath the Christians, and be by them supported on grounds of humanity alone. Moreover, if any by the inspiration of God shall be converted to the Christian faith, they are on no account to suffer loss of their possessions,[39] as, after being converted to the faith they ought to be in a better condition than they were in before they conformed to the faith. And if anything shall be done in contravention hereof, we do, under penalty of excommunication, enjoin the princes or authorities of those places, to cause full restitution to be made to them of that portion of their hereditary property and possessions.

That no person shall for money receive the monastic or any religious habit.

"Monks are not to be received in a monastery for money, nor are they to be allowed to hold property of their own. They are not to be distributed alone in vills and towns, or in any parochial churches: but are to remain in the general convent, or in company with some other of the brethren, so as not alone to await the conflict of spiritual with secular men; for it is Solomon who says: 'Woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up.'[40] And if any person on demand shall give anything for his admission, then he is not to be admitted to holy orders, and he who has admitted him is to be punished by loss of his office. And if any one shall have private property, unless the same shall have been permitted by the abbat for the carrying out of some purpose that has been enjoined, he is to be removed from the communion of the altar; and if any one shall be found when at the point of death to

[39] Probably meaning their Christian slaves. [40] Eccl. iv. 10.

possess property, no offering is to be made for him, and he is not to have burial among the brethren. The same we do command to be observed in the various religious orders; and the abbat who shall not diligently observe the same, is to know that he thereby incurs the loss of his office. Also, no priorships or abbacies are to be given to any one for the receipt of money; and in such cases both the giver and the receiver are to be removed from all ecclesiastical duties. Also, where priors have been appointed over conventual churches, they are not, unless for a manifest and reasonable cause, to be removed; unless, for instance, they have been guilty of dilapidation, or lived incontinently, or been guilty of any thing of a like nature, by reason of which they may appear to deserve to be removed: as also, in cases where by the consent of the brethren he shall have been transferred in consequence of the necessity of his filling some higher office.

That no person shall hold several churches.

"Inasmuch as certain persons, placing no limits to their avarice, in contravention of the enactments of the sacred canons, both endeavour to obtain divers ecclesiastical dignities and several parish churches, so that, while they are hardly able to fulfil the duties of one office, they obtain the salary that is the due of many, we do strictly forbid that this shall in future be done. Therefore, when an ecclesiastical office ought to be filled up, let a person be found to fill it who is able to reside on the spot, and to perform its duties himself. And if any persons shall act in contravention hereof, both he who has received the office is to lose the money that, contrary to the sacred canons, he has received, and he who has given it is to be deprived of the power of giving it in future. And, inasmuch as the ambition of some has now reached to such a pitch that they are said to hold not two or three, but six offices or even more, while at the same time they are not able to perform the prescribed duties for even two, we do order this to be remedied by our brethren and fellow-bishops; and that, from these pluralities so hateful to the canons, which afford a ground for the breaking up of societies, and for the wandering of their members to and fro, and produce certain peril to souls, the indigence of those may be relieved, who are able to give their services to churches. Moreover, because the audacity of some

laymen has increased to such a pitch that, neglecting the authority of the bishops, they institute clerks in churches and remove them when they please, and distribute property and other possessions of the Church mostly at their own option, and dare to harass the churches themselves, as well as the people, with tallages and exactions, we do enact that, from henceforth, if they shall be guilty of the same, they shall be visited with excommunication. The priest also, or clerk, who shall receive a church from laymen, without the authority of his own bishop, shall be deprived from the communion; and if he persists, then he shall be deposed from his ecclesiastical office and orders. And, further, inasmuch as some laymen compel ecclesiastical persons, and even bishops themselves, to abide by their judgments, those who shall do so in future we do order to be cut off from all intercourse with the faithful. We do also forbid, on peril of their souls, laymen withholding tithes, under any circumstances, making over the same to other laymen. And if any person receives the same, and does not restore them to the Church, he is to be deprived of Christian burial.

That manifest usurers shall not be admitted to the communion at the altar.

"Inasmuch as in almost every place the crime of usury has become prevalent, so much so, that many, neglecting their usual business, adopt usury as their lawful occupation, and do not consider how the same is condemned by the pages of both Testaments, we do therefore enact, that manifest usurers shall not be received to communion at the altar, nor shall any of them receive Christian burial, or even an oblation, if he shall die in this sin. And he who shall have received such offering, or have given Christian burial to such usurer, is both to be compelled to return what he has received, and is to remain suspended from the duties of his office until such time as, in the judgment of the bishop, he shall have given satisfaction.

Of the wills of clerks.

"Whereas, in the duties of brotherly love, we seem in especial bound to those from whom we know that we have received benefits, on the other hand, certain of the clergy, after having received considerable property from their churches, presume to

leave property thus acquired through churches to other persons. Therefore, although it is well known that by the ancient canons this is prohibited, we do nevertheless, once more prohibit it. And it being our wish therefore, to provide an indemnity for the Church, whether these persons shall have died intestate, or whether they shall have attempted to bestow the same property on others, we do order that the same shall remain in possession of the churches. Moreover, inasmuch as in some places persons are appointed for a sum of money, and are called deans, and thus for a fixed sum of money exercise episcopal jurisdiction, we do, by the present decree, enact that whoever in future shall presume thus to act shall be deprived of his office, and the bishop shall lose the right of conferring the same.

Of the regulation of ecclesiastical communities.

"Whereas, in all churches that which seems fit to the greater part and the elder of the brethren, ought, without hesitation, to be observed, it seems most grievous and most worthy of censure that in some churches a few, not so much on reasonable grounds as by reason of their own wilfulness, throw obstacles in the way of the commands of the majority, and will not allow the ecclesiastical ordinances to be carried out: therefore, by the present decree we do enact, that, unless any reasonable ground shall be shown by the fewer and younger, all power of appeal removed, that which is ordained, on due consideration by the greater and elder part, shall always prevail and be carried into effect. Nor is it to be any impediment to this our ordinance, if any person says that he is bound by oath to observe the customs of his church. For they are not to be called oaths, but perjuries rather, which are in opposition to the interests of the Church and the institutions of the holy fathers. And if any person has presumed to swear to maintain customs of this nature, which are neither supported by reason, nor agree with the holy institutions, he is to be debarred from receiving the body of our Lord until such time as he shall have performed due penance for the same.

Of the presentation of clerks.

"Whereas, in certain places, the founders of churches, or their heirs, abuse their power, in which the Church has hitherto borne with them; and whereas in the Church of

God there ought to be but one who is the chief, while many, without regard to those who are subject, strive to elect; and whereas one church ought to have but one ruler, while they present, in defence of their own rights, a number of rulers; we do by the present decree enact, that if several founders divide and give conflicting votes, that person shall be appointed over the church who is recommended by his manners and merits, and is chosen and approved of by the suffrages of the most persons. But, if this cannot be done without offence, the bishop is to regulate the church in such way as he shall think is best suited to the honor of God, and he is to do the same, even though some question shall have arisen as to the right of patronage, and even if, within three months, it shall be ascertained to whom it belongs.

On preserving peace.

"We do also enjoin that priests, clerks, monks, lay monks, pilgrims, merchants, and serfs, when going to and fro, and engaged in agriculture, as well as the animals with which they plough, and the other things which they take into the fields, shall enjoy befitting security; and no person in office whatever is anywhere to presume to make new exactions without the authority and consent of the kings and rulers, or to enact statutes on the moment, or in any way to impugn the old ones. And if any one shall act contrary to this, and, on being warned, shall not cease so doing, then, till such time as he shall have made due satisfaction, he is to be cut off from all Christian intercourse.

That ecclesiastical benefices shall not be given to any one, before they are vacant.

"No ecclesiastical benefices, or offices, or churches, shall be given to any person, or be promised, before they are vacant, that so no one may seem to long for the death of his neighbour, to whose place and benefice he thinks he shall succeed. For whereas this same thing is found prohibited even in the laws of the heathens, it is most disgraceful, and most deserving of the censures of the Divine judgment, if expectation of future succession should hold a place in the Church of God, a thing which even the heathens themselves have taken care to condemn. But when it happens that churches, to which presen-

tation is to be made, or any offices in any church, are vacant, or if at present any are vacant, they are not to remain long unfilled, but within six months let persons be presented to them, who are able properly to perform the duties thereof. But if the bishop, when it is his duty to do so, delays to collate such person, he is to be appointed by the chapter. And if the election belongs to the chapter, and it shall not have so done by the time appointed, the bishop, using the advice of religious men, is to do the same according to the will of God: or if all shall chance to neglect it, then the metropolitan of the bishop, according to the will of God, and without any contradiction on their part, is to dispose thereof.

That no one shall be ordained without a certain title.

"If a bishop shall ordain any person as deacon or priest without a certain title by which he may earn the necessaries of life, then he is to provide him with necessaries, until such time as he shall assign him, in some church, a suitable salary for clerical duties, unless the person ordained shall happen to be able to subsist on property of his own, or inherited from his father.

That clerks in holy orders shall not keep concubines.

"Clerks in holy orders, who, bearing the character of incontinence, keep young women in their houses, are either to put them away and live chastely, or else to be deprived of their benefices and ecclesiastical duties. Whoever shall be found to labour under that kind of incontinence which is against nature, and on account of which the wrath of God came upon the sons of distrust, and He consumed five cities with fire, if they are clerks they shall be expelled from the clergy, or be set apart in a monastery to do penance there; if they are laymen, they shall be excommunicated and utterly removed from the community of the faithful. Moreover, if any clerk, without necessary and manifest cause, shall presume to frequent monasteries of nuns, he is to be warned thence by the bishop, and if he shall not cease so to do, he is to be deprived of his ecclesiastical benefice.

That laymen shall not impose burdens on churches.

"It is known to be no less a sin in those who do so, than a detriment to those who submit to it, that rulers and the chief

men in cities throughout the different parts of the world, as well as others who seem to hold some power, frequently impose upon churches such numerous burdens, and oppress them with such heavy and repeated exactions, that the priesthood seems under them to be in a worse condition than it was under Pharaoh, who had no knowledge of the law of the Lord. For whereas he, when all others were reduced to slavery, left their priests and possessions in their former liberty, and gave them sustenance at the public expense, these others impose almost all their burdens on the churches, and afflict them with so many anxieties, that the lamentation of Jeremiah seems to apply thereto, 'She that was princess among the provinces, now is she become tributary!'[42] For, whether it is the expense of making fortifications, or whether of an expedition, or whether they think proper to do anything else, they generally attempt to provide for them all out of the property of the churches, of the clergy, and of the poor, the advantages of Christ being thereby curtailed. On these grounds we must feel grieved for the churches, and none the less for those who seem to have entirely lost all fear of God and respect for the ecclesiastical order. Wherefore, under the most severe penalty of excommunication, we do strictly forbid any one in future to presume to make such an attempt, unless a bishop or clerk shall evidently see such a case of necessity and utility as to be of opinion that, without compulsion, subsidies may be collected throughout the churches to relieve the common necessities, the means of the laity not sufficing thereto. And if rulers, or other persons, shall in future be guilty of this, and, on being warned, shall chance to be unwilling to desist, they are to know that both themselves, as well as their abettors, are subjected to excommunication, and are not to be restored to intercourse with the faithful until such time as they shall have made befitting satisfaction.

That prelates are to provide necessaries for the masters of schools.

"Inasmuch as the Church of God, both in those things which tend to the support of the body and in those which pertain to the profit of the soul, is bound, like an affectionate mother, to provide for the needy, in order that the opportunity

[42] Lam. i. 1.

of reading and of improving may not be withheld from the poor who cannot be assisted by the means of their relations, in each cathedral church a certain competent provision is to be made for a master, who is to teach gratuitously the clerks of the said church and the poor scholars, in order that thereby the necessities of the teacher may be relieved, and a way may be opened to learning for those who are studying; in other churches or monasteries, also, this is to be rectified, if in past times any curtailment shall chance to have been made therein. For a licence to teach no one is to demand any fee whatever, nor is he, under pretext of any custom, to make any demand of those who teach; nor yet, when a licence has been given, is he to forbid any one to teach who is fitted for so doing. The person who shall presume to contravene this enactment, is to be deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices. For it seems only proper and becoming, that, in the Church of God, he should not gain the fruit of his labours who, in the cupidity of his mind, endeavours, while he is selling a licence to teach, to obstruct the profit of the Church.

That clerks shall not presume to undertake secular business.

"Clerks in archdeacon's orders, and above, as well as those of a lower grade, if they are supported by ecclesiastical salaries, are not to presume to act as advocates before secular judges in forensic business, unless they are prosecuting their own cause or that of the Church, or chance to be acting on behalf of distressed persons, who cannot manage their own causes. And neither is any clerk to presume to act the part of procurator of a town, or to exercise any secular jurisdiction under any princes or men of secular power, so as to act as their justiciaries. And if any person shall presume to contravene this enactment, because he acts in a worldly manner, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostle, when he says that no one who fights for God busies himself with the affairs of this world, he is to be removed from the ecclesiastial office, because, neglecting his clerical duties, he has plunged into the waves of the world in order to please the powerful. We do also decree that strict punishment is to ensue, if any person in religious orders shall presume to attempt to do any of the things aforesaid.

Of Churches that have been laid under an interdict, and the burial of those under interdict.

"Inasmuch as it is our bounden duty both to plant the sacred religion, and when planted in every way to cherish it, we can never attempt the same to better purpose, than if we consider that it has been entrusted to us by the authority of God, to foster that which is right, and to correct that which impedes the progress of the truth. Wherefore, in consequence of the strong complaints of our brethren and our fellow-bishops, we have understood that the brethren of the Temple and of the Hospital, as well as others of the religious profession, exceeding the privileges with which they have been indulged by the Apostolic See, presume to do many things which both tend to scandal among the people of God, and produce grievous evil to souls. For they have purposed to receive churches from the hands of laymen; they admit persons excommunicated and under interdict to the Sacraments of the Church, and allow burial in their churches, contrary to good conscience, and institute and remove priests at their pleasure. And whereas the indulgence has been granted to their brethren when going to seek alms, that upon their arrival such churches[43] may be opened once in a year, and Divine service performed therein, as we have heard, several of them have frequently come from one or more of their houses to a place under interdict, and have abused the indulgence of their privileges by performing service therein, and then presuming to bury the dead in the churches aforesaid. And further, by means of the fraternities which in many places they establish, they sap the strength of the episcopal authority, while, in contravention of the sentences of the bishops, under the pretext of some of their own privileges, they strive to screen all those who are ready to join their fraternity. And whereas we have thought proper to make these declarations not so much with reference to the conscience or design of the higher authorities among them, as to the fact that some of those of a lower grade have exceeded what in discretion they ought to observe, for the purpose of removing those matters in which they are guilty of excess, and which tend to cause doubts; we do therefore forbid both them and all other religious whatsoever,

[43] Laid under interdict.

without the consent of their bishops, to receive churches and tithes from the hands of laymen, not taking regard of what up to the present time they have, contrary to the tenor hereof, received. Persons excommunicated and by name laid under interdict, we do pronounce to be avoided both by them and by all other persons whatsoever, in conformity with the sentences pronounced by the bishops. In those of their churches which do not belong to them fully of right, they are to present priests to the bishops for institution therein, who shall be answerable to them for their care of the people, and give to themselves a proper account as to the temporal things thereof. Also, they are not to presume to remove those once instituted without consulting the bishops thereon. And if Templars or Hospitallers come to a church laid under interdict, they are to be admitted only once in a year to perform service therein, and not even then are they to bury there the bodies of those under interdict. Also, as to these fraternities we do enact, that if they shall not entirely join the brethren aforesaid, but shall think proper to reside upon their own properties, still they are in nowise on that account to be exempt from the sentence of the bishops, who are to exercise their authority over them just like the other persons of their dioceses, where they require correction for their excesses. What has been said above as to the aforesaid brethren we do also command to be observed as to other persons in religious orders who in their presumption intrude upon the path, and presume to enter on a course contrary to their own canonical professions and the tenor of our own privileges. If, however, they shall presume to contravene this enactment, both the churches in which they shall presume so to do shall be laid under interdict, and what they have done shall be deemed null and void."

These decrees being promulgated and received by the whole of the clergy and people standing around, the bishops and other ecclesiastics who had met together, with the gift of the benediction, received leave to return home.

In the same year, the king of England, the son, returned from Normandy to England at mid-Lent, and, during the following Easter, he and the king, his father, were at Winchester. After Easter, Richard de Lucy, justiciary of England, resigned the office of justiciary, and became a canon-regular in his abbey of Lewes,[44] which he himself had founded on his property and

[44] In Kent.

had enriched with many possessions; shortly after which he died. After his decease, the king, the father, held a great council at Windsor, and by the common consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, in presence of the king, his son, divided England into four parts, and over each of them appointed wise men to administer justice throughout the land, in the following manner:—

Richard, bishop of Winchester Richard, the king's treasurer Nicholas Fitz-Thorold Thomas Basset Robert de Whitfield	Southamptonshire [45] Wiltshire Gloucestershire Dorsetshire Somersetshire Devonshire Cornwall Berkshire Oxfordshire
Geoffrey, bishop of Ely Nicholas, chaplain to the king Gilbert Pipard Reginald de Wisebec, clerk to the king Geoffrey Hosee	Cambridgeshire Huntingdonshire Northamptonshire Leicestershire Warwickshire Worcestershire Herefordshire (in Wales) Staffordshire Salopshire [46]
John, bishop of Norwich Hugh Murdac, clerk to the king Michael Belet Richard de Pec Ralph Brito	Norfolk Suffolk Essex Hertfordshire Middlesex Kent Surrey Sussex Buckinghamshire Bedfordshire

[45] Hampshire.

[46] Shropshire.

Godfrey de Lucy	Nottinghamshire
John Cumin	Derbyshire
Hugh de Gaerst	Euerwicshire[47]
Ranulph de Glanville	Northumberland
William de Bendings	Westmoreland
Alan de Furnelles	Cumberland (between the Ribble and the Mersey)
	Lancaster.

The last six to whom the above counties were assigned were appointed justices in the king's court, to hear the public claims.

In the same year, Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, by command of the king, his father, passed over from England to Brittany, and, assembling an army, laid waste the lands of Guidomer de Leuns, and forced him to surrender. In the same year, Henry, king of England, the son, returned from England to Normandy. In the same year, Louis, king of the Franks sent to Constantinople his daughter Agnes, whom his wife Ala, queen of the Franks, and sister of William, archbishop of Rheims, and of the counts Henry, Theobald, and Stephen, had borne to him, to be married to Alexis, the son of Manuel, emperor of Constantinople. In the same year, Philip, the son of Louis, king of the Franks, and of the said queen, Ala, fell ill, and was in danger of his life; at which his father was extremely grieved, and was admonished in his sleep by a Divine revelation to vow that he would go on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas the Martyr, at Canterbury, to prevail upon him to restore his son to health.

In consequence of this, Louis, king of the Franks, sent ambassadors to Henry, king of England, the father, and asked for leave and a safe conduct upon coming into England, and also liberty to return without any impediment; which was granted accordingly. Therefore, putting his trust in the Lord, contrary to the advice of many, he set out for England. Taking with him Philip, earl of Flanders, and Baldwin, earl of Guisnes, Henry, duke of Louvaine, count William de Mandeville, the advocate of Bethune, and other barons of the kingdom of France, he came to Witsand, and thence passed over to England, arriving at Dover on the eleventh day before the calends of September, being the fourth day of the week. The

[47] Yorkshire.

king of England, the father, came to meet him on the sea-shore, and received him with great honor and congratulations, as his most dearly-beloved liege lord and friend, and, with due respect, supplied all necessaries for him and his people.

On the following day, that is to say, on the vigil of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, he escorted him to the tomb of Saint Thomas the Martyr, at Canterbury. Upon arriving there, Louis, king of the Franks, offered upon the tomb of Saint Thomas the Martyr a cup of gold, very large and of great value, and gave, for the use of the monks there in the service of God, a hundred tuns of wine, to be received yearly for ever at Poissy, in France, entirely at the expense of the king of France. In addition to this, he granted them that whatever in future should be bought in the kingdom of France for their own use, should be free from toll and all other customs and excise. All this he caused to be confirmed by his charter, which they received at the hands of Hugh de Pudsey, chancellor of the king of France, and son of Hugh, bishop of Durham. On the third day after this, the king of France and his people who were with him returned to Dover, under the escort of the king of the English; and on the following day, namely, the seventh day before the calends of September, being the Lord's Day, the king of France crossed over from England to Flanders, and landed at Witsand.

In the meantime, his son Philip, through the merits and prayers of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, was restored to his former health: on hearing which, the king of France, elated, amid great public rejoicings, ordered by proclamation that all the chief men of his kingdom, both ecclesiastical and secular, should assemble at Rheims, at the beginning of the calends of November, in order to celebrate there the coronation of his son Philip. When they were assembled there, William, archbishop of Rheims, crowned the before-named Philip, the son of his sister Ala, who was now in the fifteenth year of his age, and anointed him king at Rheims, in the church there of the Pontifical See, on the day of the feast of All Saints, being assisted in the performance of that office by William, archbishop of Tours, and the archbishops of Bourges and Sens, and nearly all the bishops of the kingdom. Henry, the king of England, the son, in the procession from the chamber to the cathedral on the day of the coronation,

preceded him, bearing the golden crown with which the said Philip was to be crowned, in right of the dukedom of Normandy. Philip, earl of Flanders, also walked before, bearing before him the sword of the kingdom. Other dukes, counts, and barons also preceded and followed him, each being appointed to perform some duty therein, according as the king had commanded them. But king Louis, his father, labouring under old age and a paralytic malady, was unable to be present at his coronation; for, as he was returning from England and staying at Saint Denis, being struck by a sudden chill, he had an attack of paralysis, and lost the use of the right side of his body.

In the same year died Roger, bishop of Worcester, at Tours, where he was buried. In this year, also, died William, earl of Aumarle, and was buried in his abbey at Tornetun.[48]

In this year, the people of Tuscany, Pisa, and Lucca, and the citizens of Pistoia and of Florence, with the people of the Val d'Arno, and Ugolino de Valle Spoleta, entered into a confederacy to take, by stratagem, Christian, archbishop of Mentz, chancellor of Frederic, the emperor of the Romans; who, after peace was made between our lord the pope and the said emperor, at the Rialto, at Venice, had remained in Tuscany, and by grievous exactions had reduced the people to a distressed state. Having accordingly arranged their plans, they invited Conrad, the son of William, marquis of Montferrat, to meet them, in order that he might take the chancellor by stratagem, as he greatly hated him, though he had lately made peace with him. Accordingly, at the instigation of the rest, and at the request of the emperor Manuel, who promised him the possession of abundant wealth if he should capture the before-named chancellor, Conrad came with a strong force to the city of Camerina, whither the chancellor had come with a few of his followers, and laying hands on him made him prisoner, and, putting him in irons, carried him away with him, and first incarcerated him in a castle which bears the name of Santo Flaviano, and next imprisoned him at Rocca Venaise, and a third time at Aguapendente; then, delivering him into the charge of his brother, Boniface, Conrad himself set out for Constantinople to visit the emperor Manuel, at whose suggestion he had taken the before-mentioned chancellor. As he did not dare to return

[48] Qy. if Taunton?

home, in consequence of the injury he had done to Frederic, the emperor of the Romans, in taking his chancellor prisoner, he remained with Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople, and married one of the nieces of that emperor; on hearing of which, his brother, Boniface, who had kept the above-named Christian, archbishop of Mentz and chancellor to the emperor, in prison, received from him twelve thousand perpera,[49] and set him at liberty.

In the year of grace 1180, being the twenty-sixth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was in England, at Nottingham, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord; at which festival, William, king of the Scots, was also present. In this year also, Philip, the king of the Franks, seeing that his father was severely afflicted with a paralytic disease, followed in every respect the advice of Philip, earl of Flanders. Listening to his counsels, he began to practise tyranny over his people, and despised and hated all whom he knew to be the familiar friends of his father: his own mother too, he persecuted to such a degree, that he drove her out of his dominions; his uncles also, William, archbishop of Rheims, count Theobald, and count Stephen, he subjected to great persecutions.

At their entreaty, Henry, king of England, the son, crossed over to England, and told his father of the excesses and vexatious conduct which Philip, king of France, was guilty of towards his mother and his uncles, by the advice of the earl of Flanders; on hearing which, the king of England, the father, with the king of England, the son, before Easter, crossed over to Normandy. Accordingly, they were met in Normandy by the queen of the Franks before-named, accompanied by count Theobald and count Stephen, her brothers, and many other noblemen of the kingdom of France: who, giving hostages to the king of England, the father, and making oath that they would not neglect to follow his advice, became his adherents. After this, the king of England, the father, levied a great army throughout his dominions on both sides of the sea, purposing, after Easter, to enter the territories of the king of France in a hostile manner, for the purpose of avenging the injuries which the new

[49] A golden coin of Constantinople, which were more generally called "hyperpera." They are said to have received this name from the superlative brightness of the highly refined gold of which they were made.

king of France had been guilty of towards his mother and his uncles.

After Easter, Philip, king of France, took to wife the daughter of the earl of Hainault, and niece of Philip, earl of Flanders, being the daughter of his sister; and as a marriage portion with his niece, the said earl of Flanders gave the whole territory of Vermandois as far as the river Lis. Upon this, Philip, king of France, determined to have himself and his wife crowned on the day of Pentecost at the city of Sens; but, by the advice of the earl of Flanders, he shortened the intervening time, and caused himself and his wife to be crowned on Ascension day at Saint Denis, by the archbishop of Sens. When William, archbishop of Rheims, came to know of this, he was greatly incensed, and made complaint to Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, of the intrusion of the archbishop of Sens, who, contrary to law and the dignity of the church of Rheims, had had the presumption to crown the king of France.

After this, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, the father, held a conference between Gisors and Trie; at which, the king of England, partly by gentle words and partly by threats, prevailed upon the king of France, in spite of the advice of the earl of Flanders, to banish from his mind all the displeasure and indignation which he had felt towards his mother and his uncles, and to receive them again into their wonting favour, covenanting to allow his mother every day seven pounds of Paris money for her daily support, and after the decease of his father, to pay her dower entire and in full, retaining, however, in his own hands the castles and fortified places. At the same conference, by way of making security more sure, the king of England, the father, in presence of Philip, king of France, received homage from Philip, earl of Flanders, and for the said homage granted him one thousand marks of silver yearly, to be received out of the exchequer at London; on condition, however, that in return for the said one thousand marks the earl of Flanders should find each year five hundred knights to serve the king of England for the space of forty days, whenever he should be called upon so to do.

In the same year, Louis, king of the Franks, departed this life at Paris, in the month of September, it being the fourteenth day before the calends of October, and the fifth day of

the week, and was buried at the abbey of Barbeaux; after which, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, the father, met and held a conference between Gisors and Trie, where they made a treaty of peace and reconciliation, which was established on both sides by word and oath, and was to the following effect:—

"I, Philip, by the grace of God, king of the Franks, and I, Henry, by the same grace, king of the English, do will that it shall come to the notice of all, both present as well as to come, that we have renewed the treaty and friendship, by word and oath, which my liege lord, Louis, king of the Franks, and I, Henry, concluded between ourselves before Ivery, in presence of Peter, titular of Saint Chrysogonus, cardinal priest and legate of the Apostolic See, and of Richard, bishop of Winchester, and many other bishops, earls, and barons who were then present; to the effect, that we now are, and wish henceforth to be, friends, and that each will protect the other in life and limb, and will defend his worldly possessions to the utmost of his ability against all men. And if any person whatsoever shall presume to do an injury to either of us, I, Henry, will aid Philip, king of France, my liege lord, against all men to the utmost of my ability. And I, Philip, will aid Henry, king of England, against all men to the utmost of my ability, as my liege and vassal, saving always the fidelity which we owe to our liegemen, so long as they shall preserve their fealty towards ourselves. And neither of us shall from henceforth harbour an enemy of the other in his dominions, from the time that demand shall be made of him. And to the end that from henceforth all matter of discord between us may be removed, we do mutually agree that of the lands and possessions, and all other things which we now hold, each shall henceforth make no claim whatever against the other (except the claim as to Auvergne, respecting which there is a dispute between us, and except the fee of Chateau-Raoul, and except some small fees and allotments of our lands in Berry), in case our liegemen shall take anything from each other or from either of us. And if we shall not be able to agree as to the matters which are above excepted, then in such case, I, Philip, king of the Franks, have chosen three bishops, those of Claremont, Nivernois, and Treves, and three barons, count Theobald, count Robert, and Peter de Touraine, my uncles;

and I, Henry, king of England, have chosen three bishops, William, bishop of Le Mans, Peter, bishop of Perigord, and Robert, bishop of Nantes, and three barons, Maurice de Crouy, William Maingot, and Peter de Mont Rabell, to act in my behalf; and, having examined into the truth on both sides, both themselves as well as by the oaths of the people of those lands, the bishops aforesaid shall assert upon their word of truth, and the laymen shall make oath, that whatsoever they shall find to belong to either as of right, that same they will declare, and in good faith will firmly abide by their decision. But if all those bishops whom I, Philip, have chosen, shall not be able to be present, we will nevertheless abide by the decision of such two as shall be present; and if all the barons named on my side shall not be present, still we will not hesitate to abide by the decision of such two of them as shall be present; and similarly as to those, whom I, Henry, have chosen, both bishops as well as barons. We have also made oath, that we will do no injury to them by reason of their speaking the truth. And if by chance, which God forbid, any dispute shall arise between us as to our territories, the same is to be settled by the same persons in good faith and without evil intent or delay. And if any one of the persons before-mentioned shall in the meantime depart this life, then another one is to be substituted in his stead. And if either of us shall think proper to go on a pilgrimage, the one who remains shall faithfully guard, and protect, and defend against all men, the lands and vassals of him who shall be abroad as though they were his own and part of his own dominions, just as though I, Philip, were defending my city of Paris as if it were besieged, and as though I, Henry, were defending my city of Rouen, if it were besieged. I, Philip, also do will that all merchants and other persons whatsoever, both clergy as well as laymen, coming from the dominions of Henry, king of England, shall, with all their property, be in security and enjoy peace throughout all my dominions. And I, Henry, do in like manner, will that all merchants and other persons whatsoever, both clergy as well as laymen, coming from the dominions of Philip, king of France, shall, with all their property, be in security and enjoy peace throughout all my dominions. All the above we have made promise both by word and by oath that we will observe. Also, in obedience to our commands,

our vassals have made oath after us, that in good faith they will counsel us to observe what we have sworn, and not give us advice to disregard the same."

In the same year, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, expelled from his kingdom Henry, duke of Saxony; the cause of whose expulsion was as follows:—It must first, however, be observed, that there were ten princes appointed to be custodians of the gates of the city of Cologne, whose names were as follows:—

The duke of Lemburg,
The duke of Saxony,
The duke of Saringes,
The duke of Saxland,
The duke of Louvaine,
The count de Wilch,
The count de Loo,
The count de Gerle,
The count Palatine of the Rhone,
The count de Larmval.

Now, these ten are liegemen of the archbishop of Cologne, and receive yearly from the property of Saint Peter at Cologne two thousand marks of silver, as the pay for their custodianships. In addition to this, the archbishop of Cologne has large revenues, most of which are in the dukedom of Saxony, and which Henry, duke of Saxony, the son-in-law of Henry, king of England, unjustly seized, and withheld from the archbishop. In consequence of this, Reginald, archbishop of Cologne, made complaint to his lord, Frederic, emperor of the Romans: in addition to which, the before-named emperor charged the aforesaid duke with perjury, with breach of faith, and with high treason towards himself; and caused him to be summoned to appear in his court to give satisfaction both to himself and to the archbishop of Cologne. Having received, therefore, a safe conduct both in coming and returning, the duke made his appearance; and, after many charges had been made against him, both as to his breach of faith, his perjury, his high treason towards the emperor, and the injuries he had committed towards the archbishop of Cologne, when it was his duty, after taking counsel with his own people, to make answer to the charges so made, he mounted his horse, and, without giving any answer, returned home; on which the emperor demanded that judgment should be pronounced against him, and he was

accordingly pronounced to have forfeited his dukedom; and leave was given to the archbishop of Cologne to enter the territories of the duke of Saxony with an armed force, in order to take revenge for the injuries which the duke had done him. The emperor also, with a great army, entered the territories of the duke of Saxony, and laid them waste with fire, and sword, and famine, and reduced the duke to such extremities that he placed himself at the mercy of the emperor, abjured his territory, and placed the same for seven years at the mercy of the emperor, and then came in exile to the court of Henry, king of England, his wife's father. Shortly after this, however, at the entreaty of Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, Philip, king of France, Henry, king of England, and Philip, earl of Flanders, the emperor remitted four years from the period of banishment which he had prescribed to the duke.

In the same year died Manuel, emperor of Constantinople; and Alexis his son, who had married the daughter of Louis, king of France, ascended the throne, and reigned in peace two years. However, in the meantime, his mother, Mary, daughter of Raymond, prince of Antioch, had a certain person as her paramour, who, by virtue of his office, was in the Greek language called "Protosouastos,"[50] and in Latin, "Comes Palatinus;"[51] whom the before-named empress loved with such a disgraceful and ungovernable passion, that she was ready to put her son Alexis, the emperor, to death, and thereby promote her lover to the imperial throne. Accordingly, on a day that seemed suitable for the purpose, she gave a poisonous draught to her son the emperor; after drinking which, the poison, spreading its influence throughout his tender limbs, almost suffocated him on the spot: but at length, by means of the antidotes of skilful physicians, with considerable difficulty he escaped with his life. Being determined to take due precautions for the future, he sent for Andronеus, the brother's son of his father Manuel, and associated him with himself on the throne; by whose advice he seized his mother, and threw her into prison, and after she had long pined in prison, caused her to be tied up in a sack, and, an anchor being fastened to her neck, to be drowned in that part of the sea which

[50] This was the title of an officer very high in rank in the emperor's palace at Constantinople. [51] "Attendant in the palace." These words are however generally rendered "Count Palatine."

is called "The Greater Sea." He also put out the eyes of the Protosouastos, his mother's paramour, and caused him to be emasculated.

A short time after this, Androneus, seeing that it would give great satisfaction to the people, by way of proof of his true fidelity and his extreme affection, on a certain day named for the celebration of the solemnity, carried Alexis, the emperor, on his shoulders from his palace to the church of Saint Sophia, and caused him to be crowned there by Basilius, the patriarch of the city, and, in the presence of all the people, took the oaths of fealty to him as his liege lord against all men whatsoever. After this was done, the emperor Alexis gave to the before-named Androneus the power of exercising his own will and dispensing justice among the people. However, after a considerable time, Androneus came to the emperor Alexis and said that the people refused to pay obedience to his commands, and requested him to appoint some one else over the people whose commands they would obey. On this, Alexis said to him: "I have made choice of yourself, and have appointed you over my people, and I know of no one else in whom I have greater confidence;" upon which, Androneus said in reply: "If it is your wish that I should govern your people, cause me to be crowned in their presence, so that all the people may know that I am, under you, to reign over all the nations which are subject to your sway." The emperor, not being aware that all power is averse to a partner therein, acceded to his request.

The clergy and people of the empire having been convened, the emperor caused himself and Androneus to be crowned together by the before-named patriarch, in the church of Saint Sophia. However, after a short period of time had elapsed, the one became jealous of the other, and the thing that pleased the one displeased the other. "For no trust is there in associates in rule, and all power is averse to a partner therein."[52] Androneus, however, still pretending the affection which he had hitherto shown, under the veil thereof plotted against his lord the emperor, who, suspecting nothing of the sort, forbore to take any precautions. "For no foe is there more pernicious than an enemy in the disguise of a friend."[53] Having, there-

[52] "Nulla [enim] fides [erit] regni sociis, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit."

[53] "Nullus namque perniciosior hostis est, quam familiaris inimicus."

fore, gained a favourable time and place, with the sanction of Basilius, the patriarch, he put to death his lord the emperor Alexis, and, marrying his wife Agnes,[53*] the daughter of the king of France, exercised great tyranny over the people; and not only over the people, for all the nobles of the empire as well he either put to death, or, depriving them of their eyes and their virility, drove them out of the empire.

There was in that neighbourhood a certain young man, Isaac by name, son of the sister of Manuel, the deceased emperor, who, seeing the tyrannical conduct Andronicus was guilty of towards the principal men of the empire, was in great dread of him, and flying from before his face, assembled a large army, and fought a battle with the sultan of Iconium; in which battle he was taken prisoner by Rupin de la Montaigne, who had come as an auxiliary to the sultan of Iconium. After taking him prisoner, he offered to deliver him to the sultan of Iconium, but the sultan, refusing to receive him, gave him up to Rupin. Upon returning home, the latter sent him to his superior lord, Raymond, prince of Antioch, who received him with great delight, and demanded of him sixty thousand besants[54] as his ransom, which he accordingly promised to give, and, sending his messengers to the wealthy men of Cyprus, requested their assistance in procuring his ransom. Complying with his wishes, they sent him thirty thousand besants, which he gave to the prince of Antioch, and, by way of security for payment of the rest of the debt, gave him his son and daughter as hostages; whereupon, being liberated from the prison of the prince of Antioch, he came to the island of Cyprus, on which the chief men of the island received him, and made him their ruler. Elated by this, in his vanity he caused an imperial crown to be made for himself, and had himself crowned and called the "Holy Emperor." At the time, however, that had been arranged upon between them, the prince of Antioch sent to him for the remainder of the debt, that is to say, for the thirty thousand besants, but the emperor of Cyprus refused to deliver them to the envoys of the prince, but delivered them to the brethren of the Temple to be conveyed to the prince of

[53*] Then but eleven years of age. He is known in history as Andronicus I. Comnenus.

[54] A golden coin, which took its name from Byzantium, the place of its circulation.

Antioch. On their departure, they were met by pirates, who took from them the said sum of money. When this became known to the emperor of Cyprus, he asserted that this had been done by the contrivance of the prince of Antioch, and swore that he would not again pay him that sum of money. In consequence of this, his son and daughter remained two years as hostages in the hands of the prince of Antioch; but he, at length finding that the emperor of Cyprus would not redeem his hostages, and being moved with compassion, gave them their liberty, and allowed them to depart.

In the mean time, by the advice and assistance of Basilius, the patriarch, Andronеus, the emperor of Constantinople, usurped the monarchy of the whole empire, and placed the imperial diadem on the heads of himself and of his wife, and persevering in his tyrannical course, having put out the eyes of some of the nobles of the empire and cut off the limbs of others, sent them into banishment. Among these there was a certain nobleman, by name Andronеus Angelus, who had been chancellor to the emperor Manuel, which office was by the Greeks called "Laucete."[55] Him and his two sons, the emperor Andronеus caused to be deprived of their sight and virility, and then banished them from their country.

In addition to these two, the before-named Andronеus Angelus had a third son, a learned clerk, whom the Greeks called "Sacwice,"[56] while in Latin he was named Tursakius Angelus. At the time of the persecution he had set out for France and resided in Paris, where he frequented the schools, that in the learning of the Latins, he might learn their language and manners. Upon hearing the lamentable misfortunes of his father and brothers, he set out with all speed to administer consolation to them, and as he was passing through a certain island of Greece he found there a certain religious man, who had devoted himself to a life of solitude, and had a spirit of prophecy, and who, having formerly been archbishop of the city of Tyre, preferring to serve God rather than the world, had resigned his archbishopric, and had taken up his residence by himself in that island, his delicacies being the roots of wild herbs, and draughts of water his drink. On coming to the holy man, he disclosed to him his name and his family, and the

[55] Probably a misprint for some other word. [56] Probably he means "Sacuios."

cause of his journey. When the holy man had heard it all he burst into tears, knowing that it was a holy thing to weep with those who weep, and to lament with those who lament. After he had given loose to his tears, the young man tried, by all means in his power, to assuage his sorrow; on which the aged man said to him, "Return to the city of Constantinople, and prove yourself a man, for the Lord will deliver it into your hands, and you shall rule over it, and shall be emperor, and from you shall emperors proceed, who shall reign after you; and behold! Basilius, the patriarch, and the chief men of the empire are seeking you that they may become your subjects, and may have you for their lord and emperor; therefore attempt not to fly from that which God has prepared and predestined for you."

Upon this, Tursakius, believing what he said, departed for the city of Constantinople, in the disguise of a poor man and a beggar. Not daring to discover himself to the people because his hour was not yet come, he remained in the suburbs alone, attended by a single servant, and having but one gelding, and that weak and lame, and there with patience awaited the fulfilment of the promise of the holy man beforementioned. There he was frequently visited by the chief men of the land and the patriarch, not openly, however, but in secret, by reason of the fears of the emperor; who was by this time the object of universal hatred, and was himself the hater of all men. Even the patriarch, who had aided in his elevation, he persecuted to such a degree, as, against his wish, to build a certain noble church in the city, and place therein Latin canons, in consequence of which, to the present day, that church is called the "Latin Church."

After a considerable time, the aforesaid Androneus, the emperor, goaded by a bad conscience, was desirous, through his magicians, to learn if there was still any person whom there was reason for him to stand in fear of: on which they made answer to him, "Give us a boy without guilt to slay, and a period of three days, and we will give you information on what you ask." Accordingly, a boy without guilt was immediately delivered to them, whom they offered in sacrifice to the demons, and after making lengthened investigation in his blood and entrails by means of their magical arts, discovered by the signs that the close of his rule was nigh at hand, and his death at the gate

and that he who was to put him to death was in the neighbourhood, and his name was Tursakius Angelus.

Accordingly, on the next day, the above-mentioned magicians came to the emperor Andronеus, and said to him, "Now at length have your sins overtaken you of which you were guilty when you sat on your tribunal, oppressing the innocent and condemning the just blood without a cause. For the day of your downfall is hastening on; and lo! he is close at hand who shall destroy you and take your empire, and the name of that person is Tursakius Angelus. After unheard-of torments as your punishment, he will condemn you to a most cruel death, and his deeds will be applauded by the lips of the people, and he himself will become as the very food of those who tell of his exploits, and will reign over us, and his posterity will succeed to the sceptre. It is to your own sorrow that you have deprived his father and brothers of eyesight and other blessings. At this moment he is in the suburbs of this city; therefore expel him, if expel him you can."

Andronеus, however, on learning that he was at hand who was to put him to death, sent his chancellor with some knights and men-at-arms, for the purpose of seizing him. On arriving at the place where he lodged, they found the gates closed; on which those who went first cried with a loud voice, "Open the gates for us, open them; behold! it is the emperor's chancellor come;" and then said, "Tursakius, come forth." Tursakius, seeing that they would break open the gates if he did not come forth with all speed, quickly saddled his horse, and, mounting it, girded on his sword; and then, opening the gates, he darted forth with the greatest rapidity, and, brandishing his sword, made his way among those who resisted, and, rushing upon the chancellor, cut off his head. The rest, however, stood quite astounded, and not one laid hands on him; on which, passing through the midst of them, he entered the city, and going through it came to the church of Saint Sophia, where, finding the patriarch Basilius, he cast himself at his feet, and told him of all that had happened to him.

On this, the patriarch raising him from the ground, exclaimed to the whole of the people there assembled, "Come hither and behold the man whom the Lord hath chosen to reign over us; say, then, what you think thereof." To this they

all made answer, "It pleases us that he should be our lord, and that he should reign over us, and that we should expel this perfidious Androneus, who is destroying us and our nation." Upon this, the patriarch consented to the wishes of the people, for he too had the same desire, and forthwith consecrated him emperor: after which, having celebrated mass and performed all things with due solemnity, the patriarch took him to his own house, and made a great entertainment for the chief men and tribunes of the city (for it was a festival), to which a multitude of the people and of the elders resorted.

In the meantime, the emperor Androneus had come forth from his palace that he might see the end of Isaac Angelus, for the purpose of arresting whom he had sent his chancellor; but, on hearing that the chancellor was slain and that Isaac Angelus had been proclaimed emperor, he returned to his palace, and the gate was shut. On this, the new emperor came with a great multitude of armed people and laid siege to the palace of Androneus. Suddenly, there came a great black raven, of sinister appearance, which, sitting upon a wall of the palace, right opposite to the emperor Androneus, sent forth at him an unceasing and ill-boding cawing; upon which, conjecturing that this was an omen of his downfall and ruin, he seized his bow and drew it, but when he attempted to aim an arrow at it, the bow broke: on which, being greatly enraged, he threw it at his feet, saying, "Now I know of a truth that the day of my ruin is hastening on, and that the anger of God has fallen upon me."

While he was still speaking, the followers of the new emperor scaled the walls of the palace and took the emperor Androneus prisoner, and after binding him, delivered him up, to the new emperor; who said to him, "Now, through the righteous judgment of God, have your sins overtaken you, by which you have deserved His anger, in oppressing the innocent, and slaying your lord, the emperor Alexis, and blinding my father and my brothers, and other nobles of the kingdom; therefore you shall die by the most shocking of deaths;" after which he delivered him to the torturers, saying, "Take and scourge him through the streets and lanes of the city, and you are at liberty to put out one of his eyes, and to cut off one ear, one hand, and one foot. You must, however, preserve his life and his other limbs for greater torments."

After this command had been fully complied with, the new emperor delivered him to other tormentors, who, scattering straw over him, set fire to his sides and burned him till the whole of his skin was contracted into wrinkles: after which they fastened him to the tails of horses, and then, dragging him through the midst of the city, when he was dead, cast his body outside thereof.

After this, the religious men who lived in that church in the city, which is called the Latin church, came to the emperor Tursakius and asked for his body; on which he gave it to them, and they buried it in their church, which he had built. But his hand that had been cut off was suspended by chains of iron from a gibbet. In the next place, by command of the emperor Tursakius and the whole clergy and people, it was, ordered, after due consideration, that whatever Androneus had commanded to be done should be declared null and void: in consequence of which, all who by command of Androneus had gone into exile, returned home. In addition to this, the emperor Tursakius slew the two sons of Androneus, and taking due precaution for the future, deposed the above-named patriarch Basilius, and shut him up in a monastery.

He also sent for the person who had foretold to him what should come to pass, and, contrary to the wishes of the canons of the church of Saint Sophia, appointed him patriarch: in consequence of which there arose a division among them, so that no one would pay obedience to him. As he was a man of peace and was unwilling to have any contention with them, he abdicated the patriarchate, on which the emperor appointed him supreme judge in ecclesiastical matters over all the churches of his empire. After this, the emperor Tursakius, by the advice of his family, married the daughter of Bela, king of Hungary, by whom he had sons and daughters, to one of whom Roger, king of Sicily, son of Tancred, king of Sicily, was married.

In the same year, Henry, king of England, the father, made a new coinage in England, and fined the moneyers for the baseness of the old coinage. In this year also, Richard, bishop of Saint Andrew's, in Scotland, departed this life, after whose decease there immediately arose a division as to the election of a bishop. For the canons of the church of Saint Andrew's elected as their bishop master

John, surnamed Scot, while William, king of the Scots, elected his chaplain Hugh, and ordered him to be consecrated by the bishops of his kingdom, in spite of the appeal made to our lord the pope by the before-named John, the bishop elect. In consequence of this, Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, sent Alexis, subdeacon of the Church at Rome, into Scotland, to learn the merits of the controversy that existed between John, the bishop elect, and Hugh, who had been consecrated, and to put an end to the same.

Upon his arrival in Scotland, after having made lengthened enquiries in presence of the clergy and the people of the kingdom, respecting the election of John and of Hugh, and the consecration of the said Hugh, and having learned that the before-named John had been canonically elected, and that Hugh, after appeal had been made to the Roman Pontiff, had been violently thrust by the king into the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, he without any hesitation deposed him from the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, and by virtue of the authority entrusted to him, condemned him to perpetual silence. The election also of John he confirmed, and caused him to be consecrated by the bishops of Scotland, the king neither forbidding nor opposing the same, indeed, rather, in conformity with the advice of the bishops of the kingdom, sanctioning it. But immediately after his consecration had taken place, the king forbade him to stay in his kingdom. On the other hand, Hugh conducted himself as a bishop none the less than before, and, taking with him the sacramental vessels that belonged to the see, and the crozier and ring, together with other things which he unlawfully withheld, departed for Rome; on which, because he was unwilling to restore what he had carried away, Alexis excommunicated him, and the Supreme Pontiff confirmed the sentence; whereupon the pope wrote to the following effect to the bishops and other ecclesiastical men of the kingdom of Scotland:—

The letter of pope Alexander relative to John and Hugh, the bishops of Saint Andrew's.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, the whole of the bishops, and his dearly beloved sons the abbats and other prelates of churches throughout Scotland appointed, to the prior, canons, clergy, and people of Saint Andrew's, health and the Apostolic bene-

diction. Inasmuch as we understood that our venerable brother John, now bishop of Saint Andrew's, was canonically elected, and that after his election, an appeal then pending, Hugh, with rash presumption, being thrust into the said church by lay power, had dared to be consecrated thereto; therefore, by our Apostolic authority making null and void his election, we directed our dear son, Alexis, our subdeacon, as legate of the Apostolic See, to repair to your parts to take cognizance of the election of the before-named John; who, having, as we are informed by the testimony of many, acted therein with mature deliberation and in a canonical manner, found his election to be canonical, and, after many delays, in which he acted in deference to his royal highness, confirmed the same with the Apostolic authority, enjoining all on our behalf who belonged to the church of Saint Andrew's to show due reverence and obedience to the said John as being duly elected. Whereupon, inasmuch as no one, by reason of their dread of the king, dared openly to obey this command, the said legate laid under an interdict, not the kingdom, as he lawfully might have done, but the see. Inasmuch therefore as the chief men, both ecclesiastical as well as secular, having been solemnly bound upon oath by our most dearly beloved son in Christ, William, the illustrious king of the Scots, to give good counsel thereon, while the king himself had strictly promised that he would abide by their advice, all made answer as one man that he ought not any further to molest the consecration of the aforesaid John made in presence of our legate and four bishops (the fifth being sick, but by writing consenting thereto) but allow him peacefully to be consecrated to his see. Wherefore we do by this Apostolic writing command the whole of you, and do, under peril of your orders and benefices, enjoin you, that putting on a spirit of forbearance, you will, within eight days after the receipt hereof, all appeal set aside, with due honor reinstate him in his see, and labor prudently and manfully for the upholding of the rights of the Church, and use all diligence in appeasing the irritation of the king, and shew all the respect and honor to the aforesaid bishop which you were wont to shew to his predecessors. And if the king shall will any otherwise, or even be warped by the counsels of wicked men, it is your duty to pay obedience rather to God and to the holy Church of Rome than to men; otherwise the sen-

tence which our venerable brother Hugh, bishop of Durham, has pronounced upon the rebellious and contumacious,[57] we shall, with God's assistance, confirm and order to be strictly observed."

Another Letter of pope Alexander on the same subject.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, and his dearly beloved sons the prelates of churches appointed throughout Scotland, health and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas it has been notified unto us, that Hugh, who had been intruded upon the church of Saint Andrew's in Scotland, having unlawfully withheld the episcopal vessels,[58] the crozier and ring, and other things which he had without good reason taken away, and, having been frequently warned thereon to return to a sense of his duty, despised the said warnings; on which our dearly beloved son Alexis, the subdeacon and legate of the Apostolic See, in presence of yourselves and many of the clergy and people, relying upon the Apostolic authority, called upon him, under pain of excommunication, within fifteen days either to restore what he had taken away or carried off, or else to make becoming satisfaction for the same. And whereas, he, persisting in the sin of his arrogance, has in no way listened to the warnings of our legate aforesaid. We therefore of our authority, confirming the sentence pronounced by him, do by these Apostolic writings order and enjoin the whole of you, that you do forthwith, relying on the grace of God, and all fear laid aside, and no appeal whatever withstanding, denounce him as under the ban of excommunication, and carefully avoid him as excommunicated, until such time as he shall restore to our brother, John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, and his church, such of the things above mentioned as he has taken away, or an equivalent for the same, and make proper satisfaction for such other things as he has made away with."

In addition to this, our lord, the pope, gave to Roger, the archbishop of York, the legateship in Scotland, and ordered him, together with Hugh, bishop of Durham, to pronounce sentence of excommunication upon the king of the Scots, and place his kingdom under an interdict, unless he should allow the aforesaid John to hold his bishopric in peace, and give him

[57] "Præcipiemus" seems to be the proper reading, and not "præcipimus."
[58] "Capellam." The "capella" of a bishop was the materiel which were employed by him in the performance of his sacred offices.

security that he would keep the same. The said pope also, strictly, and in virtue of the obedience he owed, forbade John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, either moved by love or fear of any person, or by any one's suggestion or command, to presume and dare with rashness to desert the church of Saint Andrew's, to which he had been consecrated and confirmed with the Apostolic authority, or to receive another; adding, that if he should attempt so to do, he would deprive him of both.[59] And with reference thereto, the Supreme Pontiff wrote to the following effect—

The Letter of pope Alexander to William, king of the Scots, on the same matter.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, the illustrious king of the Scots, health and the Apostolic benediction. We bear it in mind that we have anxiously laboured for your peace and liberty, hoping that thereby you would be more strongly confirmed, and increase apace in dutifulness to the Apostolic See, and would more willingly preserve the liberties of the Church; but when we give our attention to what you have done relative to our venerable brother John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, in Scotland, and what disposition you have hitherto shewn with regard to him, we find ourselves compelled to entertain apprehensions at variance with the hopes which we did entertain, as to the warmth of your royal dutifulness. Wishing, nevertheless, to make trial if our forbearance can bring your royal feelings to true repentance, we do by these Apostolic writings strenuously admonish and enjoin your mightiness, that, within twenty days after the receipt hereof, you make peace with the said bishop, and give security for the same, so that he may have no room to fear your royal indignation. Otherwise, you are to know that we have given orders to our venerable brother Roger, the archbishop of York and legate of the Apostolic See, in Scotland, to lay your kingdom under an interdict, no appeal whatever withstanding, and to pronounce sentence of excommunication against your person, if you shall be unwilling to desist from this course. And further, be assured of this for certain, that if you shall think fit to persist in your violent measures, in the same way, that we have laboured that your

[59] His present see and the one he should accept.

kingdom might gain its liberty, so shall we use our best endeavours that it may return to its former state of subjection."

The king of Scotland, however, being in nowise willing to obey the Apostolic mandates, expelled the said John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, and Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, his uncle, from his kingdom. Accordingly, Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Alexis, the legate of the Apostolic See, in obedience to the mandate of the Supreme Pontiff, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the person of the king of Scotland, and laid his kingdom under interdict.

In the same year, a certain priest, Swerre Birkebain by name, commenced a war with Magnus, king of Norway. Now the following were the grounds of the claims which the before-named Swerre made against the said Magnus, relative to the kingdom of Norway. Siward and Magnus were brothers. Siward was king of Norway; and Magnus, his brother, crossed over to Ireland and gained the greater part of it by arms; he was the father of Harold, and was shortly after, slain by the Irish. The said Harold, after the death of his father, passed over into Norway, to his uncle, king Siward, and demanded of him a part of that kingdom, on which he gave him that part of the kingdom which belonged to his father of right.

Now king Siward had a son, whom he named Magnus, and a daughter called Christiana, and whom he gave in marriage to earl Herling, who by her became the father of a son, whom he named Magnus. On the death of earl Herling, his son Magnus succeeded him in the earldom; and shortly after, a serious disagreement arising between him[60] and Harold, the said Harold took him prisoner in battle, and blinded him and deprived him of his virility, and hanged Reginald of Bergen. Magnus, after losing his sight, became a monk, and Harold, having obtained the whole kingdom of Norway, became the father of four sons, namely, Ingo, who was legitimate, and Siward, Augustin, and Magnus, who were illegitimate and by different mothers. A certain clerk, Siward by name, insidiously slew the before-named king Harold by night, and after his death, taking the before-named Magnus,

[60] It will appear in the sequel that this is a mistake; it was probably Magnus, the son of Siward, and uncle of this Magnus, who was slain by Harold.

who was his kinsman, from the abbey, attempted to restore him to the throne, on which a war ensuing with the sons of Harold, he was slain, and Magnus, who had been a monk, shared the same fate.

After their death, Ingo, Siward, and Augustin, obtained the kingdom. Siward became the father of Haco, Siward, and Suer, who were all illegitimate, and born of different mothers. Augustin had a son who was also named Augustin, and was of legitimate birth; while Ingo was the father of Siward and Augustin. They being slain, the before-named Haco slew Ingo, and obtained the throne. The chief men of the kingdom being indignant at this, raised Magnus, the son of Herling and the before-named Christiana, to the throne. Being, however, unable to make head in war against Haco, they retired to Denmark, where in a short time having recruited their forces, they returned to Norway. A battle being fought between them and Haco at Funenburgh, they gained possession of his ships and arms, and put him to flight.

In the following summer, Haco was pursued by Magnus, the son of Herling and Christiana, and a naval engagement taking place between them at a spot called Vee, Haco was slain, on which Magnus, the son of Herling and Christiana, gained the throne. In consequence of this, Siward, the brother of Haco, rose in rebellion against him, and a battle being fought between them, Siward was slain; on which Magnus was made king; and was crowned in the fifteenth year of his age and the second of his reign, being the fourth year of the papacy of the pope Alexander the Third, who sent to him master Stephen of Orvieto as legate.

Now, while the before-named king Magnus was celebrating the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, at Funenburgh, Augustin, the son of the before-named Augustin, surprised him with a body of horse, and attempted to slay the king while among his guests; but the king, being forewarned thereof, went out against him, and, an engagement taking place, slew him, together with four hundred of his men. Those, however, who escaped from the battle, to the amount of eleven hundred warriors, adhered to the before-named Swerre, the priest, the son of Siward. This Swerre, having levied a large force, on the night after the feast of Saint Botolph, secretly entered the city of Drontheim, where king Magnus, with his father, earl Herling, and

others of his friends were staying, and surprised them, and slew a great number. On this occasion there fell earl Herling, the king's father, John de Randeburgh, who was married to the king's sister, and Siward, the son of Nicholas, with many others: the king, however, leaving the city, with some few of his followers, made his escape. But in the following year, king Magnus, levying a considerable army, attacked the beforenamed Swerre near the city of Drontheim, and, at the first onset, slew many of his foes: but at length, by the secret dispensation of God, after many of the best men of his household had been slain, he took to flight, together with a few of his followers, and effected his escape.

On this, the priest Swerre pursued him as far as Bergen, on which the king, flying thence, left him in possession of that city; and Augustin, the archbishop of Drontheim, being unwilling to make any submission to the priest Swerre, left his archbishopric, and coming to England, excommunicated Swerre. It deserves to be recorded, that this king Magnus was the first king of Norway that was crowned.

In the same year, Henry, king of England, the father, appointed Ranulph de Glanville chief justiciary of all England: by whose wisdom were enacted the laws underwritten, which we call the "Anglican Laws."

Of the Laws and Statutes of England, after the Conquest by William the Elder.

[60] "Here are set forth the enactments made by William, king of the English, and his principal men, after the Conquest of England. In the first place, before every thing, he desired that one God should be worshipped throughout his kingdom, that the one faith of Christ should always be kept inviolate, and that peace, security and good will should be preserved between the English and the Normans. 'We do also enact, that every free man shall on his word and oath affirm, that, whether in England or out of it, he is willing to be faithful to his lord, king William, to preserve his territories and honors to him with all due fidelity, and to defend the same against his enemies. We do will also, that all men whom we have brought

[60] The numerous defects in the text of Hoveden have here been corrected by a reference to the more full copy of these laws in Wilkins's "Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ." London, 1721, p. 228; *et seq.*

with us, or who shall have come after us, shall be under our protection. And if any one of them shall be slain, his superior lord, if he can, is, within fifteen days, to arrest his murderer; but if not then, he is to begin to pay to us forty-six marks of silver, so far as the property of the said lord shall last. But where the property of the lord shall not suffice, then the whole hundred, in which the murder took place, shall pay in common what remains unpaid. Also, every person who is a Frank by birth, and was in the time of Edward, our kinsman, residing in England, and subject to the customs of the English, which they call 'Anlote' or 'Anscote,'[61] is to pay the same according to the laws of the English.' This claim was made and confirmed in the city of Gloucester.[62] 'We do also forbid that any live stock shall be sold or bought except within cities, and then in the presence of three faithful witnesses, and that anything second-hand[62*] shall be sold without a security and warranty for the same. And if any person shall do otherwise, he is to pay back the money, and then a penalty [to the king].' It was also there enacted, that if a Frank by birth should accuse an Englishman of perjury, murder, theft, homicide, or 'ran,'[63] whereby is meant open robbery, which cannot be denied, the Englishman was to defend himself in such manner as he should think best, either by judgment by iron,[64] or by wager of battle. But if the Englishman should happen to be infirm, then he was to find some one to do so in his stead. If either of them should be conquered, he was to pay to the king a penalty of forty shillings. 'But if any Englishman shall charge a Frank by birth [therewith], and shall be ready to prove the same by the judgment or by duel, then our will is, that the Frank shall clear himself by oath, not [by the judgment] by iron. This also we do command, that all shall observe the laws of king Edward in all respects, with the addition of what we have for the benefit of the English enacted. Every man who shall assert himself to be free, shall be on suretyship,[65] in order that his surety may produce him

[61] This was a tax which was to be paid in equal shares, one scot and one lot. [62] In civitate Claudiâ. [62*] Lambarde suggests "necessaria," "necessaries;" Wilkins has "vendita," "things already sold." "Vetusta," as in the text, is most probably correct.

[63] This Saxon word is still perpetuated in our saying, "to take all one can wrap and rend." [64] Holding red hot iron in the hand unharmed.

[65] Alluding to the institution of Frank-pledge.

for trial, if guilty of any offence; and if any such person shall run away and escape, then the sureties are to see that they pay the amount claimed, and make proof that they have been privy to no fraud in the person who has escaped. The same summons shall be made of hundreds and counties, as our predecessors have enacted: and those who ought in justice to appear, and shall be unwilling so to do, shall be once summoned. And if on a second summons they shall not appear, then one ox shall be taken, and on a third summons, another ox, and on the fourth occasion, the amount claimed shall be paid out of the property of the said person, by way of what is called 'scapgeld,' besides a penalty to the king. We do also forbid any person to sell a man out of the country. We do also forbid that any person shall be put to death or hanged for any crime: but his eyes may be put out, and he may be deprived of his virility.[65] And this command is not to be violated, on pain of plenary penalty to ourselves.'

"King William, in the fourth year of his reign, by the advice of his barons, caused the nobles and wise men among the English, and those who were learned in their laws, to be summoned throughout all the earldoms of England, in order that he might hear from them their laws, ordinances, and customs. Accordingly, twelve men, elected from each county throughout the whole kingdom, first gave assurance by oath, that, so long as they could, proceeding in the right path and swerving neither to the right nor to the left, they would disclose the enactments of their laws and customs, neither omitting nor adding, nor by prevarication changing anything. Therefore, making a commencement with the laws of Holy Mother Church, inasmuch as through her alone both king and kingdom have a firm and lasting foundation, they set forth her laws, liberties, and rights of protection, to this effect:[65*]

Of Clerks and their Possessions.

"Every clerk, and all scholars[66] as well, and all their property and possessions, are everywhere to enjoy the protection of God and of the Holy Church.

[65] Wilkins adds, "or feet or hands, that in his maimed state he may remain a living sign of his treachery and wickedness."

[65*] The following translation is from the text of these laws found in Wilkins, p. 197, *et seq.*, which is far more correct than that found in Hoveden.

[66] Probably novices in the schools of monasteries.

Of the Times and Days of the King's Protection.

"From the Advent of our Lord until the octave of Epiphany there is to be the peace of God and of the Church throughout all the kingdom: and, in like manner, from Septuagesima until the octave of Easter. Likewise, from the Ascension of our Lord until the octave of Pentecost. Likewise, on all the days of the Four Seasons,[67] and on all Saturdays, from the ninth hour until Monday. Likewise, on the vigils of Saint Mary, Saint Michael, Saint John the Baptist, of all the Apostles, and of those Saints whose days are announced by the priests on the Lord's Day, and of All Saints on the calends of November, always from the ninth hour of the vigil and during the subsequent festival. Likewise, in parishes in which the day of dedication is kept. Likewise, in parishes, when the festival of the Saint of the church is celebrated. And if any person comes devoutly to the festival of the Saint, he is to have protection[68] in going, staying, and returning. Likewise, for all Christians, when going to Church for the purpose of prayer, there is to be protection both in going and returning. In like manner, those who are coming to dedications, synods, and chapters, whether they have been summoned, or whether they have themselves to perform any part therein, are to enjoy full protection. Also, if any person who has been excommunicated shall resort to the bishop for the purpose of absolution, in going and returning he is to have the protection of God and of the Holy Church: and if any person shall do him any injury, the bishop is to do justice upon him. And if any arrogant person shall refuse to make amends on judgment given by the bishop, then the bishop is to make the same known to the king: and in such case the king will compel the offender to make amends to the person to whom he has done such injury, that is to say, in the first place to the bishop, and then to the king; and thus, in such case, there will be two swords, and the one sword shall aid the other.

[67] These were the four seasons for fasting prescribed by the early Roman church, styled the Vernal, Æstival, Autumnal and Hiemal fasts, or the fasts of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth month; March being reckoned as the first month.

[68] In these latter cases, "pax," "peace," or "protection," means merely protection from legal process.

Of the jurisdiction of the Holy Church.

"Wherever the king's justice shall hold his sittings, or whoever the person whose cause he shall be occupied with, if a person sent by a bishop shall come there and open a cause of the Holy Church, the same is to be first brought to a conclusion; for it is just that God should be everywhere held in honor before man.

Of all who hold of the Church.

"Whoever shall hold anything of the Church, or shall have a tenement upon the lands of the Church, he shall not, though he may have committed an offence, be forced to plead out of the ecclesiastical court, unless, which God forbid, there shall have been a miscarriage of justice in such ecclesiastical court.

Of the accused who take refuge with the Church.

"Whatever accused or guilty person shall flee to a church for the sake of protection, from the time that he shall have reached the porch of such church, he shall on no account be seized by any one pursuing him, except only by the bishop or by his servant. And if, on his flight, he shall enter the house of a priest or his court-yard, he is to have the same security and protection as he would have had in the church, supposing always, that the priest's house and court-yard are standing upon the land of the Church. If the person is a thief or burglar, that which he has wrongfully taken, if he has it in his possession, he is to restore, and if he has entirely made away with it, and has anything of his own by which to make restitution, he is to make restitution in full to him whom he has injured. And if the thief has thus acted according to his usual practice, and shall happen to have frequently made his escape to churches and priests' houses, then, after making restitution of what he has taken away, he is to abjure that county, and not to return thereto; and if he does not[67] make restitution, no one is to presume to harbour him, unless with leave granted by the king.

Of breach of the Protection of the Church.

"If any person shall by force violate the protection of the Holy Church, the same belongs to the jurisdiction of the bishops. And if the guilty person shall, by taking to flight or by arrogantly slighting it, despise their sentence, then complaint is to

[67] The "nisi" in the text of Hoveden is preferable here to "si forte" in that of Wilkins.

be made against him before the king after the expiration of forty days, and the king's justice shall exact of him surety and pledges, if he can give the same, until he shall have made satisfaction, first to God, and then to the king. And if for one-and-thirty days he shall not be able to be found, either by his friends and acquaintances, or by the king's justice, then the king shall outlaw him by the word of his mouth. And if he shall afterwards be found, and can be taken, he is to be delivered alive to the king, and if he defends himself, then his head. For from the day of his outlawry he has the head of a wolf; which in the English language is called 'Wulvesheofod.'[68] And this is the common and universal law as to all outlaws.

Of the Tithes of the Church.

"Of all yearly produce of the earth the tenth sheaf is due to God, and ought therefore to be paid to Him. If any person has a stud of mares, he is to give the tenth foal: he who has only one or two, is for each foal to pay one penny. In the same manner, he who has a number of cows is to give the tenth calf; if only one or two, he is to pay for each calf one penny. He also who makes cheese is to give the tenth thereof to God, and if he does not make it, then he is to give the milk every tenth day. In like manner, the tenth lamb, the tenth fleece, the tenth of the butter, and the tenth sucking-pig is to be given.

Of small Tithes.

"In like manner, as to the tenths of the profits of bees. Moreover, out of forests, meadows, waters, mills, parks, preserves, fisheries, shrubberies, gardens, merchandize, and all other things which the Lord has given, the tenth part is to be restored to Him who has bestowed the other nine parts together with the tenth. The person who withholds the same must be compelled to make payment thereof by judgment of the bishop, and of the king, if necessary. For thus did Saint Augustin teach, and these things were conceded by the king, the barons, and the people. But since then, by the instigation of the devil, many have withheld the same, and rich priests, becoming negligent, have not taken care to undergo the trouble of seeking them, because they had sufficient necessaries for the

[68] Also called "Wolfeshead," or "Wolferheued." This state of outlawry was so called, from its resemblance to that of the wolves which infested England, for whose heads a reward was offered.

support of life. But in many places there are now three or four churches where there was then but one, and thereby their means have become diminished.

Of those who have been adjudged by the king's justice to undergo the judgment of iron or of water.

"On the day on which the judgment is to be held, the bishop is to come thither with his clergy, and in like manner the king's justice with lawful men of that county, who are to see and hear that all things are done with equity. Those whom the Lord in His mercy, and not through their own merits, shall think fit to save, are to be unmolested and to depart at liberty, and the king's justice is to pronounce judgment on those whom the iniquities of their crimes and not the Lord has condemned. As to those barons who have jurisdiction over their homagers in their own courts, they are to see that they so act towards them, that they neither incur guilt before God, nor offend the king. And if a trial takes place in any of their courts of those who are homagers of other barons, then the king's justice must be present at such trial, inasmuch as, without his presence, the said trial may not be brought to a conclusion. But if any baron shall happen not to have jurisdiction in the hundred where the trial takes place, then the matter is to be brought for judgment to the nearest church where the king's court is held, saving always the right of such barons.

Of Saint Peter's Penny, which in England is called Romescot.

"Every person who shall have live stock to the value of thirty pence on his property belonging to himself, shall, according to the law of the English, give one penny to Saint Peter, and according to the law of the Danes, half a mark. The said penny is to be mentioned on the feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and to be collected on the feast which is called that of 'Saint Peter *ad Vincula*,'[69] so as not to be withheld beyond that day. If any person shall withhold the same, then the claim is to be brought before the king's justice, inasmuch as this penny is the king's alms; and the justice is to cause the penny to be paid, as also a fine to the bishop and to the king. And if any person shall chance to have more houses than one, then as to that one in which he shall be residing at the feast of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul he is to pay the penny.

[69] Saint Peter in prison..

What 'Danegeld' is, and under what emergency it was first levied.

"The payment of Danegeld was first exacted by reason of the pirates. For, harassing this country, they used their utmost endeavours to lay it waste. In order to check their ravages, it was enacted, that Danegeld should be paid yearly; namely, twelve pence for each hide of land throughout the whole country, for the purpose of hiring persons to resist the incursions of the pirates. From this Danegeld all the Church was free and exempt, and all the land which belonged to the Church as of its own demesne, wherever situate; it paying nothing whatever towards such a tax, because more trust was put in the prayers of the Church than in its defence by arms. [And the English[69] church enjoyed this exemption down to the times of William the Younger, who was surnamed Rufus, when he required aid from the barons of England in order to regain Normandy and retain possession of it against his brother Robert, surnamed Curthose, who was setting out for Jerusalem. It was conceded to him, though not sanctioned or confirmed by law; but by reason of the necessity of the case, he caused four shillings to be paid to him for every hide of land, that of the Church not even excepted. While the collection of the tax was being made, the Holy Church protested against it, demanding her exemption, but she availed nothing thereby.]

Of the various kinds of the King's Protection, along the Four Streets or Royal Roads, and along rivers, by the navigation of which provisions are carried.

"The king's protection is of various kinds. One kind is given under his own hand, which is called by the English 'Cyninges hande sealde grith.' One kind is that which lasts for a period of eight days from the time of his coronation. There are also eight days at the Nativity of our Lord, eight days at Easter, and eight at Pentecost. Another protection is that given by his letters. Another, that which the Four public Roads possess, Watlingstrete,[70] Fosse,[71] Ikenildestrete,[72]

[69] This must be an interpolation, if these laws belong to the time of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. The more general opinion now is, that they belong to the time of William II.

[70] From Devonshire to Chester. [71] From Caithness, in Scotland, to Totnes, in Devonshire. [72] It extended from Saint David's, in Wales, to Tynemouth, in Northumberland.

and Ermingstrete;[73] two of which extend along the length and two along the breadth of the kingdom. Another is that which the waters of certain rivers known by name possess, by the navigation of which provisions are carried from different places to cities or boroughs. This protection under the king's hand, on the day of his coronation, and under his letters, is to be observed under penalty of a fine: in like manner a breach of the protection on the four public roads and the principal rivers is to be deemed equal to assault. If any building is erected [on the said roads or rivers], the same shall be destroyed, and one half of the expenses of the repairs thereof shall be paid. And if a person shall knowingly have committed such breach, the fine is to be paid by the eighteen hundreds,[75] in places subject to the Danish laws,[76] and his body shall be at the king's mercy. According to the law of the English, his were,[77] that is to say, the price of his ransom is to be the same as the manbote payable to the lords for those of their men who have been slain. The manbote, according to the Danish laws, for a villein or a sokeman, is twelve oras;[79] but for free men, three marks. But manbote, according to the law of the English, is three marks to the king, and to the archbishop, for the men who belong to them; but to the bishop and to the earl of the same county, and to the king's seneschal it is twenty shillings; and to other barons, ten shillings. Also, a recompense is to be paid to the relations of the person slain, or the duel is to be waged with them, as to which the English proverb says, 'Bige spere of side other bere.'[80] Protection, however, upon the Four public Roads and the before-mentioned rivers lies under a higher jurisdiction than what we have mentioned as to assault. Also, if a mill, or fishery, or any other work that is an obstruction to them is in preparation, the said works must be immediately destroyed, and the public

[73] Extending from the south of England towards Carlisle.

[75] See page 554. [76] The 'Denelega,' or law established by the Danes for those parts inhabited by their own nation.

[77] The 'were,' or 'wergeld,' was paid by a murderer, partly to the king for the loss of a subject, partly to the lord whose vassal he was, and partly to the next of kin of the person slain.

[79] The "ora" was a Danish silver coin, probably about ten shillings in value.

[80] "Buy a spear for your side, or wield it yourself," meaning, "Either hire a person to wage the battle for you, or fight yourself."

Roads and rivers must be placed in their former state of repair, and a fine to the king must not be forgotten. The lesser roads, however, leading from one city to another, and from borough to borough, and along which merchandize is carried and other business done, are to be subject to the laws of the county; and if any person erects any work to their detriment, the same is to be levelled with the ground, and the roads are to be at once put in repair, and reparation is to be made, according to the law of the said county, to the earl and sheriff thereof. The same is to be done likewise as to the lesser rivers. As to the lesser rivers which carry vessels with the things that are necessary to boroughs and cities, wood, at least, and things of that nature, reparation of them is likewise to be made as prescribed by the law relative to the lesser roads.

Of the Divisions of the Shires.

"The divisions of the king's Shires properly belong to the same jurisdiction as the four Royal public Roads. The division into Hundreds and Wapentakes, with their jurisdiction, belong to the earls and sheriffs of the counties. Treasures found in the ground belong to our lord the king, unless they are found in a church or in a burial-ground. And even if found there, the gold belongs to the king, and a moiety of the silver, and the other moiety to the church where it is found, whatever church it is, whether rich or poor.

Of the Laws as to Murderers.

"If a person was murdered anywhere, the murderer was sought throughout the vill where the person murdered was found. If he was found, he was to be delivered up to the king's justice, within eight days after the murder. If he could not be found, then a period of a month and a day was given for making search for him; and if within the given period he could not be found, then six and forty marks were levied upon the vill. But if it was not able to make so great a payment, then the amount was to be paid by the hundred which the vill was unable to pay. But when the boundaries of the vill were utterly confused, then the barons were to see that it was collected throughout the hundred, and was sealed with the seal of some baron of the county, and then carried to the king's treasurer, who was to keep the same under seal for a year and a day. If the murderer could be found within that time,

then he was to be delivered up to the king's justice, on which they were to have back the forty-six marks that had been deposited with the king's treasurer. But if he could not be apprehended within the said time, then the relations of the murdered person were to have six marks and the king the remaining forty. If his relations could not be found, then his superior lord was to receive them, and if he had no lord, then his fellow,[83] that is to say, the person who was tied to him by bonds of fidelity. But if there were none of these, in such case, the king of the realm, under whose safeguard and protection they all live, was to take back the six marks together with his own forty.

"The law of murder was first enacted in the time of Canute, the Danish king, who, after gaining possession of England, and reducing it to a state of peace, at the request of the English barons, sent his army back to Denmark. The said barons, however, became surety to the king, that as many of his people as he should wish to retain with himself should enjoy assured protection in all respects; and that if any of the English should happen to slay one of them, and could not defend himself against the charge, by the judgment of God, that is to say, by judgment of water or of iron, justice should be executed upon him; and that if he should take to flight, then payment was to be made as mentioned above.

Of the Duties of the King.

"The king, as being the viceregent of the Supreme King, is appointed for the purpose of shewing due respect to and protecting the worldly kingdom, and the people of God, and, above all things, His Holy Church, and of ruling and defending it from those who would injure it, and of removing from it, and crushing and utterly dispersing all evil-doers; and if he does not do so, then the name of king will not belong to him, pope John truly testifying that he loses the name of king who does not act as king. [On Pepin[84] and his son Charles, who were not yet kings, but only princes under the king of the Franks, hearing this definite opinion, pronounced as truthfully as prudently on the name of a king, quoted by William the Bastard, king of England, they foolishly wrote to the pope to enquire if on those terms the kings of the Franks

[83] "Felagus." [84] Probably an interpolation. It is more full in Hoveden than in the text of Wilkins.

were to remain contented solely with the name of king. On which they received for answer that those ought to be called kings who watch, defend, and govern the Church of God and His people, in imitation of the Royal Psalmist, who says, 'He that worketh vanity shall not dwell in my house.'[86]]

Of the guilty condemned by Law who have recourse to the king's mercy.

"If a person guilty of a capital offence shall ask the king's mercy for his crime, in his fear of death or of loss of limb, the king may, by the law of his dignity, pardon him if he pleases, even though he be deserving of death. The malefactor, however, shall make redress, so far as he shall be able, for the offence of which he has been guilty, and shall give sureties that he will keep the peace and observe the laws; and if such sureties shall not be forthcoming, he shall be banished the country.

What those are to do whom the king shall think proper to deliver from death.

"The king has also another prerogative of mercy as to those who are under arrest. For wherever he shall come, whether into city, borough, castle, vill, or even in the road, if a person shall be under arrest, it is in his power, by a single word, to release him from such arrest. The person released shall, however, make satisfaction to the person against whom the crime was committed. But as to a murderer, traitor, or criminal of that description, although the king shall pardon them as to life and limb, they shall on no account with the sanction of the law remain in the country; but shall immediately make oath that they will go to the sea-shore within a time prescribed to them by the justice, and will immediately, as soon as they find a ship and a fair wind, cross the seas. And if, being forsworn, they shall afterwards remain in this country, whoever shall be able to find them, may execute summary justice on them without judgment pronounced; and if any person shall gratuitously harbour them for a single night only he shall be fined according to the greater law of the English or of the Danes, on the second occasion twofold, and for the third offence he shall be adjudged to be the associate and accomplice of malefactors.

[86] Psalm ci. 7. Our version has it, "He that worketh deceit."

Of the wives of malefactors and their children.

"If any such shall have wives living in this country, and any one of the relatives of the person murdered shall say that they were accomplices in the crime, they shall make proof of their innocence by the judgment of God; and if the mercy of God and their own innocence shall save them, they may continue to be lawful persons with their dowries and marriage portions. But children who, before commission of the crime, were born or begotten, are not to lose their lawful rights for a crime committed after they were begotten, nor are they to be deprived of their right of heirship.

What "Frithborg" means, or the oath of the Ten Men, which the people of York call "Tenemental."

"There is likewise one great and especial institution, by means of which all people are kept in a state of the greatest security, namely, where each person giving that pledge for himself on a certain security, which the English call 'Freoborger.'[88] The people of York, however, and they only, call it 'Tien manna tala,'[89] which means 'The number of ten men.' This surety was exercised in the following manner; Inasmuch as all men in all vills throughout the whole kingdom were bound to be divided into frank-pledges of ten, if one of the ten were guilty of an offence, there would be nine to force him to make redress; and if he took to flight, a term of thirty-one days by law was granted them. On the person being sought for, and found, he was taken before the king's justice, and out of his property reparation was instantly made for the injury he had done; and if after that he was guilty of any offence, then justice was executed upon his body. But if within the time before-mentioned he could not be found, then, as there was in every frithborg one head man whom they called 'Freoborger heofod,'[90] this head man would choose two of the best men of his own frithborgers, and then of the three frithborgs that were nearest, he would take the head man of each, and two of

[88] Frank-pledge, or surety given by ten men for the good behaviour of the eleventh.

[89] Or "Tenemental." It was also called a "Decennary," and each person bound for himself and his neighbour, was called a "decennier."

[90] "Head of the frithborg." He was also called the "deciner," or "doziner."

the best men of each of those frithborgs, if he could find them, after which, himself being the twelfth, he would purge himself and his own frithborg of the offence, if he could, and of the escape of the said malefactor. If he could not do this, then he and his frithborg were to make good the loss out of the property of the malefactor so far as it would go, and on that falling short, make up the amount from the property of himself and his frithborg, and so account to the justice for the amount legally adjudicated against them. Then last of all the nine would swear by themselves that they had been unable to make satisfaction therein according to their oath, by means of the three nearest frithborgs, and that they would in nowise be guilty thereof, and that if they should ever be able to capture him, they would bring him to the justice, or inform the justice where he was.

That all persons are to establish Frithborgs for their servants and dependants.

"Archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, are also to have their own knights and yeomen, their sewers, butlers, chamberlains, cooks, and bakers, each in his own frithborg. They are also to have their own esquires, or other servants, each in his own frithborg. And if these persons shall commit an offence against any man, and a charge shall be made by the neighbours against them, they are to compel them to make redress in their own courts; that is to say, those who have the right of sac, and soc, and thol, and them, and infangthefe.

"Sac, is when any person charges another by name with any offence and he denies it; on which the fine levied on proof or disproof thereof, if there is one, belongs to the lord.

"Soc, is when any person searches for anything on his lands, in which case, even though it be stolen it belongs to him, whether found or not.

"Thol, which we call 'Tholonium,' is the privilege of him who has the right of buying and selling on his own lands.

"Them, is where any person lays claim to property in the hands of another, in which case the party so challenged shall produce his warranty,[92] and if not, he shall be fined, and the penalty shall go to the lord; and similar justice shall be dealt to him who makes the charge, if he shall fail in his proof.

[92] The seller.

"That person has the right of 'infangthefe,' who has the right of taking cognizance of robbery in his own court in the case of his own homager, if such person shall have been taken on his lands. But those who have not those customs, are to have justice done before the king's justice in the hundreds and wapentakes, or in the shires.

Of entertaining guests.

"If any person shall entertain a friend or a stranger, which in English is called 'cuth other uncuth,'[93] he shall be at liberty to keep him for two nights as a guest; and if he shall be guilty of an offence, the host shall not incur a penalty for the guest. But if any injury shall be committed on any person, and such person shall make a charge before a court of justice against him that by his counsel the offence was committed, then, together with two of his neighbours, lawful men, he shall clear himself by oath of either counselling or abetting the same. And if he shall not do so, he shall make good the loss and pay a penalty. But if he shall be entertained a third night, and shall commit an offence against any person, then the host is to produce him to justice, as though one of his own household, which in English is expressed by 'Twa night gest, thrid night agen hine.'[94] And if in such case he shall not be able to produce him to justice, then he shall have the space granted him of a month and a day. And if the offender shall be found, he shall make amends for the injury he has done, and shall make good the same, even with his body, if that shall be adjudged against him. But if the offender shall not be able to make good the injury he has done, then his host shall make it good, and shall pay a fine. And if the justice shall hold him suspected, then he shall clear himself according to the judgment of the court of the hundred or the shire.

What is to be done as to things found.

"If any person shall lead an animal into a vill, or shall bring any money, and shall say that he has found the same, before he takes it to his own house, or even that of any other person, he is to take it in front of the church, and in presence of the priest of the

[93] "Kith or unkith;" "acquainted or unacquainted."

[94] Meaning "Two nights your guest, the third night one of your household."

church, and of the reeve and chief men of the vill, show all that he has found, whatever it may be. The reeve of the vill is at once to send to the three or four nearest vills for their priests and reeves, who are also to bring with them three or four of the principal men of each vill, and in the presence of them all, the whole of what has been found is to be shown. After this, in the sight of these persons, the reeve, to whose jurisdiction the finder belongs, is to place the same in safe keeping until the next day. On the following day, he is to go with some of his neighbours who have seen what has been found to the bailiff of the hundred in which his vill is situate, and show him the whole thereof. And if he is the homager of the lord on whose lands the same has been found, and the lord, in whose hands it has been found, has not his customs of sac or soc, he is to deliver the whole thereof to the bailiff of the hundred, in the presence of good witnesses, if he chooses to take it. But if the lord has such customs, then justice is to be done in the lord's court.

Of Jews established in the kingdom.

"Be it also known, that all Jews, wheresoever they are in the kingdom, are to be under the tutelage and lawful protection of the king; and no one of them can serve under any rich man without the king's leave; for the Jews and all their property belong to the king. And if any person shall lay hands on them or their money, the king is to demand restitution thereof, if he so pleases, as of his own.

Of those who have protection by the king's Letters.

"Those who have the king's protection, either under his hand or by his letters, must observe their fealty to him. Therefore it is their bounden duty to observe the same inviolably towards all men, and not, having gained the shelter of his protection, to withhold rights or services from their superior lords, nor yet from their neighbours; for he is not worthy to enjoy peace who is not ready to keep it towards others. And if any person should rely too much on the protection which he enjoys, and shall be guilty of an injury to another, then he is to make good the loss, and to pay a fine of the same amount. The former the English call 'murdre,' [95] and the fine 'astrihilthet.' [96]

[95] The Saxon name for "concealment:" perhaps it was so called from the offender having sheltered himself under the king's protection.

[96] Compensation to the master of a house.

What those are to pay to the king and the dean who infringe upon the king's protection.

"Protection given under the king's hand, that given on the first eight days from the time of his coronation, protection on the before-named festivals, and protection by the king's letters, have one mode of redress [for breach thereof], which is to be taken cognizance of in the highest court of justice, held in the shire in which the peace has been broken, as for example, in places subject to the Danish law,[95] the eighteen hundreds pay the penalty, the amount of which is one hundred and forty-four pounds; as the Danes assessed the penalty paid by each hundred[96] at eight pounds Norwegian, and eight multiplied by eighteen makes one hundred and forty-four. And this, not without a reason.[97] For of these eight pounds the king had one hundred shillings, and the earl of the county, who had every third penny of fines, fifty shillings. The dean of the bishop, in whose deanery the peace had been broken, had the remaining ten, besides the king's protection, if the protection had been originally granted under the king's hand, or on his coronation, or on the festivals before-mentioned of the Nativity, Easter, or Pentecost.

Of the supervision of those who disregarded these laws.

"As it happened that some foolish and dishonest people, without reason, and too frequently, did injuries to their neighbours, the wiser persons began to take cognizance of the matter, and appointed justices over every ten frithborgs, whom we may call 'deciners.' These, in English, were called 'tienheofod,' that is, 'heads of ten.' They took cognizance of matters between the vills and their neighbours, exacted fines for offences committed, and made parties come to terms, about such things as pasturage, meadows, harvests, disputes between neighbours, and innumerable questions of that nature, which harass human frailty, and are everlastingly attacking it. When, however, greater matters of dispute arose, they referred them to their superior judges, whom the wise men before-mentioned had appointed over them, that is to say, over the ten deciners, and

[95] Denelega. [96] On this contribution to the penalty by sections of eighteen hundreds, where subject to Danelege, see pp. 546 and 557.
[97] The text does not seem to disclose it.

whom we may call 'centurions' or 'centeners,' because they exercised jurisdiction over a hundred frithborgs.

Of Wapentage, and how those acted who accepted Wapentage.

"Warwickshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire, as far as Watling Street extends and eight miles beyond, are under the law of the English. And what the English call a 'Hundred,' the counties above-named call a 'Wapentake.' And not without a reason; for when a person received the headship of a wapentake, on a day named, at the place where they were accustomed to meet, all the elders went forth to meet him, and, on his dismounting from his horse, they all closed around him; on which, raising his spear erect, in the usual manner, he received the assurance of all. Then all, as many as had come, with their lances touched his spear, and thus by touching arms gave assurance, publicly granting him their protection. Now, in the English language, arms are called 'wæpnu,' and 'taccare' means 'to assure,' and the phrase, as it were, means 'the assurance of arms;' or, if we may more explicitly explain the word 'wapentake,' in the English language it means, 'the touching of arms,' for 'wæpnu' means 'arms,' and 'tac' is 'touch.' Therefore, we may conclude that for this reason all such assemblage was called a wapentake; it being the fact that by touching arms they were leagued together.

What the difference is between a Wapentake, a Trihing, and a Hundred.

"There were also other jurisdictions, above the wapentake, which were called 'Trihingas,' because they consisted of the third part of a county. Those who truled the trihings were called 'Trihingerefas;' and before them were brought the causes of the trihing which could not be settled in the wapentakes, and thus, what the English called by the name of hundreds; they called 'wapentakes;' and what the people of England called, 'three' or 'four hundreds,' these people called 'trihinga.' In some counties, in the English language, what they called 'trihinga,' was called 'lethe.'[99] Causes that could not be settled in the trihing were taken to the shire.

[99] Now known as "lathe."

What is the meaning of the name 'Greve,' and what are his duties; and what is the meaning of the name Ealdorman, which literally signifies an elder of the people; and into how many meanings the name 'Greve' has been expanded.

"Greve[1] also is a name that signifies power, and cannot be better expressed in Latin than by the word 'præfectura,' for the word is employed with such multiplied meanings, that there is the 'greve' of the shire, of wapentakes, hundreds (also of the 'lethe'), boroughs, and of vills even; in all of which it seems to have the same meaning, and to signify the same as 'dominus' [chief]. Some, also, are of opinion that the word 'greve' is a name compounded of the English 'grith' and the Latin 'væ.' For 'grith' is a word denoting peace, whereas 'væ'[2] indicates misery: as the Lord testifies when He says, 'Væ[3] unto thee, Chorazin.' Consequently the greve is so called, because by law he ought to ensure to the country 'grith,' or peace, against those who would bring upon it 'væ,' that is, evil or misery. The Germans, and Frisians, and Flemings, are in the habit of calling their earls by the name of 'margrave,' as though meaning 'higher lords,' or 'good peacemakers.' And those who are called 'greves' at the present day, having jurisdiction over others among the English, were anciently called 'ealdormen,' as though elders, not by reason of old age, inasmuch as some were young men, but on account of their wisdom.

For what reason king William abolished the laws of the English and retained those of the Danes.

"The law of the Danes and Norwegians prevailed in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Now as to payment of penalties [by hundreds] for offences committed, where these counties had eighteen hundreds, the former ones[5] had only ten and a half, which arose from their being in the vicinity of the Saxons,[4] the whole sum of contribution in cases of the largest penalty among the Saxons in those times being eighty-four[5] pounds. But in all other matter for trial and penalties they had the same law with the [Danes and] Norwegians above-

[1] The Saxon "gerefa," more generally spoken of as the "reeve," or "reve." [2] "Woe!" An idea more fanciful than well-founded. See St. Matt. x. 21. [3] Probably those named in p. 555. [4] Probably the kingdom of Wessex. [5] The text of Hoveden says eighty-four, and is probably correct; that of Wilkins says forty-four.

named. [5*][When king William heard of this, together with the other laws of his kingdom, he greatly approved thereof, and gave orders that it should be observed throughout all his kingdom. For he stated that his ancestors, and those of nearly all the barons of Normandy, had been Norwegians, and had formerly come from Norway. And for this reason he asserted that he ought to follow and observe their laws before the other laws of his kingdom, as being more profound and more consistent with what was right: whereas the laws of other nations, Britons, Angles, Picts, and Scots, were prevailing in every quarter. On hearing of this, the whole of the people of this country who had promulgated these laws, being touched with sorrow, entreated him with one accord that he would allow them to retain their own laws and ancient customs, under which their fathers had lived, and they themselves were born and brought up, as it would be very hard for them to receive laws of which they knew nothing, and judge on matters of which they were ignorant. The king, however, still remaining obdurate, they at last plied him with entreaties, for the sake of the soul of king Edward, who had granted him the crown and kingdom in succession to himself, and by whom and no strangers the said laws were founded, not to compel them to observe other than the laws of their fathers. After taking this under due consideration, at the earnest request of his barons, he at length acceded to their entreaties. From that day, therefore, their authority being recognized, the laws of Saint Edward the king were respected throughout all the kingdom, and were confirmed and observed before all other laws of the country, having been first established and enacted in the days of king Edgar, his grandfather; but, after his death, they had been set aside for sixty-eight years. For Edward, his son and heir by his lawful wife, reigned four years, less sixteen weeks; after whose death, in his innocence, by the treachery of his stepmother, on account of his innocent life, so chaste and so full of alms-deeds, and his undeserved end, they honored him as a Martyr, and held him to be a Saint. After him, his brother Aldred[6] received the kingdom, and ruled, amid many adversities and perils, eight-and-thirty years. After Aldred, his son Edmund Ironside reigned nearly nine months, during which

[5*] This appears to be a gloss or interpolation.

[6] Before called by Hoveden "Egelred," and more generally "Ethelred."

he valiantly fought five battles against Canute, the king of the Danes. After the last battle, they came to terms, and divided the kingdom in halves; and one moiety of England fell to Canute, the other to Edmund, on condition that whoever should survive the other should have the whole of the kingdom, and that neither should in the meanwhile be crowned. Matters, therefore, being thus settled, and all the chief men of England giving their assent to the arrangement thus made between them, within one month after, Edward was, alas! removed from this world; on which Canute received the kingdom of the whole of England, and ruled nearly eighteen years. After his decease, Harold Harefoot, supposed by nearly all to be falsely considered as the son of Canute and Elfgiva, succeeded to the throne, and reigned five years; after whom Hardicanute, son of Canute and Emma, the sister of Robert, duke of Normandy, and mother of the last king, Saint Edward, reigned two years, less twelve weeks. And thus passed sixty-eight years, during which the said laws were neglected. But after king Edward came to the throne, by the advice of the barons of England, he raised the code of laws that had slept for sixty-eight years, and remodelled it thus raised, beautified it thus remodelled, and confirmed it thus beautified. When thus confirmed, it was called 'the law of king Edward,'[6*] not because he had been the first to frame it, but because it had been neglected and almost left in oblivion from the days of his grandfather, Edgar, who had reigned seventeen years, and who had been the first founder thereof, until his own times, being nearly, as said above, sixty-eight years. For Edward, because it was a just and good code of laws, raised it from the deep abyss, and matured it and ordered it to be observed as though his own.

"Edmund Ironside before-named had a son, Edward by name, who, shortly after the death of his father, through fear of king Canute, fled to the king of the Rugi, which we more properly call Russia; and the king of that country, Malesclotus by name, when he understood who he was, gave him an honorable reception. He there married a wife of noble birth, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christiana, her sister, to which Christiana king Edward gave the lands afterwards held by Ralph de Limisey. Now, the said Christiana was sister of Edgar Atheling, who was sent

6* See the note in page 545.

for by his uncle king Edward, who caused him to come to his court; on arriving at which he did not long survive, and in a very short space of time his wife died. King Edward, however, kept his son Edgar with him, and brought him up as his own son. And because he intended to make him his heir he gave him the name of 'Atheling,' the same as we say 'domicellus' or 'damisell,' meaning 'young lord;' but we say it indifferently of many, inasmuch as we[1] call the sons of barons 'damisells,' whereas the English called none but the sons of kings by that name. And if we would express this still more clearly, in one part of Saxony an image is known by the name of 'ling;' and 'athel,' in the English, signifies noble; wherefore, the two being joined together, the word 'Atheling' would signify the 'image of nobility.' Hence it is that the West-Saxons, that is, the people of Exeter, have an expression signifying supreme contempt—'hinderling,' meaning 'an image cast down from or forsaking all propriety.' King Edward, however, as he was aware of the wickedness of his nation, and especially the vanityof the sons of Godwin, namely, Harold (who afterwards seized the kingdom), Gurth, Leofwin, and the rest of his brothers, thinking that that could not possibly be lasting or durable which he had purposed respecting Edgar Atheling, adopted William, duke of the Normans, as his successor in the kingdom, William the Bastard, that is to say, the bastard son of Robert, his mother's brother and his own uncle, a valiant, brave, and warlike man, who afterwards, by the will of God, having conquered the above-named Harold, the son of Godwin, victoriously gained possession of the kingdom of the English.]

Of robbers slain for robbery.

"If, after judgment given, any one shall make a charge before the justiciary that a person has been unrighteously slain, and that unjustly he lies buried among robbers, and shall say that he is willing to make proof thereof, he is to give a pledge and find sureties; upon which, the space of one month and a day shall be given him, and then he is to take relatives of the person slain, on both sides, namely, his father's and his mother's side, twelve on his father's side and six on his mother's. And if these eighteen are willing to make proof with him who first made the charge, and who has given the pledge, each of them

[1] Meaning the Normans. The text of Wilkins is still followed here.

is to give his pledge with his sword; and, after that, he is to find sureties, such as can pay his fine, that is to say, his 'were,' in case they cannot make proof of what they say. Then the slayer is to give his pledge and find sureties that the person was rightfully slain, and deservedly lies buried among robbers,[7] and according to law, as being a robber. And then, he is first, to show for what robbery and for what reason he was slain. And if he shall acknowledge that he was taken alive, he is to name a court, and judges, and lawful witnesses of the number of his neighbours. And if these persons shall undertake to prove that justice was rightfully done upon the person as his theft deserved, then his slayer shall be acquitted. In such case they who have made the charge shall forfeit their securities, the same to be paid over to the judges and witnesses. And if it shall be proved that he was unjustly slain, then the slayer shall give pledge to the justice of the bishop, and sureties that he will make redress. After this, the justice of the bishop shall cause a procession to be formed, with the priest clad in alb, maniple, and stole, and the clerks in their surplices with holy water and cross, with candlesticks going before, and thurible, fire, and incense. And then, his friends are to bring him forth, and place the dead man on a bier and carry him to the church; where the mass having been performed for the dead and the other offices performed, they shall inter him as becomes a Christian. Between that day and sixteen days therefrom, the slayer is to pay three fines to the bishop: one, because he has slain a lawful man as a robber; another, because he has buried his brother as a robber; which the English call 'his emne-Christen;'[8] and the third because he has given security that he would make proof and has not been able so to do.

Of Usurers.

"King Edward also forbade usurers to remain in his kingdom; and if any person was convicted of exacting usurious interest, he was to lose all his substance, and be thenceforth considered out of the pale of the law. For this king used to assert, that he had heard it remarked, at the court of the king of the Franks, while he was staying there, that usury is the root of all vices.

[7] Being buried probably in unconsecrated ground.

[8] His brother in Christ.

Of purchases.

"By the same law it was also forbidden, that any person should buy a live animal or worn garment without sureties and good witnesses. If it was a work of gold or silver, concerning which the buyer might be in doubt, he was not to buy it without the aid of goldsmiths or moneyers. If these, on seeing it, said that it came out of a church or treasury, he was not to buy it without finding sureties; and if the seller could not find sureties, then he was to be detained with the property until his lord should come, or some one else who could give good security for him; and if any man bought on any other terms, because he had purchased foolishly, he was at once to lose what he had bought and pay a fine. After this, inquisition was to be made by legal men,[8] and the chief men of the borough, or vill, or hundred where the buyer lived, as to what was his mode of life, and if they had ever heard of his being charged with acting unlawfully: and if witness was borne by them, that he was of good life and lawful character, he was to prove before the court of the county that he did not know that the seller was acting unlawfully in the sale thereof, or was guilty of any unlawful offence, and if he should know who the seller was or where he was, he was to say so; on which the justiciary was to make search for him, in order to bring him to justice, and if he could not be found he was to be outlawed.

Of buyers and provision dealers.

"But when it was stated that no man was to buy a live animal without sureties, the provision-sellers in the cities and boroughs, whom the English call 'fleshmongers,' made an outcry, that every day they were obliged to buy, kill, and sell live animals, as their livelihood was got by killing such animals. In addition to which, the citizens, burgesses, and populace cried out for their customs, because they had about the feast of Saint Martin been in the habit of buying animals at market without any surety, for the purpose of killing them against the Nativity of our Lord. There was also a great murmuring among the multitude about this enactment. Wherefore I am of opinion, that if enquiry had been made whether that decree pleased or not, as is the case in some assemblages, an answer would with universal assent have been given by multitudes, 'it does not so please us.' There, also, you might have

[8] Lagamannos.

heard, had you been present, different whispers muttered aside in the ear, and the clamours and murmurs of a tumultuous populace. It was to the king's praise, however, that he would not do away with customs that were just and wisely framed; but he only required in the king's market, on the sale of their wares, that there should be witnesses and some knowledge of the parties selling."

The Genealogy of the Dukes of Normandy.

Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, who at his baptism was also named Robert, reigned thirty years; his son William, twenty-five, Richard the Elder, fifty-three, Richard the Second, thirty, Richard the Third, one year, Robert, his brother, eight years; William the Bastard reigned as duke thirty years, and after he was king of the English, twenty years. Now Richard the Elder had a daughter named Emma, who was married to Adelred,[9] king of the English, and by whom that king became the father of Edward and Alfred. In the time of Richard the Second, king Adelred caused the Danes throughout England to be slain, in consequence of which Sweyn, king of the Danes, invaded England and subdued it; on which, Adelred, with his wife and sons, fled to Normandy, to the court of Richard the Second, the brother of his wife, and duke of Normandy. Shortly after this, Sweyn died, and was carried to Denmark to be buried there.

In the mean time, Adelred, with his wife, returned to his kingdom, leaving his sons in the charge of their uncle. After Sweyn was buried, his son Canute, with a great fleet, bringing with him Lachiman, the king of the Swedes, and Olaf, the king of the Norwegians, who was afterwards baptized at Rouen, entered the Thames, and besieged king Adelred in London; who, while thus besieged, was suddenly attacked by a malady, and died. Canute, on gaining possession of the kingdom, took the before-named queen Emma to wife, and by her became the father of Hardicanute, who was afterwards king of the Danes, and of a daughter named Gunhilda, who became the wife of Henry, emperor of the Romans. In the meantime, on the decease of Richard the Second, his son Richard succeeded him for a single year; after whose death his son[10] Robert succeeded him. He, being wishful to replace Edward on the throne of the English, gave him a fleet, but being forced to return in consequence of contrary winds, after having been detained a long

[9] Called before Egelred.

[10] The son of Richard the Second.

time at the isle of Gerneswic,[11] returned to Normandy. After this, setting out for Jerusalem, he left his son William, then a little child, his heir; and having fulfilled his vow, in returning to his country, died at the city of Nicæa.

At the time of William succeeding to the dukedom of Normandy, Canute, king of the English, departed this life, and was succeeded by Harold Harefoot, his son by his concubine Elgiva. Edward, feeling indignant at this, setting sail with forty ships, landed at Hampton,[12] where the English showing resistance, after taking considerable booty, he returned to Normandy. In the meantime, however, his brother Alfred, who, with a large body of troops, had made an attempt upon another part, being received by earl Godwin with an appearance of hospitality, was by stratagem taken by him at night together with his followers; and being placed in chains and brought before king Harold, together with his companions, was deprived of his eyes, the rest being put to death.

Not long after this, Harold Harefoot also died, and Hardicanute, returning from Denmark, succeeded him, being the son of Emma, the mother of Edward. On this, Hardicanute sent for his elder brother Edward from Normandy, and made him live with him, and on his death, two years after, Edward succeeded him as his heir. The good king Edward reigned twenty-two years, but having no issue, sent to his kinsman, William, duke of the Normans, Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, and made him the heir to his kingdom: after him he also sent earl Harold, who swore fealty to William at Rouen. But, after the death of Edward, Harold treacherously and rebelliously took possession of the kingdom and reigned nine months, and together with his powerful accomplices, seducers, and associates, unjustly, iniquitously, and seditiously deprived the lawful heir of the good king Edward of the crown of the whole of the said kingdom;[13] on hearing of which, William setting sail with a powerful fleet, landed at Pevensey, and after building a fortress there, erected another at Hastings. Harold, meeting him with the English, fought a battle at about the third hour of the day on the second day before the Ides of October, in which Harold was slain at the first onset; the fight, however, having been prolonged until nightfall. William being victorious, was, on the following feast of the Nativity of our Lord,

[11] Guernsey. [12] Southampton. [13] Several lines are here given from Wilkins, which are clearly by inadvertence omitted in the text of Hoveden.

in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty-six, crowned at London, king of the English.

He reigned over England twenty-two years, and after his death his son William reigned thirteen years; in the ninth year of whose reign a pilgrimage[14] of the nations to Jerusalem against the Saracens took place. In the fourth year of this expedition, Jerusalem was taken by the Franks, and Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, reigned over it, though for one year only; and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who reigned eighteen years. King William was slain with an arrow while hunting in England, in the thirteenth year of his reign; on which he was succeeded by his brother Henry, who reigned thirty-six years. He was a feeder of wild beasts,[15] and a guardian of the forests, and has been styled by Merlinus Ambrosius,[16] in his "History of the Kings," "the lion of justice;" for he exercised justice and judgment in the land.

He was succeeded by Stephen, his nephew, who reigned nineteen years; after whose death Henry, the son of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, and of Matilda, the former empress of the Romans, and daughter of the before-named king Henry the First, took the helm of the kingdom of England, and reigned thirty-five years. He dying, and being buried at the abbey of the nuns at Fontevraud, his son Richard succeeded him in the government of the kingdom, and after having reigned nine years, seven months, and, twenty days, being struck by an arrow at the siege of the castle of Chaluz, departed this life on the eighth day before the ides of April. His entrails were interred at Chinon, his heart at Rouen, and his body at Fontevraud. After his decease his brother John succeeded to the throne, and reigned over the kingdom of England.[17]

[14] The first Crusade. [15] Alluding to his maintenance of the Forest laws in all their strictness. [16] A Latinized form of the British name of Merlin, or Merdhin Emrys, the magician and prophet. It is pretty generally supposed that there was no such person. His pretended prophecies are still in existence. [17] He now resumes the thread of his Annals.

ERRATUM.

In p. 82, note 28, add, "A quotation from Horace."

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